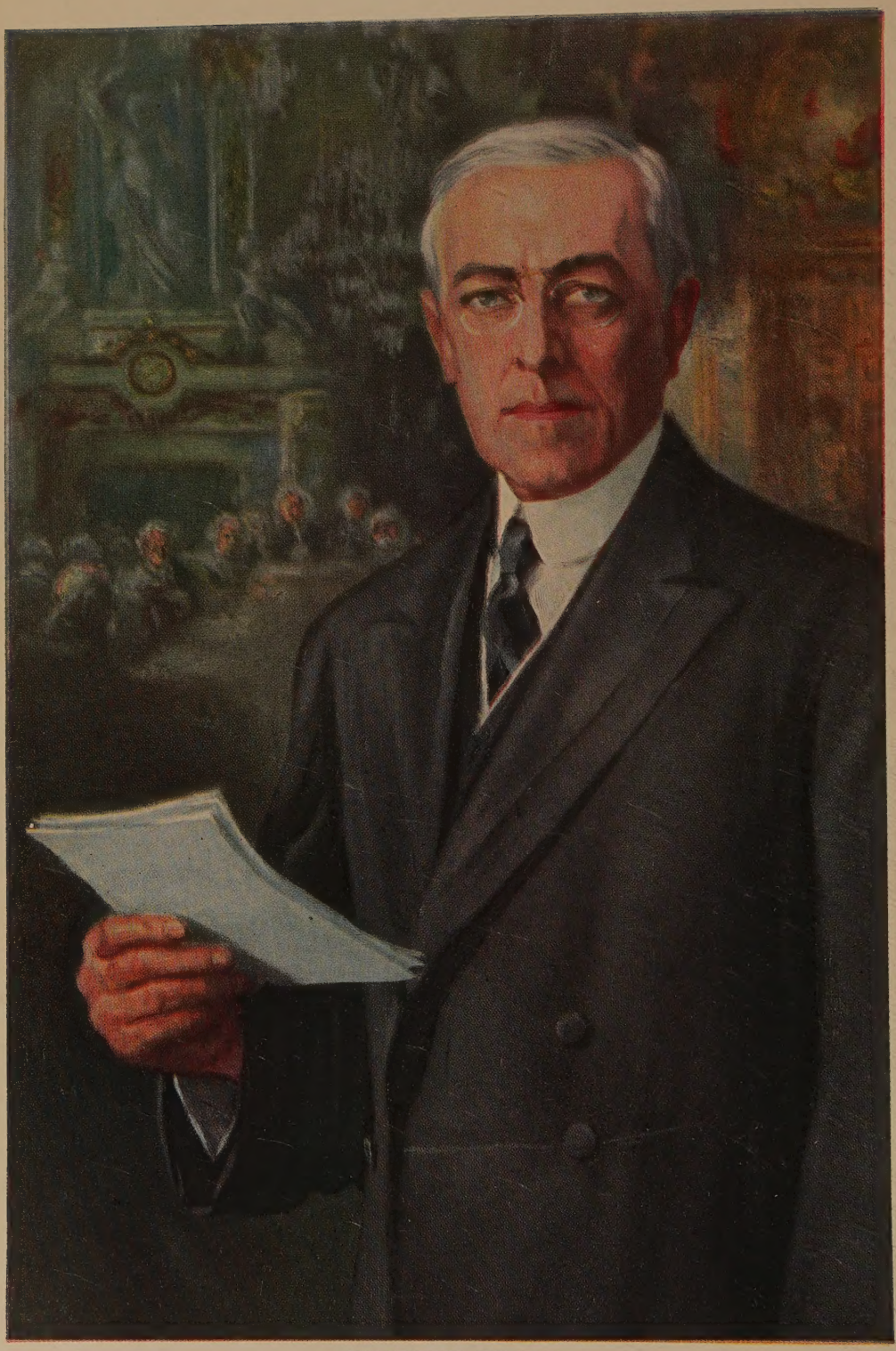
The World's Greatest War

Volume II

THE EVENTS OF 1916
AND SUMMARY

THE EVENTS OF 1917
AND SUMMARY



WOODROW WILSON

President of the United States, 1913-1921

The Book of History

The World's Greatest War

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR
TO THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

WITH MORE THAN 1,000 ILLUSTRATIONS

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Volume XVII

THE EVENTS OF 1916 AND SUMMARY
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NEW YORK . . THE GROLIER SOCIETY
LONDON . THE EDUCATIONAL BOOK CO.

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Printed in U. S. A.

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Chapter XXVII

The United States and the World War

THE PEOPLE BEGIN TO REALIZE THAT THE STRUGGLE CONCERNS THEM

IT is perhaps, not an exaggeration to say that the two years following the outbreak of the Great War, brought about more fundamental and far-reaching changes in the economic and social conditions in the United States than had been witnessed in the fifty years which had preceded the war. The foreign trade was at first disrupted and then completely recast; the revenue system was reorganized—government receipts and expenditures were no longer expressed in millions but in billions; government control of private business was indulged in on an unheard of scale; semi-socialistic measures, which would not have been dreamt of a decade before, were accepted without protest; new industries grew up like mushrooms in the night, money flowed into the country in unprecedented amounts. The nation changed from a debtor to a creditor country. Underlying all of these tremendous changes there was going on a fundamental recasting of the relations between capital and labor. Labor found itself more powerful than it had ever been before and it was not slow to wield this power. These changes were an eloquent commentary to the comfortable illusion of American isolation from the affairs of Europe.

THE FIRST EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON BUSINESS.

The first reaction of the war upon the business interests of the country was certain to be unfavorable. The intricate mechanism of international trade was for the moment completely disrupted. American manufacturers found many of their accustomed foreign markets suddenly cut off. Shipping facilities were greatly curtailed by the transfer of merchant shipping to military uses. The European stock exchanges closed either immediately before or after the outbreak of hostilities. The London exchange closed on July 31 for the first time in its history, and left the New York Stock Exchange the only important exchange remaining open. Brokers were deluged with selling orders from abroad and a scene of confusion approaching panic resulted. To relieve the situation the governors determined to close the exchange temporarily. The rate of foreign exchange, at first, ran heavily against the United States, especially in England, due to the large amounts owed by American business interests. At one time the rate reached seven dollars to the pound sterling.

It was not long, however, before the situation improved materially. Early in 1915, the Entente Allies began placing orders for large quantities of munitions and foodstuffs in the United States. A feeling of confidence was restored. Trading on the Stock Exchange was gradually resumed. The exchange rate on London rapidly declined until

it once more touched par and then began to run against London as the amount of foreign purchases in the United States steadily mounted. To check this unfavorable balance of trade, large quantities of American securities held abroad were sent to the United States. It was estimated that during the years 1915 and 1916 more than $2,000,000,000 of such securities were transferred to American investors. Even this proved adequate but for a short time and the Entente powers and many neutral powers resorted to loans in the United States to sustain their credit.

FOREIGN BONDS SOLD TO INVESTORS IN THE UNITED STATES.

During 1915 and 1916 more than $2,000,000,000 of such loans were made to Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Greece, Russia, Italy and Argentina. In addition, $10,000,000 of German Treasury notes were sold to American investors. The greater part of this sum was used to finance German propaganda in the United States and Mexico. These loans marked a new era in American finance. Never before had foreign bonds appeared in the American market in any considerable amounts. This tremendous transfer of capital profoundly affected world trade and finance. In two years the United States had been transformed from a debtor to a creditor nation.

The immense increase in the volume of American foreign trade created a critical situation in the shipping industry. More than ninety per cent of the export trade of the United States at the beginning of the war was carried in merchant ships of foreign nations, chiefly British and German. In the first weeks of the war German shipping was driven from the seas and British tonnage available for American commerce was greatly reduced. By the fall of 1915 it was almost impossible to obtain cargo space despite the fact that every type of sailing and steam vessel was pressed into service. Freight rates went to four times the pre-war level, or even higher. In some cases a vessel would earn its entire cost on one round trip. To meet this critical situation the Administration proposed the establishment of government steamship lines. Congress did not finally act on this recommendation until September, 1916, when a ship-purchase law was passed.

THE GOVERNMENT GOES INTO THE SHIPPING INDUSTRY.

This act provided for a Shipping Board of five members which was empowered (1) to form one or more corporations for the purchase, lease, and operation of merchant vessels with a maximum capital of fifty million dollars, (2) to acquire vessels suitable for naval auxiliaries, (3) to regulate commerce on the Great Lakes and the high seas including the fixing of rates, (4) to cancel or modify any agreement among carriers that was found to be unfair as between carriers and exporters, or which operated to the detriment of United States commerce, (5) to sanction pooling agreements among shippers which were exempted from the operations of the Sherman Act. Vessels were to be operated by the board, however, only if it was unable to sell, lease or charter such vessels to citizens of the United States and government ownership was limited to five years after the close of the war. The effects of this act did not begin to be felt until after the entrance of the United States into the war.

While the struggle in Europe brought a large measure of prosperity to the United States it also brought a heavy financial burden. Measures to protect neutrality together with legislation providing for a greater degree of military preparedness called for increased appropriations. In three years Congressional appropriations increased from $1,089,408,777 for 1914, to $1,626,439,209 for 1917. To meet this increase the fiscal system, or lack of system, was poorly adapted. Repeated efforts to have Congress adopt a budget system had met with no success. One of the chief items of national revenue, custom receipts, was materially reduced on account of greatly diminished imports. It was necessary to find new sources of revenue.

THE WAR REVENUE ACT INCREASES TAXATION.

To meet this situation the President urged upon Congress the raising of additional revenue by increased taxation, rather than by borrowing. In response Congress passed the first War Revenue Act, which was to remain in force one year and was expected to produce fifty-four million dollars. The excise tax on liquors and tobacco was increased and license taxes were levied on bankers, brokers and theatres. Stamp taxes were placed on promissory notes and legal documents, insurance policies, bills of lading, telegraph and telephone messages.

During 1915 the Administration presented a program calling for large expenditures for national defense. To meet these expenditures fresh revenue had to be found. The President again urged that the additional revenue should be obtained from taxation rather than borrowing. The new revenue law passed by Congress doubled the normal rate of the income tax and materially increased the surtaxes on incomes. A progressive inheritance tax was placed on estates in excess of $50,000 and an excise tax of 12½ per cent on the net profits of munition manufacturers. These new taxes showed a distinct tendency to place the added burden of taxation upon persons of wealth and upon those deriving profits from war industries. This policy was continued and expanded after the entrance of the United States into the war.

FUNERAL SERVICE FOR THE LUSITANIA VICTIMS

In the churchyard at Queenstown a service was held over the remains of the victims of the tragedy that shocked Christendom in May, 1915. The story of horror and heroism is familiar:—the warning issued by the German Embassy, the torpedoing of the ship on May 7, the noble behavior of officers and men, the suffering and exposure and death of innocent victims, the protest by the United States, and the exultation in Germany.

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD WAR.

It was inevitable that the people of the United States would be profoundly affected by the great struggle in Europe

though this fact was not realized at first. Nearly a century before President Monroe had laid down the principle that the affairs of Europe did not concern us, and the statement became a part of the mental attitude of most citizens. Though challenged by the Spanish War, nevertheless in 1914, the great majority of American citizens did not dream that their country had any vital interest in the struggle beginning in Europe. A few, chiefly in the Eastern States, wished the United States to take a strong position from the beginning.

Few Americans, however, had any accurate knowledge of foreign affairs, and did not understand the reasons why Europe was an armed camp. The reaction from the Civil War had produced a distaste for war. The efficient navy of that period had been allowed to rot and only slowly had the advocates of a greater navy gained followers. For a short time the navy of the United States was second in strength, but it had lost this position in 1914. Until the Spanish War the tiny regular army was hardly large enough for defense against the Indians, and it was still small in 1914. The American people, engrossed in internal development, had come to believe that a real war on this continent was improbable. For a hundred years not a gun had been fired along the 3,000 miles of frontier with Canada. Relations with Mexico had been less peaceful but the people of the United States were not belligerent. This attitude had been even strengthened by the trifling contest with Spain.

THE EFFECT OF IMMIGRANTS ON PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

The United States, however, is to a great extent an immigrant nation. Of the hundred million people in the country, about one-third are of foreign birth, or have at least one parent foreign born. About one-fourth of this foreign element was of German origin. Ties of blood, race and former nationality soon asserted themselves. British or French immigrants naturally took the side of the Entente Allies, though a part of the Irish and the French Canadians were, to say the least, lukewarm. The part of the population classed as Russian was very largely of Jewish birth, who had fled from bitter persecution. It was difficult for many of these to feel that any alliance which included Russia could be fighting upon the side of civilization. They were not so much pro-German as anti-Russian. As the war went on the sentiments of this group changed.

GERMAN EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Of all the belligerent powers, Germany made the most persistent efforts to influence opinion in the United States. Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, formerly Colonial Secretary of the German Empire, was sent to convince Americans of the justice of the German cause. A Press Bureau was established in New York and newspapers and magazines were subsidized throughout the country. This agitation became so widespread that President Wilson deemed it wise to issue an appeal to all Americans to be "neutral in speech as well as in action." He pointed out that the spirit of the nation would depend on what was said at public meetings and in the pulpit, and what was printed in the papers. He "ventured therefore to speak a word of warning against partisanship in order that the country would be free to do what is honest and truly serviceable for the peace of the world."

The open and avowed pro-German propaganda in the United States received a serious set-back as a result of the Lusitania outrage. The horror which this barbarous act aroused brought to an end the easy-going tolerance of German agitators throughout the country. Thereafter the German agents and their American sympathizers were forced to adopt different methods. In urging an embargo on munitions they appealed to humane sentiments against the prolongation of the war. They sought to stimulate and capitalize American resentment against the British restraints on American commerce. Every effort was made to take advantage of Irish-American antipathy to Great Britain. Organizations with appealing names such as

the American Independence Union, American Truth Society, Friends of Truth, Friends of Peace, Organization of American Women for Strict Neutrality, American Peaceful Embargo Society and Labor's National Peace Council sprang up throughout the country. While all of these societies disclaimed any connection with German propaganda there was a suspicious unanimity in their methods and aims. Later it was proved that some at least had received German funds. Finding themselves unable to carry through the program for declaring an embargo on arms and ammunition, German and Austrian agents began a concerted move to cripple the production of munitions by fomenting strikes in munition factories, causing explosions in such factories, placing bombs on munition ships and by other similar methods.

HAVOC BY FIRE AT THE ROEBLING WORKS

The first of many incendiary fires in industrial plants, in the year 1915, caused destruction to the amount of $1,500,000 in the works of the John A. Roebling's Sons Company at Trenton, N. J. This happened in January. In November, the Roebling plant was again damaged by fire, the loss being estimated at $1,000,000. This was one of a series of disasters which occurred within twenty-four hours in several different establishments. © International Film Service

GERMAN EFFORTS TO DESTROY FACTORIES AND SHIPS.

On February 3, 1915, one Werner Horn attempted to blow up the international bridge at Vanceboro, Maine. From the confession which he made to the authorities of the Department of Justice it was clear that Captain Franz von Papen, the German military attaché, was involved in the plot. Fires in factories engaged in the production of war materials for the Allies occurred with remarkable frequency. Within twenty-four hours on November 10-11, 1915, fires broke out in the works of the John A. Roebling's Sons Co., the Bethlehem Steel Co., the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Co. and the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Bombs were discovered on steamships carrying supplies to the Allies and a suspiciously large number of fires broke out on such steamships while at sea. For some months the government was unable to fix responsibility for these acts. But on October 24, 1915, the secret service agents arrested one Robert Fay who claimed to be a lieutenant in the German army. In a confession made to the police Fay admitted that he had

been engaged in making bombs to be placed on munition ships.

There was more than a suspicion that the activities of these German agents were being directed by persons closely identified with the German diplomatic representatives in the United States. Confirmation of this feeling was shortly furnished. Dr. Heinrich Albert, Financial Adviser of the German Embassy, while traveling on the Elevated Railway in New York, lost a portfolio filled with documents. These documents came into the possession of the New York *World* and were published by that paper. Some of the letters bore the signatures of Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, Captain von Papen, Dr. Albert, and Hugo Schmidt, representative of the *Deutsche Bank* of Berlin. From these documents it appeared that the German representatives in the United States were financing efforts to influence the press of the United States, to establish news services, moving picture shows and to subsidize lecturers. Further it was shown that the German Government was negotiating for the manufacture of munitions for itself in the United States at the same time that it was protesting against the sale of such munitions to the Entente Allies.

THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR IS DISMISSED.

More direct and more serious was the evidence of Teutonic activities obtained as a result of the arrest of an American newspaper correspondent, Mr. James J. F. Archibald, by the British authorities at Falmouth. Among the letters found in Archibald's possession was one written by Dr. Theodor Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to the United States, to Baron Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. In this letter Dr. Dumba said "It is my impression that we can disorganize and hold up for months, if not entirely prevent, the manufacture of munitions in Bethlehem and the Middle West, which, in the opinion of the German Military Attache is of great importance and amply outweighs the expenditure of money involved."

When this letter was brought to the attention of Dr. Dumba he admitted its authenticity and defended it on the ground that it was his duty "to bring before our races employed in the big steel works the fact that they are engaged in enterprises which are unfriendly to their Fatherland and that the Imperial Government would hold the workers in munition plants where contracts are being filled for the Allies, as being guilty of a serious crime against their country." This explanation was not accepted by the United States Government and the Austrian Government was notified that "by reason of the admitted purpose and intent of Dr. Dumba to conspire to cripple legitimate industries of the people of the United States and to interrupt their legitimate trade, and by reason of the flagrant violation of diplomatic propriety in employing an American citizen, protected by an American passport as a secret bearer of official dispatches through the lines of the enemy of Austria Hungary" he was no longer acceptable to the Government of the United States as the Ambassador of Austria Hungary.

Another of the Archibald letters was one written by Captain von Papen to his wife. In referring to the German victories on the Eastern front, he said;—"How splendid on the Eastern front. I always tell these idiotic Yankees they had better hold their tongues—it's better to look at all this heroism full of admiration. My friends in the army are quite different in this way."

The names of Captain Franz von Papen and Captain Karl Boy-Ed, the German military and naval attaches at Washington constantly recurred in connection with the investigation of various plots and after an inquiry made by the State Department the German Ambassador was notified that these two officers were no longer acceptable to the United States and their immediate recall was demanded.

GERMAN EFFORTS TO CREATE TROUBLE WITH MEXICO.

Through the enterprising activities of the Providence *Journal* the Government was furnished with evidence

which led to the arrest of Victoriana Huerta, erstwhile President of Mexico. After his departure from Mexico in 1914, Huerta went to Spain but later came to the United States and located on Long Island. In June, 1915, he started on what he said was a visit to the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco. When he left the train near El Paso, Texas, he was arrested by the American authorities and charged with conspiracy to foment a revolution against a friendly country, Mexico. Huerta's death shortly after removed him from the scene. The *Journal* then published a mass of evidence gathered by its agents which showed that Huerta was the tool of Germany and was being used to foment trouble in Mexico in the hope of diverting public attention in the United States from the European war to more pressing problems at home.

Protest was made by the British Ambassador that German agents had sent a number of vessels laden with coal and supplies for German cruisers in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. As a result five men connected with the Hamburg American Steamship Company were indicted for obtaining false clearances of vessels from United States ports. The German Ambassador asserted that it was not a violation of international law or of the statutes of the United States to send vessels from neutral ports to supply war ships on the high seas or in other neutral ports. This contention was upheld by the court but the men were convicted for defrauding the goverment by obtaining false clearance papers.

SOME FURTHER DOCUMENTS COME TO LIGHT.

The confessions of Major von der Goltz disclosed a conspiracy to destroy the Welland Canal. After his activities in the United States von der Goltz went to England where he was arrested as a spy. To escape prosecution he made a full confession. His testimony led to the indictment of the former German military attache, Franz von Papen; of Wolf von Igel, von Papen's secretary, and of Captain Hans Tauscher, American agent of the Krupp corporation. Von Igel was arrested in the New York office formerly occupied by von Papen and a mass of papers was seized by the authorities. Von Igel claimed diplomatic immunity and was supported in his contention by Ambassador von Bernstoff who demanded that the seized documents should be returned. Captain Tauscher was tried but the jury failed to convict. Another German official to fall into the clutches of the law was Franz Bopp, the consul-general at San Francisco, who, with several others, was charged with conspiracy to restrain the foreign commerce of the United States in munitions of war and to organize an expedition to destroy British property in Canada, and was later convicted.

Dr. Walter Scheele, head of a chemical company, and eight Germans connected with the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg American lines were indicted for manufacturing bombs to be placed on munition vessels. One of these men, Captain Charles von Kleist, confessed that more than 200 such bombs had been made, and that the funds had been supplied by von Papen, Boy-Ed and von Rintelen, a German agent imprisoned in the Tower of London.

THE QUESTION OF UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION ARISES.

One result of the intrigues of foreign born citizens in the United States was to direct attention to the policy of the country toward immigration. Many Americans had been seriously disturbed at the demonstrations of disloyalty and serious doubts were expressed as to the effectiveness with which the foreign born had been incorporated into the American body politic. As a result demands were made in the public press for the modification of the traditional policy of the United States towards immigration. In 1913, President Taft and in 1915, President Wilson vetoed bills establishing a literacy test for immigrants on the ground that they were tests not of selection but of restriction and that the bills contemplated a reversal of a traditional American policy.

Finally, in February, 1917, Congress passed a similar restrictive measure over the President's veto.

The European conflagration was certain to call forth in America a discussion of the country's policy toward military preparedness. It was obvious that the American military establishment in 1914 was hopelessly inadequate for war with any first class power. Indeed the recent experience in Mexico had shown that it was not prepared for even a minor national crisis. At the outbreak of the European War the regular army of the United States consisted of 85,965 enlisted men and 4,823 officers. In addition there was the organized militia of the different states amounting to 128,000. This latter was, however, in most of the states, far from being in first class condition, either from the standpoint of training or of military equipment.

THE POLICY OF ISOLATION GENERALLY ACCEPTED.

There still existed throughout the country a strong popular feeling that our political and geographical isolation would always preserve the nation from foreign attack, and that we had little interest in foreign quarrels. So long as adequate provision was made for the navy, there seemed to be little need of a large army. That the country would ever be called upon to send a large military force to foreign countries was an idea which few had ever thought possible before 1914.

In his message to Congress on December 8, 1914, President Wilson clearly stated this traditional feeling of the country concerning military preparedness as follows:—"It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation of men trained to arms. Of course we are not ready to do that, and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that it is suggested that we be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that and shall find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in times of peace. . .From the first we have had a clear and settled policy with regard to military establishments. We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army. If asked, are you ready to defend yourselves? We reply, most assuredly, to the utmost; and yet we shall not turn America into a military camp. We will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves. . . .We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms."

ADVOCATES OF PREPAREDNESS INCREASE IN NUMBERS.

But there were many persons who saw a real national danger in the lack of military preparedness. Ex-President Roosevelt with characteristic energy urged the need of action in this matter. The National Security League and the Navy League were organized by persons who advocated measures for strengthening the army and navy. The crisis with Germany arising out of the submarine campaign greatly strengthened the movement. Advocates of preparedness pointed out that our protests against the violation of neutral rights were futile so long as we were unable to back up our protests with adequate military force. In a speech delivered at New York, November 4, 1915, President Wilson frankly stated that his views on the subject of preparedness had undergone a marked change and he pledged the administration to a policy of military preparedness "to vindicate our right to independent and unmolested action by making the force that is in us ready for assertion." In his annual message to Congress in 1915 the President said that the dominant desire of our people was for peace; that we regard war merely as a means of asserting our rights against aggression. At the same

time if we are to fight effectively we must know how modern fighting is done and what to do when the summons comes. He therefore proposed to lay before Congress plans for a more adequate national defense. These plans contemplated increasing the regular army from 108,013 to 141,843 officers and men to be supplemented by "a force of 400,000 disciplined citizens raised in increments of 133,000 a year throughout a period of three years." This volunteer force was to be trained for three years. For the navy, which the President characterized as "our first line of defense," the Administration proposed the building within five years of ten battleships, six battle cruisers, ten scout cruisers, fifty destroyers, fifteen fleet submarines, eighty-five coast submarines, four gunboats, one hospital, two ammunition, two fuel oil ships, and one repair ship. The personnel of the navy should be increased by 11,500.

VARIOUS PLANS TO INCREASE THE ARMY.

In Congress various opinions were expressed as to method of carrying into effect the President's proposals for increasing the military establishment. One plan supported by the Secretary of War, Mr. Lindley M. Garrison, and General Scott, the Chief of Staff of the army, advocated the creation of a continental army entirely under the control of the Federal Government. A second plan supported by Mr. Hay, Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, proposed the utilization of the National Guard of the various states as the basis of the new army, by placing the Guard under federal control. Mr. Garrison was unwilling to agree to this suggestion and asked the President to support his plan for a continental army. The President replied that he did not desire to commit himself irrevocably to any one proposal but was prepared to accept any plan which would accomplish the end in view. Under these circumstances Mr. Garrison felt that he could not remain in the Cabinet and he tendered his resignation to the President. In his place Mr. Newton D. Baker was appointed Secretary of War. Congress finally agreed upon a military bill providing for a regular army of 186,000; a federalized National Guard of 425,000; an officers' reserve corps for the regular army; an enlisted reserve corps for the engineer, signal and quartermaster corps, medical and ordinance departments; and reserve officers' training corps at schools, colleges and universities.

Coincident with this movement for military preparedness, there was widespread feeling that the United States should not only use its influence to bring to an end the terrible struggle in Europe but also at the same time to discover and present to the world some means of preventing the recurrence of such a catastrophe. Many plans were suggested, and every one, no matter how chimerical, found supporters.

THE "PEACE SHIP" AND ITS VARIED PASSENGERS.

Of the various pacifist schemes the one to attract the greatest attention was that undertaken by Henry Ford. In the fall of 1915 he announced his intention of taking a party of American peace advocates to Europe to discover some means of ending the war, "to get the soldiers out of the trenches before Christmas." An Atlantic liner was chartered to carry 150 men and women who constituted the party to Europe. They represented many varieties of opinion, some of them irreconcilable. The expedition had no official sanction from the government and the European belligerents showed no inclination to welcome the adventure. The party arrived in Norway December 18, 1915. What slight possibilities the movement had of accomplishing anything were destroyed by internal dissensions, and after a short stay at Copenhagen and The Hague, the pilgrims returned to the United States, and the war went on more vigorously than ever.

OTHER SCHEMES TO BRING ABOUT FUTURE PEACE.

Much more significant were the organized efforts directed toward finding some means of preventing future wars. The movement for international peace

was, of course, not new. During the latter part of the nineteenth century noteworthy progress had been made in this direction, as evidenced by the creation of the Hague Tribunal and the signing of a large number of arbitration treaties. But these instrumentalities had proved insufficient to prevent the great catastrophe in Europe. Advocates of peace therefore began to search for more effective safeguards. Various organizations came forward with different programs. Of these the one to attract greatest attention was presented by the League to Enforce Peace.

The program of the League provided, (1) that justiciable questions arising between nations, which are not settled by negotiation, should be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, (2) other questions should be submitted to a council of conciliation for "hearing, consideration and recommendation," (3) that the signatory powers should use their economic and military forces against any one of their number going to war without submitting the matter in dispute to arbitration, (4) that periodic conferences should be held to formulate rules of international law. The new idea which this plan proposed was the creation of an international force which would command respect for international agreements.

PRESIDENT WILSON ADVOCATES A LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

President Wilson evidenced a lively interest in this new movement and in a memorable speech on May 27, 1916, he declared that "the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations" formed to preserve certain fundamental objects. These objects were (1) that every people shall have the right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live, (2) that small states shall enjoy the same rights as large states, (3) that the world shall be free from disturbance of its peace caused by aggression and disregard of popular rights. In conclusion he advocated "a universal association of nations to maintain the inviolate security of the high way of the seas for the common and unhindered use of the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world,—a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence."

This declaration aroused considerable adverse criticism throughout the country by those who felt that such a program would entail an abandonment of America's traditional policy of isolation from European affairs. To his critics the President said "I shall never myself consent to an entangling alliance, but I would gladly assent to a disentangling alliance, an alliance which would disentangle the people of the world from those combinations in which they seek their own separate and private interests, and unite with the people of the world to preserve the peace of the world upon a basis of common right and justice."

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1916 APPROACHES.

These views of the President gave a striking illustration of the remarkable change which had taken place in American political thought after two years of the European war. The expression of such opinions on the eve of a presidential election, in which he was certain to be the nominee of the Democratic party, showed the confidence of the President in the desire of the American people for a wider participation in the affairs of the world.

The presidential election of 1916 was anticipated with lively interest, in Europe as well as in America, for it gave the first real opportunity to test the public opinion of the country on the conduct of our foreign relations by the Democratic party. That Mr. Wilson would be renominated was a foregone conclusion. The nomination of Mr. Hughes by the Republicans was received with general approval. The Republican platform affirmed that the Administration had failed to protect the fundamental rights of American citizens and by its "phrase-making and shifty expedients" had "destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us

in our own eyes." It advocated military preparedness without being specific. It called for "a strict and honest neutrality in the European War." The Democratic platform called for the protection of "the sacred rights of American citizenship" both at home and abroad; it condemned the efforts of every organization "that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power"; it advocated an army and navy "fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety, and of the protection of the nation's rights"; it stated the belief that "the time had come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association" to preserve the peace of the world.

THE CANDIDATES BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

In the campaign which followed Mr. Hughes devoted much attention to criticising the Administration for its Mexican policy and for its handling of the European situation, but he failed to give any clear statement as to how he would have acted differently under the circumstances. Much interest was manifested as to how the large German American vote would be cast. It was felt that President Wilson had alienated a large part of this vote by his policy toward the submarine campaign and the shipment of munitions to the Allies. Mr. Wilson won approval for a sharp rebuke which he administered to an anti-British agitator named Jeremiah O'Leary who wrote an offensive letter to the President predicting his defeat. In his reply the President said: "I would feel deeply mortified to have you or anybody like you vote for me. Since you have access to many disloyal Americans and I have not, I will ask you to convey this message to them." It was not until a week before the election that Mr. Hughes was willing to state frankly his attitude on the embargo question and on the right of Americans to travel on belligerent ships. This hesitancy gave some people the impression that the Republican candidate was trying to conciliate the German vote.

The results of the election gave no conclusive evidence of the attitude of the country on the great problems confronting it. Mr. Wilson was re-elected by 277 electoral votes to 254 for Mr. Hughes. It was the closest presidential contest since 1876. Broadly speaking the South and the Far West supported Wilson while the East and the Middle West supported Hughes. Though unauthorized, the slogan, "He kept us out of the war" undoubtedly won votes for Mr. Wilson in the West. Of the seven states containing the largest German-American population Mr. Wilson carried three and Mr. Hughes four. It is apparent that the issues which were decisive in the election were domestic and not foreign issues.

THE PROVINCIAL ISOLATION OF THE UNITED STATES IS SHOCKED.

For more than two years the people of the United States had watched the great European drama with absorbing interest. In those two years American public opinion had undergone a slow but fundamental transformation. In 1914 the United States was still a provincial nation. The people of this country, as a whole, knew little and cared less about the great problems of world politics. To the majority of Americans the European war was only another one of the many struggles for European leadership.

Those critics who condemn the Administration for not breaking with Germany in May 1915, after the sinking of the Lusitania, do not realize how deep-seated was this American provincialism. Slowly, however, Americans began to see the great struggle in a new light. People began to realize that American interests were vitally bound up with the interests of the rest of the world. Submarine ruthlessness and German crimes in Belgium alienated such sympathy as there was for Germany among Americans of the old stock. Instinctively the American people came to feel that the success of the Allies meant the preservation of American ideals. It had taken two years of experience and education to prepare America for the part she was destined to play in the world drama.

NELSON P. MEAD.

OBSTACLES TO IMPEDE THE PROGRESS OF THE ENEMY

Many years ago the French called arrangements like these, intended to block up a road or an opening, "chevaux-de-frise" or Friesland horses. In this war, like so many other half-forgotten instruments, they were revived and thousands were constructed and used, though barbed wire took the place of iron spikes set in a beam.

FRENCH TRENCH DEFENSES IN RESERVE AT VERDUN

In different places barbed wire entanglements in place before trenches have been shown, Here is a French reserve station behind Verdun. Stakes have been cut and sharpened and lengths of barbed wire fastened a number of them together, making a section of fence. The section is then rolled up for transfer to the front, where it will be unrolled and the stakes driven into the ground before the trenches, usually at night. French Official

French Quick-Firer Approaching Verdun

Chapter XXVIII

They Shall Not Pass; The Story of Verdun I

THE STORY OF ONE OF THE GREATEST BATTLES IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

THE word Verdun has passed into world currency, and posterity will rank its soldiers with those that fought at Thermopylæ, at Châlons and at Tours. The story survives of a Russian soldier who encountered French troops in Siberia but was unable to communicate with his western allies. He solved the difficulty in characteristic fashion: "Verdun!", he said, saluting, and immediately the gap was bridged.

Verdun one of the greatest battles of the world.

Psychologically, the battle was a revelation of hitherto unsuspected endurance in the make-up of the French. "*Ils ne passeront pas!*" repeated the *poilu*, doggedly confident through all the horror and misery that prevailed at Verdun, and only changing with the fortunes of battle into the quiet but still more determined "*On les aura!*" Comparisons are always invidious, but it is indisputable that this struggle witnessed one of the most signal triumphs of spirit over material things that the world has ever known. That so much beauty of courage, of suffering, of bearing, and of hoping could have flowered and survived amidst the hideous inferno of bombardment and torturing thirst, "makes one to think" as the suggestive French idiom would say. Militarily also, the battle is extraordinary for the mass of metal used on both sides, the number of troops employed, and the dramatic change in fortune on the Douaumont Plateau,—no less sudden indeed, than the Battle of the Marne.

General Falkenhayn strives for a decision.

In 1915 German arms had sought success and gained it—against the Russians and in the Balkans. But decision was lacking, and that only could be attained in the west, and in the west it was sought by the two general staffs. General von Falkenhayn in his book "The German General Staff and its Decisions," published after the war, says: "The strain on the French has almost reached a breaking point. If we succeed in opening the eyes of her people to the fact that in a military sense they have nothing more to hope for, that breaking point would be reached and England's best sword knocked out of her hand. To achieve that object, the uncertain method of a mass break—though in any case beyond our means, is unnecessary. We can probably do enough for our purposes with limited resources. Within our reach, behind the French sector of the Western Front, there are objectives, for the retention of which the French General Staff would be compelled to throw in every

man they have. If they do so, the forces of France will bleed to death—as there can be no question of a voluntary withdrawal—whether we reach our goal or not. If they do not do so, and we reach our objectives, the moral effect on France will be enormous. For an operation limited to a narrow front, Germany will not be compelled to spend herself so freely that all other fronts are practically drained.

"The French lines at that point are barely 20 kilometres distant from German railway communications. Verdun is, therefore, the most powerful *point d'appui* for an attempt, with a relatively small expenditure of effort, to make the whole French front in France and Belgium intolerable. The removal of the danger as a secondary aim would be so valuable on military grounds, that, compared with it, the so-to-speak 'incidental' political victory of the 'purification' of Alsace by an attack on Belfort, is a small matter."

THE ATTEMPT TO WOUND FRANCE MORTALLY.

The German command, then, was to attack at Verdun, while the Austro-Hungarian command was to invade Italy from the Tyrol. Verdun was selected as a spot in the Allied line where it was believed possible to inflict a mortal wound upon France, and furthermore drive Britain into a premature offensive. This at least was Germany's first aim, though as the attack fell short, it became modified in like degree. When she failed in the first few weeks to capture Verdun, and Joffre forbade the beginning of the offensive on the Somme until its appointed time, German aims then were merely to pin the French down on the Meuse so that their assistance in the British drive would be very slight. Thus the two great battles on the western front, during 1916, are closely interwoven—French defense of Verdun providing needful time for the training of the British professional army; the British offensive on the Somme affording necessary relief for the French corps that had been so hardly engaged on the Meuse. Both of these objects were attained.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VERDUN SALIENT.

What were the German grounds for choosing the fortress of Verdun for their point of assault? Strategically, they were sound. Ever since September, 1914, Verdun, with its outworks, had stood as a salient in the German line—as a salient, moreover, which had lost its railway communications—for of the two main railroads, the Lérouville line was cut off at St. Mihiel and the second, through Châlons, was under ceaseless German fire. Only the narrow gauge line connecting Verdun with Bar-le-Duc remained, in addition to road communication. Nevertheless, von Ludendorff in his Memoirs writes that the fortress was considered by the German Staff as a particularly dangerous sally-port, which seriously threatened their rear-communications, a premonition fully justified by the events of the autumn of 1918. If then the defenses on the right bank of the Meuse could have been gained, the enemy's strategic positions on the Western Front, as well as the tactical situation of his troops in the St. Mihiel salient would have been materially improved.

There were other reasons: Verdun was only a short distance from Metz, the centre of great military activity and the source of such supplies. It was dangerously near the valuable deposits of iron ore in Lorraine, which the Germans meant to hold whenever peace might come. The moral factor involved in the capture of the "Eastern Gate of France," the "Key to Paris" was enormous. From a military point of view, the Germans wished to profit by certain failures on the part of the French, who, relying on the nature of the country, had neglected to strengthen the fortified positions to the west of the Meuse, and were known to be holding the fortress with second line troops. Lastly, in the examples of Liège and Namur, the weakness of the fortress before modern artillery had been clearly shown. The French in their defense of Verdun would be holding a position that had grave dangers in the event of a forced retreat;

VERDUN AND SOME OF ITS DEFENSES

This view looks upon Verdun from the direction directly opposite the one below. In the foreground are some of the forts and defenses of the city; in the background the twin towers of the cathedral, and to the left a part of the city destroyed by artillery. Photograph, N. Y. Times

VERDUN THE UNCONQUERABLE

Verdun lies on both sides of the Meuse in a pocket of plain. A famous city since the days of the Romans, it became the seat of a bishop in the Middle Ages. Under Louis XIV it was fortified by Vauban, and at the French Revolution showed itself royalist in sympathy. In 1870 Verdun offered stout resistance to the Prussians and after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine was made, along with Toul and Épinal, one of the eastern bulwarks of France.

for the Meuse in their rear, wide and deep and liable to flood, was impassable save by the Verdun bridges which could be shell-swept from the heights on the east. This same river, too, divided their line in two and made the question of reinforcements at all times, a serious problem.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE VERDUN REGION.

The topography of the country determined the character of the fighting. On both sides of the Meuse, two plateaux stand in relief. That on the west falls towards the river in gentle slopes: from it rise such famous hills as *Le Mort Homme* and Hill 304. The plateau on the east has sharper edges, both to the Meuse, and to its eastern limit—the plain of the Woëvre, over which the hills tower some 300 metres, as cliffs above the sea. Innumerable streams, falling east and west, have cut deep into the clayey soil and broken up the eastern mass, especially, into a tangled mass of little hills and sharp ravines. These "*Côtes de Meuse*" formed the strength of the defense of the Verdun line, for each hill dominated the ravine to the north of it, through which the enemy must advance. The vegetation is sparse on the somewhat sterile soil, yet thick woods clothe the hill-sides and fringe the tops of the ravines. For the most part, the villages cluster on the tops of the *côtes* (as their names Douaumont, Beaumont, Haudromont indicate), and were easily transformed into small fortresses.

It was on this comparatively narrow line of the plateau between Woëvre and Meuse, over the hills, across the ridges, and around the ravines, that the Germans planned to drive down upon the Douaumont plateau, which commanded Verdun. Their right wing was to assault the French wing on the west of the river, and their left wing the forts to the east of the *côtes*, and thus bring about an encircling movement which would drive the French army with its back up against the river. Attacks from the east, from the plain of the Woëvre, were important during the struggle; but the nature of the terrain forbade decision in that quarter. The Battle of Nancy, in 1914, had already demonstrated the steepness of the plateau scarp. Moreover, at the time of year when the German attack began, the surface of the plateau is impassable for large bodies of troops, as its clayey soil retains the winter rains. On the west ran the river; and the Germans perhaps did not take sufficient account of the defensive value of the Meuse to the French. Dominating its continuous curves, are projecting spurs; and from at least three of these, the French could not only control the crossings of the river, but also the German position on the upland beyond.

THE VERDUN OPERATIONS NOT REALLY A SIEGE.

There is a popular misunderstanding of the nature of the Verdun operations, which arises, perhaps, from the use of the term siege, and the ten months' duration of the fighting. Actually, Verdun was never beleaguered, never cut off from the outside world (although some of its forts were, for a while), and the fighting for its possession was as much a battle as that which took place on the Marne or on the Somme. Verdun was an immense intrenched camp, surrounded by an outer ring of detached forts and batteries, situated on both banks of the Meuse. The forts were in commanding positions, from five to ten miles distant from the town, according to the nature of the country; those on the south more distant than those on north and east. They were built in masonry in 1880, rebuilt in concrete in 1885, and again reconstructed in improved material, which the French call *beton armée*, in 1911. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, Verdun was raised to the rank of a first-class fortress and formed part of the fortification of the otherwise open eastern frontier of France. German violation of the neutrality of Belgium in order to avoid it, is testimony to the skill with which it was built. The French line in February, 1916, completely protected the fortress, passing some nine miles to the north and east of it, until it recrossed or touched the Meuse again

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THE SALIENT OF VERDUN, THE SCENE OF GERMANY'S COSTLIEST FAILURE

at St. Mihiel, twenty miles south of Verdun.

THREE DIFFERENT PHASES OF THE BATTLE.

The phases, or periods, of the battle of Verdun, fall into three separate divisions: the first, beginning at the end of February and lasting until April 9, covers the German attacks upon the centre and on both wings,

GENERAL VON FALKENHAYN

When the struggle began von Falkenhayn was Minister for War; he succeeded the younger Moltke as Chief-of-Staff, planning the offensive against Russia (1915) and France (1916).

which in the early days reaped great harvest, but later were brought to a standstill, short of the fort. This period of German attack was followed by a time when the enemy sought to pin the French down upon the Meuse so as to prevent their aiding British preparations upon the Somme, and lasted from April to the middle of July. The third phase ran to December 13, the period of French fixation, when the French, in their turn, were keeping the Germans from reinforcing their armies upon the Somme; and ends with the French successes in October and December, which practically regained all that the Germans had captured in their first onslaught.

Many correspondents, observers, and strategists have attempted to tell the story of Verdun. It is universally agreed that none has succeeded better, either in grasp of all the factors of the situation or in vividness of narrative, than Lord Northcliffe. We are permitted to use his thrilling account which follows.

LORD NORTHCLIFFE'S THRILLING ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE.

The enemy began by massing a surprising force on the Western Front. It was usually reckoned that the Germans maintained on all fronts a field army of about seventy-four and a half army corps, which at full strength number three million men. Yet, while holding the Russians from Riga to the south of the Pripet Marshes, and maintaining a show of force in the Balkans, Germany seems to have succeeded in bringing up nearly two millions and a half of men for her grand spring offensive in the west. Troops and guns were withdrawn in increasing numbers from Russia and Serbia in December, 1915, until there were, it is estimated, a hundred and eighteen divisions on the Franco-British-Belgian front. A large number of 6 in. and 12 in. Austrian howitzers were added to the enormous Krupp batteries. Then a large proportion of new recruits of the 1916 class were removed into Rhineland depôts to serve as drafts for the fifty-nine army corps, and it is thought that nearly all the huge shell output, that had accumulated during the winter, was transported westward.

THE FIRST GERMAN PLAN OF ATTACK NOT A SURPRISE.

All this gigantic work of preparation could not be hidden. But I do not think the Allied Staffs, in spite of their various and wide sources of information, penetrated deeply into the German plan; for the hostile Chief of Staff, General von Falkenhayn, made his dispositions in a very skillful manner. Out of his available total of one hundred and eighteen divisions, he massed his principal striking force of thirty-two divisions against the

British army. Verdun was apparently only a secondary objective, against which fourteen, and later, thirty, divisions were concentrated.

One effect of this massing of German troops against the new and longer British line was that the French commander at Verdun, General Herr, scarcely expected the overwhelming attack made upon him on February 21,

THE GERMAN ADVANTAGE IN THE AIR FOR THE FIRST WEEKS.

It is true that one Zeppelin was brought down by gun fire while trying to bombard the French railway line of communication, and two German aeroplanes were destroyed out of a squadron of fifteen that bombed Révigny. But the triumph over the Zeppelin did not in any way alter the

THE WAR-TORTURED HEIGHTS ABOVE THE MEUSE

In the distance can be seen a shell bursting on the summit of Froide-Terre, a hill surmounted by a fort immediately to the east of the Meuse and opposite to Charny. It was a particularly strong defensive position because the French had guns posted on the high land on the west of the river, which swept the German attack with enfilading fire.

1916. General Herr's Staff knew—though he himself obstinately declined to believe it—that the enemy was preparing a formidable assault in the woods north of the old French frontier fort. But though the German airmen were very active throughout January and February, a good deal could be seen by the French aerial observers of the vast work going on amid the misty tracks of woodland. Lieutenant Immelmann, and other crack Fokker pilots, joined the Crown Prince's army, and for some weeks our allies at Verdun almost lost the command of the air above their lines.

effective situation. Our allies were at a very serious disadvantage in regard to aircraft during the critical periods of the German preparations and the enemy's main attacks. It was not until the middle of March that the French recovered fully, at Verdun, the power of reconnoitring the enemy's positions and bombing his distant lines of communication.

The French Staff reckoned that Verdun would be attacked when the ground had dried somewhat in the March winds. It was thought that the first enemy movement would take place against the British front in some

of the sectors in which there were chalk undulations, through which the rains of winter quickly drained. The Germans skillfully encouraged this idea by making an apparent preliminary attack at Lihons, with rolling gas-clouds and successive waves of infantry. During this feint, the veritable offensive movement softly began on Saturday, February 19, 1916, when the enormous masses of hostile artillery west, east, and north of the Verdun salient started registering on the French positions. Only in small numbers did the German guns fire, in order not to alarm their opponents. But even this trial bombardment was a terrible display of power, calling forth all the energies of the outnumbered French gunners to maintain the artillery duels that continued day and night until Monday morning, February 21st.

THE VERDUN REGION SOMEWHAT LIKE SCOTLAND.

Looking at the country from the observation point east of Verdun, one can see why it was chosen by the German Staff for a grand surprise attack. As I stood, with the flooded Meuse and its high western banks behind me, and before me the famous plateau crowned by the ruins of Douaumont Fort, I was reminded of Scotland. Perth on the Tay, amid its fir-wooded heights, is rather like Verdun in the basin of the Meuse. It was the evergreen fir-woods that attracted the German Staff, as splendid cover for their vast artillery preparations. As their aircraft at last almost dominated the French aeroplanes, they completed their concentration of guns by an arrogantly daring return to old-fashioned methods. Instead of digging any more gun-pits, they placed hundreds of pieces of artillery side by side above ground, confident that the French artillery would be overwhelmed before it could do any damage. A French airman, sent to count the batteries in the small wood of Gremilly, gave up his task in despair, saying there were more guns than trees.

The method of handling these great parks of artillery was a development of the phalanx tactics used by von Mackensen in breaking the Russian lines at Gorlice; and according to a rumor, von Mackensen was at Verdun, with his chief, General von Falkenhayn, superintending the disposition of guns and men. The commander nominally in charge, however, was Field-Marshal von Haeseler, a tall, thin man of eighty, of the type of von der Goltz—excellent at drawing up schemes on paper, and accounted, before the test of war, the best military leader in Germany. He had, therefore, been placed in command of the Crown Prince's army, so that by his genius he might win personal glory for the Hohenzollern dynasty. In any case, it is clear that von Haeseler either adopted and developed von Mackensen's new system of attack, or that von Mackensen in person directed the movement, with von Haeseler in nominal command, in order to mislead the French Staff as to the way in which the movement was likely to develop. Certainly, General Herr did not anticipate the character or the tremendous violence of the assault that opened at dawn on February 21, 1916.

THE TERRIFIC FORCE OF THE GERMAN ARTILLERY.

For two days the German heavy howitzers had been battering at the twenty-five miles of defensive earthworks round Verdun, in order to make so large a gap that the hostile long range guns of defense behind the third line could not close the rent by means of curtain fire. General Herr, and his Staff, had only two army corps to hold back the seven army corps that the Germans first brought forward; but the high, broken, difficult ground about Verdun favored the defending forces. Moreover, the French engineers had worked in an astonishing fashion to perfect the natural difficulties of the terrain. In the low ground, such as that round the two Ornes heights, held by the Germans, the French had tunnels running to a depth at which no shell could penetrate. In the three important woodlands between Ornes and the Meuse—Haumont Wood, Caures Wood, and Herbebois Wood—there

was all the intensive system of protection that had been developed in the Argonne fighting.

General Sarrail had only extended his lines to the woodlands in the plain between the Meuse and Ornes in the spring of 1915, snatching the ground from the enemy bit by bit, when the German forces at Verdun were weakened through sending reinforcements to the Champagne and Lille fields of conflict. General Sarrail, however, seems to have extended his lines into the low-lying northern woodlands with considerable reluctance. He liked hill positions himself, and there was a dispute between him and the High Command regarding his manner of fortifying the newly-won ground. As a result he was sent to Saloniki, and the defense of Verdun in the new style was given to a new man, little known to the public—General Herr.

FIELD-MARSHAL VON HAESELER

Field-Marshal von Haeseler, the veteran commander who accompanied the Crown Prince's forces against Verdun, had a brilliant reputation before the war, and for this reason, although eighty years of age, was appointed to bring glory to the house of Hohenzollern.

THE FIRST LINE TRENCHES ARE OBLITERATED.

But the phalanx tactics of the von Mackensen school were calculated to overwhelm any system of defensive works, new or old, in forests or on hillsides. The German attack was irresistible, and it was only the large space of country available for retreat between the Meuse and Ornes line and the Douaumont Plateau that saved Verdun from rapid capture.

The enemy seems to have maintained a bombardment all round General Herr's lines on February 21, 1916, but this general battering was done with a thousand pieces of field-artillery. The grand masses of heavy howitzers were used in a different way. At a quarter past seven in the morning they concentrated on the small sector of advanced intrenchments near Brabant and the Meuse; twelve-inch shells fell with terrible precision every few yards. The trenches were obliterated. In each small sector of the six-mile northward bulge of the Verdun salient, the work of destruction was done with surprising quickness. After the line from Brabant to Haumont was smashed, the main fire power was directed against the other end of the bow at Herbebois, Ornes, and Mau-court. Then when both ends of the bow were severely hammered, the central point of the Verdun salient, Caures Wood, was smothered in shells of all sizes. In this manner, almost the whole enormous force of heavy artillery was centred upon mile after mile of the French front. When the great guns lifted over the lines of craters, the lighter field-artillery, placed row

after row in front of the wreckage, maintained an unending fire curtain over the communicating saps and support intrenchments. (See maps on pages 437 and 452.)

THE GERMANS ATTEMPT TO ECONOMIZE IN MEN.

Then came the second surprising feature in the new German system of attack. No waves of storming infantry swept into the shattered works. Only strong patrols at first came forward, to discover if it were safe for the main body of troops to advance and reorganize the French line so as to allow the artillery to move onward. The German commanders thought it would be possible to do all the fighting with long-range artillery, leaving the infantry to act as squatters to the great guns, and occupy and rebuild line after line of the French defenses without any serious hand-to-hand struggles. All they had to do was to protect the gunners from surprise attack, while the guns made an easy path for them, and also beat back any counter-attack in force.

But, ingenious as was this scheme for saving the man-power of Germany by an unparalleled expenditure of shell, it required for full success the co-operation of the French troops. But the French did not co-operate. Their High Command had continually improved their system of trench defense in accordance with the experiences of their own hurricane bombardments in Champagne and the Carency sector. General de Castelnau, the acting Commander-in-Chief on the French front, was, indeed, the inventor of hurricane fire tactics, which he had used for the first time in February, 1915, in Champagne. When General Joffre took over the conduct of all French operations, leaving to General de Castelnau the immediate control of the front in France, the victor of the Battle of Nancy weakened his advance lines and then his support lines, until his troops actually engaged in fighting were very little more than a thin covering body, such as is thrown out towards the frontier while the main forces connect well behind.

THE FRENCH WITHDRAW THE GREATER PART OF THEIR MEN.

The tactical effect of this extraordinary measure was to leave remarkably few French troops exposed to the appalling tempest of German and Austrian shells. The fire-trench was almost empty, and in many cases the real defenders of the French line were men with machine-guns, hidden at some distance from the positions at which the German gunners aimed. The batteries of light guns, which the French handled with the flexibility and continuity of fire of maxims, were also concealed in widely-scattered positions. The main damage caused by the first intense bombardment was the destruction of all the telephone wires along the French front. Communications could only be slowly re-established by messengers, so that many parties of men had to fight on their own initiative, with little or no combination of effort with their comrades.

Yet, desperate as were their circumstances, they broke down the German plan for capturing trenches without an infantry attack. They caught the patrols and annihilated them, and then swept back the disillusioned and reluctant main bodies of German troops. The small French garrison of every centre of resistance, fought with cool, deadly courage and often to the death.

THE CAURES WOOD IS SOLD AT A HIGH PRICE.

The organization of the French Machine-gun Corps was a fine factor in the eventual success. One gun fired ten thousand rounds daily for a week, most of the positions selected being spots from which each German infantry advance would be enfiladed and shattered. Then the French "75's" which had been masked during the overwhelming fire of the enemy's howitzers, came unexpectedly into action when the German infantry attacks increased in strength. Near Haumont, for example, eight successive furious attacks were repulsed by three batteries of "75's."

Some of the Haumont guns got through the German fire curtain, and

helped in the defense of the Caures Wood. Here there occurred some memorable exploits. First of all, the wood was lost by the smashing effect of the German heavy shell fire. The position was almost as strong as the famous German Labyrinth near Arras, and, knowing this, the enemy used his 16.8 in. Berthas in addition to the 12 in. Skoda guns. The deep roofs were driven down upon the men sheltering beneath, and the wood had to be abandoned. But the survivors of the garrison held the enemy back, while a lieutenant of engineers with his men laid a large number of mines with electrical firing wires. The German general, after his skirmishers and bombing-parties had been beaten off, went back to the old Prussian method of a mass attack, and launched a division against the wood. By arrangement, the French covering troops fled in apparent panic, and were hotly chased down the trenches and communication saps to the southern outskirts. As the last man left the wood, the lieutenant of engineers who was near Beaumont waiting the signal, pressed a button. Many of the trees rose in the air, and the Germans suffered very badly.

A PART OF THE WOOD TEMPORARILY RECOVERED.

Soon afterwards, Lieutenant-Colonel Driant, with two fine battalions of Chasseurs, recovered by a counter-attack the southern part of Caures Wood. Driant was a magnificent soldier. His heroic end saddened the French people, and yet inspired them with fresh courage. The day after his fine victory, the forces on either side of him were compelled to withdraw, and the Germans closed round him on both sides. Arranging his two battalions in five columns, he made a splendid fighting retreat between the two German divisions which almost enveloped his force. With only a hundred men he rearguarded the retirement, and was found dead by the Germans on the battlefield. He was buried beside one of his captains close to the wood.

SOLDIERS ON THE WAY TO VERDUN

This picture shows a roadside halt of a "fleet" of motor omnibuses. German guns commanded the principal railway communications, but a special committee had charge of the problem of road transport, and during the first fortnight of the German offensive the traffic handled represented the capacity of fifteen trains a day in each direction. Many of the omnibuses used were taken from the streets of Paris and other cities of France.

In spite of the vast forces employed by the enemy, the Germans achieved but little on the first day of battle, February 21st. They won a footing in the first-line trenches and in

some of the supporting trenches—a thing any army could have done with a large expenditure of shell. The French still held Brabant and Haumont, with Colonel Driant in Caures Wood and the garrisons of Herbebois Wood and Ornes holding their own. But on the morning of February 22, the Germans worked up a ravine between Brabant and Haumont by means of burning liquids spurted from flame-projectors. At the same time the German artillery renewed its smashing, intensive fire, wrecking and flattening out Haumont village and breaking up the French works for a depth of three or four miles. Fortified farms were bombarded south of Haumont Wood and transformed into volcanoes by the huge German shells, and when night fell trench warfare had come to an end, so far as the northern part of the Verdun garrison was concerned.

THE EFFECT OF THE GERMAN ARTILLERY.

All their earthworks had been swept out of existence, and the troops fought and worked in the open in a tragic darkness lighted by the enemy's wonderful star-shells. They had been hammered out of Brabant, on the edge of the Meuse, and their centre had been driven in. On the right, however, the garrison of Herbebois Wood still clung on to part of their original position, under an intermittent hurricane of heavy shell, the intervals of which were filled by infantry attacks. Under the enemy's fire the French troops linked their Herbebois line with Hill 351, digging all night in a rain of death to connect the two positions for a fresh defense against an enfilading attack on Beaumont. When morning broke, the Germans began the attack on this new French line. After a desperate struggle lasting twelve hours, in which the enemy commander continually brought up fresh regiments, the French retired from Herbebois and another wood below it, but still held on to the hill.

All along this side of the salient hand-to-hand fighting went on, from Ornes to Bezonvaux and the advanced position of the Hill of Vaux. Small French garrisons held advanced positions in the plain stretching towards the enemy's base of Étain. There was terrible fighting at Maucourt, where the French had some quick-firing guns posted only five yards apart, and unmasked against German columns charging twenty men abreast in close ranks. The French soldiers themselves sickened at the slaughter they wrought. From Ornes to Vaux the ground was covered with dead or maimed men. The French gunners suffered more in proportion than their infantry, especially in the centre and the left wing, where the guns had to fight a continual rearguard action in the open. Though they often caught German columns at short range, they were in turn smitten by the heavy German guns; enemy airmen circling over them and directing the fire.

THE ZOUAVES AND THE AFRICANS HOLD FAST.

Ornes held out until the afternoon of February 24, when the garrison retreated to Bezonvaux, from which a ravine ran up to Douaumont. Covering the country north of Douaumont was a superb set of fighters composed of Zouaves and African sharpshooters. They recaptured part of the wood between Herbebois and Hill 351, and then withstood a prolonged bombardment of terrific intensity. The din and concussion of the heavy shells were appalling; the blood at times poured from the men's ears under the shock of the pressure of air, and yet they stuck to their job. They were pushed out of Beaumont and out of the wood they had recaptured, and they lost Fosses Wood a little way below the Douaumont Plateau, towards which they retired.

Meanwhile, the centre and left of the French salient were hammered back with increasing rapidity. The division close to the Meuse, which had withdrawn from Brabant and Haumont, tried in vain to counter-attack from their second line at Samogneux, Hill 344, and a fortified farm near by. The enemy massed his guns against them across the Meuse,

northward, and north-westward. They could not move out to attack, and by the evening of February 23, their position was untenable. In the night they withdrew from Samogneux towards Pepper Hill (*Côte du Poivre*), which was practically their last dominating position. Pepper Hill was, indeed, the critical position of the entire defense of Verdun. Had the enemy won it, he would have been able to advance along the Meuse and cut off a large part of the French forces in the salient.

THE KAISER AND HIS ADVISERS AT HEADQUARTERS

In the rear, standing, from left to right are: von Bülow, von Mackensen, von Moltke, the Crown Prince, von François, Ludendorff, von Falkenhayn, von Einem, von Beseler, von Bethmann-Hollweg, and von Heeringen. Seated from right to left: von Tirpitz, von Hindenburg, von Haeseler, von Emmich, von Kluck, the Duke of Württemberg, the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and in front, the Kaiser.

THE DEADLY DEFENSE OF PEPPER HILL.

General Herr and his Staff, however, devised a deadly system of defense for Pepper Hill. Across the river at this point the French held several lines of dominating heights, from which they poured a flanking fire into every hostile force advancing from Brabant and Haumont. The nearer the Germans came to Verdun, on the Pepper Hill sector, the more terribly they suffered from the fire across the Meuse. They came within range of rifles, machine-guns, and light field-pieces, as well as heavy howitzers, and while their flanks were thus shattered, their front was hammered from the Pepper Hill position. At Vacherauville, a village just below Pepper Hill, the enemy's advance was definitely checked on February 25. In one ravine near the village, as day was breaking, some French gunners on Pepper Hill espied a grey mass of hostile forces, and shelled it furiously. The Germans did not move. When the light was clear, it was seen that the figures were dead, though many still stood upright. They had been caught the evening before by the guns across the river and slain wholesale, more by shell-blast, apparently, than by shell fragments.

Von Haeseler had made a costly mistake in driving up the Meuse towards Pepper Hill before he cleared the French from Goose Crest (*Côte de l'Oie*), Dead Man Hill (*Mort Homme*) and Charny Ridge across the river. He afterwards tried to remedy his error by bringing his main artillery forces against Goose Crest and Dead Man Hill. But before thus widening the scope of his attack, he tried to preserve the intensive, narrow method of assault in the von Mackensen style,

by thrusting into the centre of the flattened Verdun salient. That is to say, he shifted the point of the phalanx from Pepper Hill to the middle of the Douaumont Plateau. This was the right and plain course, for it removed the attacking masses and their immediate artillery supports from the French flanking fire across the Meuse, and brought them nearly within reach of victory.

THE SNOWSTORMS HINDER THE GERMAN ATTACK.

The great thrust into the French centre also cleared the French out of the eastern edges of the Heights of the Meuse overlooking the Woëvre Plain, for the Zouaves and Moroccans and the former garrisons of Herbebois and Ornes were farthest from Verdun, and most in danger of being cut off. The Zouaves and Moroccans fell back on Douaumont, while the troops from Bezonvaux intrenched by the Douaumont Ravine and the Vaux Ravine.

Then the great snowstorm of February swept over the hilly battlefield and the lowland marshes of the Woëvre. The storm was a disaster to the Germans. It robbed them in the crisis of the struggle of their tremendous power of artillery. Gunners and aerial observers were blinded, and from their point of view matters were not much improved by the mist that followed the snow. Snowdrifts in the valley paths delayed the forward movement of the guns and the bringing up of ammunition and supplies to the firing-line. This was when the original German plan for economy in men went all to pieces. The High Command could not wait for its guns to resume full action. The infantry had to undertake, with diminished artillery support, the terrible work of breaking the French front by hand-to-hand fighting. Verdun, after all, was to be purchased with German blood and not with German shells.

NEW FRENCH DEFENSES ARE HASTILY PREPARED.

The great arc of artillery was still able to work by the map and by observers in the firing-line. It could pound villages, farms, and old forts, in which French troops might be sheltering, but it could not aim at the manœuvring columns and discern all the paths of communication. On the Plateau of Douaumont, some four hundred feet above the Meuse, the garrison of Verdun had the old intrenchments prepared at the outbreak of the war and improved by long labor. Then there were many improvised new defenses—masked batteries of quick-firers, to be unmasked only against mass infantry attacks, hundreds of machine-guns detached from battalion service and acting as a sort of secondary artillery corps. And far behind the flaming, smoking plateau there was a superhuman outburst of activity in France, veiled from enemy air scouts by the falling snow.

General Joffre, General de Castelnau, and their Staffs were now convinced that Verdun was the enemy's first objective. The British army took over all the line where the second grand German offensive was expected, thus liberating important French reinforcements for the battle on the Heights of the Meuse. All lines and roads leading, round-about or direct, towards Verdun, were crowded with men and material. The main French force was driving towards the enemy. The only matter of doubt was whether it would arrive in time to hold Verdun, or whether the supreme contest between French and German would take place on the western side of the Meuse.

THE ORIGINAL GARRISON OF VERDUN HOLDS FAST.

This depended upon the staying power of the small original garrison of Verdun. At heroic sacrifice they had to cover the massing of the great new forces. The situation had become very critical on the afternoon of February 24, when large enemy forces debouched between Louvemont village and the hill in front of the Douaumont Plateau. General Herr flung all his remaining reserves into the fight, with the order that the line between Douaumont and Haudromont was to be held at any cost. Von Haeseler in turn, brought all his available infantry and employed them in

mass attacks of great ferocity and persistence. His aim was to wear down the physical power of endurance of the French. On February 25, the Germans, after a long hand-to-hand wrestle, took all the village of Louvemont at the slope of the plateau, and climbed up the ridge, but were thrown down.

FRENCH FIGHTING IN IMPROVISED DEFENSES

Around Verdun the German heavy artillery pounded the strongest forts into fragments, but in shell-holes, in tunnels dug into the sides and strengthened by sandbags, the French outposts took refuge and held on grimly. The unconquerable tenacity exhibited by the French soldier has never been surpassed in the annals of warfare.

About this time General de Castelnau came to Verdun to see how things were going on. He was not contented with what he saw. The Germans had won a magnificent artillery position on the high land at Beaumont, towards which they were dragging the main group of their heavy guns. The command of the air had been almost lost, and there were not enough pontoon bridges, across the flooded Meuse, to bring up quickly the needed reinforcements. General Herr was relieved of his command, and a very fine engineer, who was also a specialist in handling heavy artillery, General Pétain, was entrusted with the reorganization of the Verdun defenses. Meanwhile, before General Pétain could get to work, there was the immediate task of checking the massed infantry attacks which the enemy was employing until the air cleared and his guns were sited on the new Beaumont position. General de Castelnau could not bring up a large force—time and means were lacking. A picked body of fighters was needed, and the General wired for the Bretons who had won the Battle of Nancy for him—the Bretons of the Twentieth Army Corps, under General Balfourier.

THE KAISER ARRIVES TO SEE THE VICTORY.

They arrived just in time on the plateau on February 26. As was the case at Nancy, the Kaiser was present, watching the development of a "grand German victory." He stood on one of the hills near Ornes, with the Crown Prince by his side, and von Falkenhayn and von Haeseler. For reasons of domestic politics, a purely Prussian force—the Brandenburgers—had been chosen to deal the decisive

stroke. All the previous day and the previous night ordinary German divisions carried out the real work of smashing against the Zouaves and Moroccans, and bringing them to the limit of human endurance.

The Zouaves were perfect. They were in front of Douaumont village, with the Moroccan Division and two infantry regiments; they fought for two days and two nights without eating or sleeping. On February 26, when Douaumont Fort was lost, the Zouaves and their comrades still held the village, and on February 27, without help, they broke the long prepared attack by part of the German Fifteenth Army Corps. They let their foes come within two hundred yards and then put a shrapnel curtain behind them to prevent retreat or reinforcement, and smote them down with "75's", machine-guns, and rifles. The struggle for the village went on to the end of the month, by which time the Germans had made eighteen attacks in force, all of which were broken. When the approaches to Douaumont were covered with dead and wounded, the French made a counter-attack, and won a footing in a redoubt north-west of the village, from which the enemy had been pouring an uncomfortable machine-gun fire.

THE BRETON CORPS SAVES THE DAY.

Stubborn, however, as was the stand made by the Zouaves, they would have perished on the critical day of the Douaumont fight but for the arrival of Balfourier's Bretons. On the afternoon of that day they were in extreme peril of being enveloped on their right. The dismantled fort had been taken by three thousand Brandenburgers during the heavy fog. Still working by the map, the gunners of the long-range German and Austrian artillery massed with remarkable precision against the fortress works, and then poured great shells about it, in a blind profusion which was expensive but effective. After this bombardment had made the trenches of the troops untenable, the Brandenburgers, who had come in the night up the ravine from Bezonvaux and gathered in a wood, charged under cover of the fog, and won a footing on the plateau. Reaching the dismantled fort, that crowns a swell of ground some 1,200 feet above sea-level, the men of the Brandenburg Mark tried to break through the French rearguard. But after withdrawing for a mile and a quarter, the French line remained unbroken, bent away from the fort, but still curving round the village.

Friday night (the 25th), and Saturday morning, were a period of extreme crisis. Open field fighting of the most desperate nature went on continuously. The Germans fought with great bravery, according to the best tradition of Prussian discipline. But the French, French Colonial, and African troops still bore up against the superior numbers of fresh enemy forces. Fighting and working, our allies strove to establish themselves solidly on their new line of defense, while the Germans, with victory apparently well within their reach, tried to break through by overwhelming weight and unfaltering driving power. They took, without breaking, heavier punishment than their own theorists before the war expected modern national armies to stand. But firm as they were, the outnumbered French soldiers were firmer, and as twilight was falling, Balfourier, with the famous Twentieth Army Corps, came into action.

THE BRANDENBURGERS FAIL TO BREAK THROUGH.

The vehemence of attack of the fresh French force was terrific. The men went forward with such speed that the enemy was surprised. The Bretons smashed onwards for more than a mile, joining on to the Zouaves at Douaumont village, and enclosing part of a Brandenburg regiment in the fort. The Germans on the slope of the ravine, however, managed to hold on to a sap running through a coppice and connecting with the fort. The enemy thus retained a valuable observation station on the plateau, from which he could direct his main batteries at Beaumont. But for the rest he was trapped.

The Kaiser, in person, had sustained

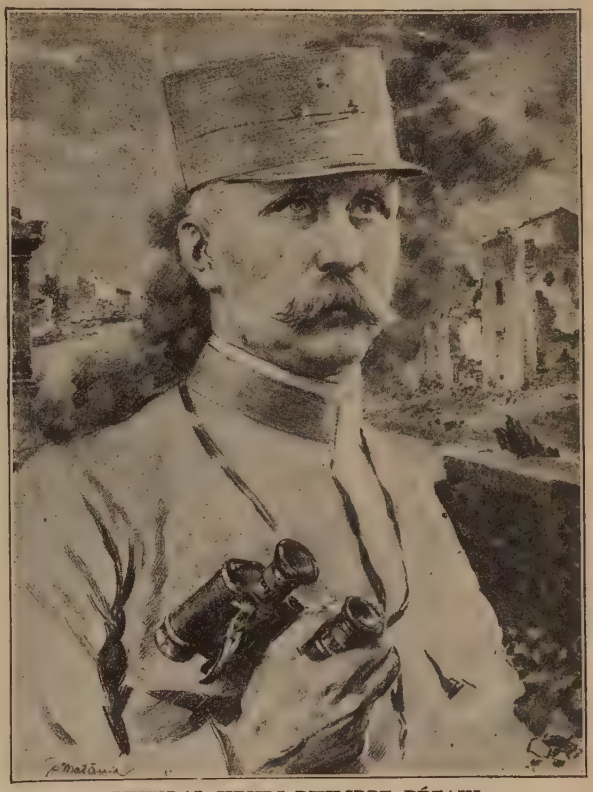
a more disastrous defeat than he had received at Nancy, for at Verdun he could not retire. He had telegraphed to Berlin news of his great victory over the "hereditary enemy"; his officials had filled the German and neutral press with glorious anticipations of the capture of Verdun, of which the principal fort was alleged to have fallen. Rumania, according to Teutonic opinion, was only being restrained from following the example of Italy by the tremendous energy with which the Germans were renewing their drive in France. The Kaiser's telegram concerning the conquest of Douaumont had been sent to Berlin as a transmitting station; its true destination was Bucharest.

THE KAISER ORDERS VERDUN TAKEN AT ANY COST.

I cannot think of any parallel in history to this phase of the situation at Verdun. The War Lord of Germany was entangled in the web of his own prestige. To General de Castelnau and General Joffre the operations at Verdun assumed a new complexion. If they could bring up and organize their forces in time, they had the enemy so fixed that they could bleed white one of his largest armies. They might also sap the strength of movements he was preparing in other directions, by compelling him continually to reinforce at all costs his Verdun army. Only so long as they kept the Crown Prince out of Verdun could they hold the Kaiser trapped in his own boasts, with all his people waiting for the fulfillment of their high hopes, in an intensity of spirit that might be an important moral factor if cheated of success. Verdun had become more than a military objective. For Germany, its political and moral value had become even greater than its strategical importance. It was worth capturing at a cost of life that made the capture equivalent to a defeat. Two hundred thousand German casualties are alleged to have been the Kaiser's estimate of the worth of Verdun.

GENERAL PÉTAIN, A MASTER OF ARTILLERY.

All this, however, greatly aggravated the burden on the mind of the new defender of the French frontier town, General Pétain, who, nevertheless, carried his burden easily. Tall, fair, blue-eyed, of the northern stock of France that has absorbed much Flemish blood, Pétain was radiant with energy of both character and mind. He was only a colonel of the engineers in August, 1914, but while developing his own special branch of knowledge and showing a fine gift of leadership in the handling of infantry, he became also a master-gunner —the new French heavy howitzers



GENERAL HENRI PHILIPPE PÉTAIN

Though only a colonel at the outbreak of war, in April 1917 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the French armies in France. During the three years' interval the most brilliant page in his career was the defense of Verdun.

being his favorite weapon. It was as the master-gunner of France that he was brought by General de Castelnau to Verdun to fight against the two thousand guns of the German phalanx, the largest pieces of which carried farther than the French heavy howitzer immediately available.

General Pétain, however, had a method of getting more out of his howitzers than the manufacturers expected. Even with his medium pieces he could often overpower heavy enemy guns. He had, besides, worked out a method by which he could use these medium pieces with the flexibility of light field-artillery. But until he had constructed his telephone service, recovered the command of the air, and got his guns into the special positions required by his system, he had a desperately hard struggle to maintain his line and win time for completing his preparations.

THE LULL AFTER THE GREAT STORM.

After breaking against the Douaumont Ridge on February 26, the German attack seemed to weaken. Fierce infantry fighting continued at Douamuont village till the end of the month. Then came an ominous period of calm, lasting three days. The enemy was moving his enormous parks of guns closer to Verdun. But the time thus spent by the Germans was like a gift from heaven to General Pétain. He threw bridges over the Meuse; he augmented his gun power on the western heights at Dead Man Hill and Charny Ridge, making his flanking fire from this direction more deadly and far-reaching; he strengthened the Douaumont Plateau defenses, and poured in guns, ammunition, and fresh troops.

General Pétain did not, however, pack his infantry into the restricted Verdun area. Under fire his men were scattered but fresh; the main force being well out of range of the German artillery, and used in short shifts at the front. On the other hand, no German within five miles of the French guns was safe. As the new French commander's shell supply quickened, by his constant improvement of his lines of communication, and as newly-rifled guns arrived regularly to replace those worn by firing, he gradually dominated the German artillery.

THE GERMANS ARE INDUCED TO WASTE SHELLS.

In continual drum-fire bombardments it was not only shell stores that were spent, but the life of the heavy ordnance. The wasting of shell accumulation and the wearing out of the guns cripple the immediate offensive power of a nation in a manner that no reserve of man-power could supply. General Pétain, therefore, had to provoke the hostile artillery into constant action, as well as induce the German infantry to fling itself against the quick-firers and machine-guns. Thus, even if he could have done so at once, it might not have been sound policy to overwhelm the enemy with a large part of the French accumulation of shell. Considerable subtlety in playing upon the mind of the German commander was needed in order to induce him to exhaust all his resources thoroughly, while not doing any grievous damage to France.

General Pétain was always willing to sell at a good price the pieces of ground he did not want. On the first day of his command he withdrew all French posts in the Woëvre Plain and placed them upon the high ground. But afterwards he was not so sternly scientific in his concentrations of force. Instead of evacuating his weak points, he concealed machine-guns around them with observers at the end of a telephone wire, which ran to a central exchange, from which heavy guns by the hundred could be aimed. This gave the Germans something strenuous to achieve, and, going on the principle that the struggle was greater than the prize, they had, after accomplishing their object, something to celebrate in their *communiqués*.

GENERAL PÉTAIN REARRANGES HIS ARTILLERY.

In the first days of March they resumed their bombardment and infantry attacks upon the Douaumont Plateau, losing heavily, but not

shifting General Balfourier's corps; but Douaumont had then become a place of secondary importance. General Pétain had not waited for bridging material to transport his big guns across the Meuse. Instead of concentrating round the spot at which the enemy was striking, he ran his new heavy ordnance more quickly up the Argonne Forest to the hills above Verdun, on the opposite

FRENCH REVICTUALING TRANSPORT

Not only did motor transport have to bear all the burden of reinforcements for the Army of Verdun, but also all its supplies, food for men, guns, trench material and repair outfits, hospital and air-service requirements. In spite of the heavy strain put upon them the roads were kept in excellent repair by soldiers engaged unceasingly upon the task. Picture, Henry Ruschin

side of the stream. There, with a range of five miles, he could sweep all the reserve, support, and firing lines of the enemy's forces engaged on the front of three and a half miles between Pepper Hill and Douaumont.

This abruptly changed the situation, as the Germans viewed it. They had to take the hills across the Meuse—Dead Man Hill and Charny Ridge especially—in order to recover fully the power of making mass attacks on the Douaumont Plateau. So the tide of battle shifted—but at the masterly direction of General Pétain. The great batteries at Beaumont swung round to westward to make a flanking bombardment on the French positions across the Meuse, and east of these positions another mass of heavy German artillery near Montfaucon opened a hurricane fire. Then on March 6 infantry assaults began. Forges was taken at great cost, but the enemy could not debouch from the hamlet on to the northern slopes of the Goose Crest. The force that attempted to do so was shattered. But the next day a fresh German division reached part of the crest, and worked down the railway to Regnéville, lying over against Samogneux, with the river between. Again new forces were deployed on March 7, and by another day of hard and good fighting the German commander made a brilliant stroke. He captured Crows' Wood (*Bois des Corbeaux*) and Cumières Wood, from which a decisive advance could be made on Dead Man Hill. If Dead Man Hill fell, General Pétain's power over the enemy's ground across

the Meuse would be seriously reduced, and his more southerly position on Charny Wood would be menaced.

THE FRENCH NEED TIME TO PREPARE.

He at once threw reinforcements towards Dead Man Hill, and by an attack quite as fine as that of Balfourier's corps at Douaumont, the division recovered the greater part of the two woods. All the next day it withstood frontal and flank attacks, with the enemy's guns pounding it from the north, east, and south; the reverse fire coming from German batteries across the river, near Pepper Hill. On March 10, another fresh, large enemy force of some 20,000 infantry worked again through part of Crows' Wood and Cumières Wood, suffering frightful losses and achieving no great result; for all that General Pétain had fought for was time. He had gained more than forty-eight hours in which to organize the works on and round Dead Man Hill in the way he wanted. This important advanced position had now become safe—for the crucial time at least.

The enemy commander also needed time to bring up his guns to cover the ground he had won in the woodlands and by the river. So there was a lull round Dead Man. But on the distant eastern side of the Verdun salient, the German offensive was resumed with extreme violence. The new objective was the Fort of Vaux, southeast of Douaumont Fort, and connecting with it in the old system of defense, before the structures of armored concrete were emptied of guns. The fort on the plateau was approached by a ravine in which lay the village of Vaux. Supported by their heavy artillery in the Woëvre Plain, the Germans attacked round the mouth of the ravine on March 9, and at night some 6,000 Poles got into the village, but were scattered by a bayonet charge. (See map of western section on page 457.)

FALSE REPORTS OF SUCCESS SENT TO GERMANY.

But, to the amazement of General Pétain and his Staff, the Berlin wireless spread the news that the Posen Brigade had stormed not only the hamlet in the hollow but the fort on the plateau. Paris was perturbed, and General Pétain had to send one of his Staff officers to Vaux. He found the garrison in merry mood, with the soldiers off duty playing cards. They had neither won nor lost any battle; the enemy had not come near them. Meanwhile, the German Staff discovered it had made a ridiculous misstatement, and tried to palliate its blunder by ordering the fort to be taken. But General Pétain now knew

Copyright DEFENSES OF VERDUN ON THE EASTERN BANK OF THE MEUSE

From the forests of Spincourt and Gremilly in the north, German hordes fell upon the French first lines in the woods between Haumont and Ornes. In five days they reached the plateau of Douaumont commanding Verdun. In June Vaux fell but between Fleury and Souville the advance was stayed.

that the Vaux sector had become important, and that if he massed an unusual number of guns and men there, and improved his means of bringing up shells, his labor would not be wasted. Thus opened another general butchery of Germans, slaughtered for the sake of Prussian prestige. Vaux Fort had become Verdun in little. It had to be captured to save the reputation of a race of braggarts.

GERMAN EXCUSES FOR INACCURATE REPORTS.

The Germans began to show definite signs of "grogginess." The chief among these signs was their tendency to lies of a gross and childish nature. Their claim to the capture of Vaux Fort was possibly a bad mistake, due to some eager Staff subordinate's misunderstanding. But in the middle of March, when the Vaux attacks

VIEW OF FRENCH FIELD-KITCHENS AROUND VERDUN

Situated in a sheltered spot in the rear of the lines, as the comparatively undamaged trees show, it was far easier to prepare the meals than it was to get the food up to the men, and there were many times during the fighting when hunger and thirst augmented the horrors of war.

But it was not captured just then, though the struggle for it went on for weeks with increasing fury. Even by the middle of March the ground below the fort was heaped with greyish forms, where the dead and dying had rolled down the slopes. In the ravine below, the Germans, by the end of March, won the eastern houses of the villages, but could not for long advance farther. Vaux Fort still remained untaken, and the neighboring Caillette Wood was recovered early in April, thus strengthening both the Douaumont and Vaux positions.

looked like failing, the German Staff claimed the capture of Dead Man Hill. They stormed the Dead Man by conveying the name to a lower ridge of no decisive importance which they had occupied. Challenged on the matter by the French Staff, they tried to evade the charge of falsehood by stating that the words "*Mort Homme*" as lettered on the French map they used, extended to the lower ground. As though the best-informed War Staff in the world did not know every acre of ground near its own frontiers! Most likely it was an attempt to soothe the

German people, whose anxiety in regard to Verdun was turning into angry despondency.

Von Falkenhayn had increased the Crown Prince's army to twenty-five divisions. In April he added five more divisions to the forces around Verdun by weakening the effectives in other sectors and drawing more troops from the Russian front. It was rumored that von Hindenburg was growing restive, and complaining that the wastage at Verdun would tell against the success of the campaign on the Riga-Dvinsk front, which was to open when the Baltic ice melted.

SHELLS ARE USED FASTER THAN THEY ARE MADE.

Great as was the wastage of life, it was in no way immediately decisive. But when the expenditure of shells almost outran the highest speed of production of the German munition factories, and the wear on the guns was more than Krupp and Skoda could make good, there was danger to the enemy in beginning another great offensive likely to overtax his shell-makers and gun-makers. Von Falkenhayn's great concentration against the British army, for example, remained perhaps, only a silent demonstration because of the shell and gun difficulty. There was, of course, ample munition for a most violent and sustained attack, but if after another operation like that at Verdun the British line was unbroken and its artillery power undiminished, it would be difficult for the enemy to turn against re-armed Russia.

The attacks continued on the Heights of the Meuse and especially around Dead Man Hill, to the middle of April. Victorious Verdun was still being blown up in flaming ruin like Rheims and Ypres. Whenever an infantry assault failed, the Germans hurled incendiary shells into the unattainable town. The price at which the Crown Prince was to be allowed to ride by Vauban's citadel was much higher in April than it was in February. General Pétain was a hard bargainer. And he could not be left alone. He had forcibly to be kept in the position he occupied, for if the force against him weakened he might in turn employ his enormous artillery power to blast a path right through the German lines. His position, at the eastern corner of the long German line stretching to the sea, was very menacing. Far from the Battle of Verdun being ended, there were possibilities in it of a decisive development. NORTHCLIFFE.

AN ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN ON A FIXED MOUNT

Camouflaged German Artillery Advancing

Chapter XXIX

The Battle of Verdun II

THE GERMANS NOW STRIVE TO REDUCE THE MAN POWER OF FRANCE

"THE 9th of April," said General Pétain to his men, "is a day of glory for your arms. The fierce assaults of the Crown Prince's soldiers have everywhere been thrown back. Infantry, artillery, sappers and aviators of the Second Army have vied with one another in heroism. Courage, men. *On les aura!*" So in a key of quiet confidence for France, the first phase of the great battle of Verdun had come to an end, and with it all hope of sweeping German victory. After two months of fighting the attack had gained little more than on the first days in February. On the right bank of the Meuse it had reached the last line of the defenses of Verdun, on the left bank it had destroyed the whole of the first line on the Forges, but had failed to capture Hill 304 and le Mort Homme.

Verdun becomes a symbol both to France and to Germany.

Only a brief resting space that lasted until the end of the month, and the second phase of the battle of Verdun—the battle of German "fixation"—began and lasted until mid-July. The enemy had thrown in thirty divisions where they meant to have used eight, and Verdun in future must cost less; must serve to bleed France's strength rather than open the gateway to her capital. Furthermore, the battle had passed out of the realms of strategy into politics, where the High Command was spending German reserves because its reputation was at stake, because having thrown so much upon the venture it could not retire without at least some return. So the press was gagged and deceived, and *communiqués* falsified, and the Fatherland continued to glory in the enterprise, while all the time the Great Headquarters knew that by May the campaign "bore the stamp of the first great battle of attrition, in which the struggle for victory meant feeding a stationary fighting line with a continuous mass of men and materials," in the words of General Ludendorff.

Three phases of the fighting in this second battle.

As before the opening attacks in February, so in April the Germans made feints to deceive French opinion. Hints of new activity in the North Sea, of fresh air-raids over Britain, and of enemy-fostered rebellion in Ireland, seemed to point to the fact that England and not France was about to receive the Teuton onslaught. But in the first week of May fighting broke out fiercely on the left bank of the Meuse and gradually spread east across the river, and the *côtes* to the level Wöevre once more. This later fighting may be divided into three

parts. First of all, the German right wing sought to capture Hill 304 and Mort Homme and drive the French back upon their final defenses. Simultaneously the French counter-attacked on the right bank and regained Douaumont Fort for a brief space. Then the Germans in concentrated attack from Douaumont threw themselves upon the last line of the right bank defenses covering Verdun and won the Fort of Vaux, the work of Thiaumont, and the village of Fleury for a short while, and brought their armies within four miles of the walls of Verdun itself.

The French first line on the left bank ran along the northern edge of the plateau sloping south from Forges river, somewhat in the shape of an S lying upon its side. Its strongest points were the Mort Homme and Hill 304, separated from each other by the little Esnes, a branch of the Forges. Mort Homme in its turn is made up of two hills, Hill 265 on the northwest, and Hill 295 on the southwest. The capture of the lower Hill 265 had been claimed by the Germans as Mort Homme proper. These hills formed the outworks of the main French position lying farther to the south on Charny ridge. In his attempts to break through, the enemy spread the battle line ever towards the west, as he tried first to take Mort Homme by frontal assault, then to turn the position by attacking it from Hill 304, and lastly failing this he endeavored to turn Hill 304 by an attack from the Avocourt wood.

THE GERMAN ATTACK ON HILL 304 IS BEGUN.

On May 3, after three weeks of desultory fighting the artillery began a tremendous bombardment of the French first trenches on Hill 304. For three days and three nights the ridge was swept by a storm of steel and high explosive, and none dared show himself on its expanse. Then the German infantry attacks began and because the artillery had practically obliterated the French front lines, the enemy got a footing on the ridge and endeavored to develop it. His efforts were fruitless and he turned now to attacking Avocourt Wood in an attempt to turn Hill 304 from there.

THE FIERCE GERMAN ATTACK ON DEAD MAN'S HILL.

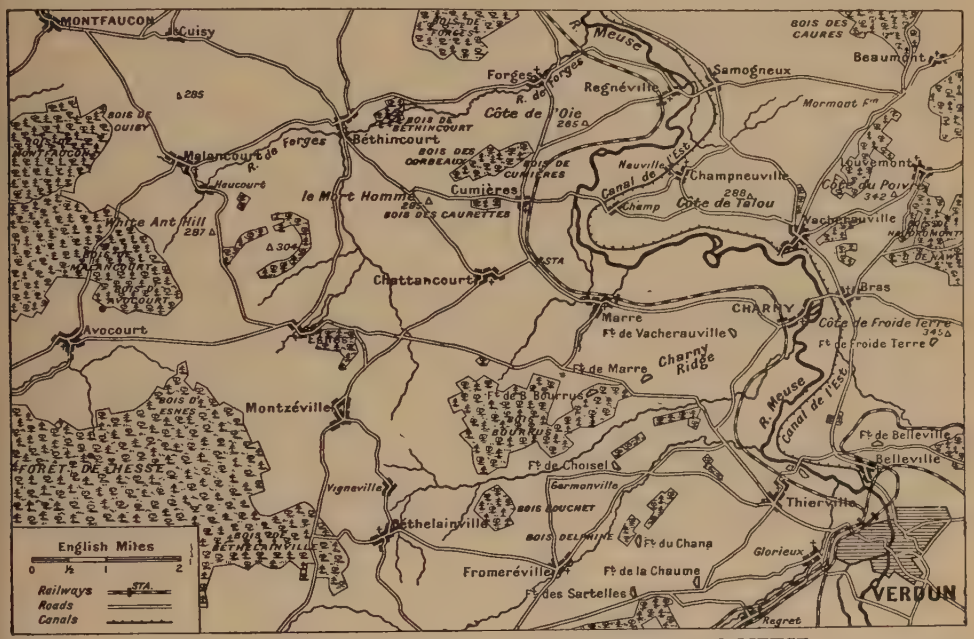
The Germans pounded the French artillery in the wood, May 17, and the battle spread east and all along the line to the Meuse. The thunder of the guns filled the air and the May days were obscured under a thick pall of smoke, so dense that it often rendered aerial reconnaissance impossible. Fiercest and most severe were the attacks on Mort Homme, from northeast and northwest. In the east the attack failed, but in the west it gained possession of some French trenches, so that no longer was the summit dominated by the French guns but swept by the gunners of both sides. Nevertheless, the French defense was taking heavy toll of the enemy whose dead encumbered the ravines and raised the level of the ground several metres. "It is absolutely impossible," wrote a French officer, "to convey what losses the Germans suffer in these attacks. Nothing can give an idea of it. Whole ranks are mowed down and those that follow them suffer the same fate. Imagine if you can what it would be like to rake water. Those gaps filled up again at once. That is enough to show with what disdain of life the German attacks are planned and carried out." Sometimes the enemy used the mounds of dead as shelter before making the next rush.

THE FRENCH PREPARE TO RETAKE FORT DOUAUMONT.

By this time the French command, in order to relieve the pressure on Mort Homme, gave orders for a counter-attack upon the right bank. Fort Douaumont, which had been entered by the Brandenburgers in the dark days of February, was the objective chosen. The Germans had strengthened their hold upon the fort, and held east, west and north of it very strongly. Only on the south could they make no headway, and there their artillery poured a daily flood of curtain fire. Nivelle had now succeeded Pétain in the defense of Verdun, when the latter superseded Langle de Cary

in command of the Central Group of the French armies. Preparations for the retaking of Douaumont were patient and thorough. Since the fort had fallen, its place had been taken by Fort Vaux and working from this base during the months of April and May the French had advanced and captured Caillette Wood and Hardaumont.

The Fifth Division of the Third Corps had been chosen, among picked troops, to deliver the attack on selves for further battles, in which you will have the absolute certainty of your superiority over an enemy whom you have seen so often flee or raise his hands before your bayonets and grenades. You are certain of that now. Any German who gets into a trench of the Fifth Division is dead or captured. Any position methodically attacked by the Fifth Division is a captured position. You march under the wings of Victory."



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THE DEFENSES OF VERDUN TO THE WEST OF THE MEUSE

The first French line ran north of Forges Brook in a salient whose arc rested on Avocourt and Forges. Behind this lay strong positions on Hill 304, le Mort Homme and Cumières. The main line to the south, on Charny ridge between Bois de Bourrus and Meuse, was never reached by the enemy who achieved his farthest advance at Chattancourt. The maps on pages 437 and 452 should also be consulted in this connection.

Douaumont, and in mid-April had been sent to the rear to refit and rest. Before they went their commander, General Mangin, thus addressed them: "You are going to reform your depleted ranks. Many among you will return to your homes and will bear with you to your families the warlike ardor and thirst for vengeance which inspires you. There is no rest for any Frenchman as long as the barbarous enemy treads the hallowed ground of our country; there can be no peace for the world so long as the monster of Prussian militarism has not been laid low. You will therefore prepare your-

THE GERMAN OBSERVATION BALLOONS ARE DESTROYED.

Within a month the Fifth were back, burning for the fray. The German flanking and communication trenches were strongly held. In the French plan of attack, upon the 129th Regiment in the centre devolved the task of capturing the fort itself, the 36th and 74th were to take the positions respectively west and east of the fort. Nor were the men of the Fifth Division deceived as to the kind of fighting that would follow, and all knew that German counter-attacks of the fiercest kind might be expected. At 8 o'clock on the morning

of the 22nd of May a French aeroplane squadron went up and flew above the German sausage-balloons doing observation work. The fortunes of war had given Mangin the use of a new invention, as auspicious preface to his attack upon the fort. Whilst the watchers gazed, dark objects fell from the bombing squadron and in a moment six of the enemy balloons went

WHAT WAS LEFT OF FORT DOUAUMONT

This is ground consecrated to the deathless heroism of the French troops. Douaumont was entered by the Third Brandenburgers February 26, 1916; a brilliant counter-attack led by General Mangin recaptured it for France May 22. Two days later again it fell to the Germans but was finally recaptured by the French, October 24.

up in a puff of smoke and fell flaming to the ground. The new French bomb of high explosive force was made up of a large body which as it fell split up into smaller bombs each composed of minute particles of burning chemical. Soon the German artillery fire began to fall wide of the mark and a French poilu remarked, "We have put a bandage around the Boches' eyes."

DOUAUMONT IS GALLANTLY TAKEN BUT NOT HELD.

At ten minutes to twelve after preliminary bombardment the men of the 129th Regiment leaped forward in open order. At twelve a Bengal light upon the fort showed that in the short space of time the Normans had gone through three lines of intrenchments and gained the southwest angle of the fort. While they were strengthening their hold upon Douaumont, the left and right wings of the attacking force were meeting with fierce resistance. The 36th succeeded in dislodging the Germans from their positions, but on the right the resistance was more formidable as the artillery preparation had been less effective, and the enemy still held communication trenches whence he could serve the French infantry with enfilading fire. The German counter-attack was not long delayed. That night when darkness fell, and the mists were climbing from the Wöevre, heavy bombardment swept down upon the 129th Regiment in the fort. At dawn in hideous crescendo every available piece concentrated upon the ruins, infantry attacks followed, and alternated with bombardment all through one hectic day. Nevertheless, the 129th held fast, and were able to boast that they had not yielded an inch of ground when they in turn were relieved. For two days the fort held; it took two fresh divisions before it was again wrested from the French; and the heroic little episode had only heightened the endurance and stiffened

the morale of the defenders of Verdun, besides losing the Germans some trenches east and west of the position.

THE VIOLENT GERMAN ASSAULTS ON THE TWO HILLS.

As if in concert with the volume of the guns across the Meuse, so now German onslaughts upon Mort Homme and Hill 304 grew in fury, and the French were forced from the summits but not from the slopes. On May 23, debouching from the positions they had gained upon the northern slopes of Mort Homme the Germans strove to push their left wing between the Meuse and the hill into the village of Cumières, while their right wing advancing up the Esnes ravine fell once more upon Hill 304. Foiled time and again by French curtain fire, they nevertheless persisted and amid a smoky pall that shut out the daylight and even obscured the flashes of the guns, they entered what had once been the village and in fierce fighting pushed their way on the 24th to the railway at Chattancourt. It was a desperate stroke aimed at reaching the main left bank defenses of Verdun. Upon the right by using liquid fire their infantry had worked up the Esnes ravine between the two hills. French counter-attacks that same night caused them to evacuate the slopes, whose crater-pocked surface, strewn with their own dead, offered mocking testimony to the futility of the attack. So in Esnes ravine, where there was space among the human débris to manœuvre, and over the ruins of Cumières the tide of battle surged back and forth.

Upon the 28th, the hundredth day of battle, a fierce blow aimed at the civilian morale of bereaved France fell between Mort Homme and Cumières. In automatic alternation artillery and infantry worked, until, under twelve hours' bombardment and the impetus of the assaults of five fresh divisions, the French lines were obliterated. Still the infantry could not advance and take the fruits of victory, for they were still far from the Bourrus-Esnes line and the road to Verdun was firmly held, and so remained until the thundering of guns on the Somme gave warning that German offensive must cease.

THE BATTLE NOW SHIFTS ACROSS THE RIVER.

Again the battle shifted across the river. When Douaumont had fallen, the French had fallen back on Fort Vaux which stood as an outward bastion to the great fort of Souville in the last line of the Verdun defense. M. Henri Bordeaux, the French historian, writes: "In the great squadron of forts which shield Verdun from a distance like a fleet marshalled on the open sea in front of a harbor, Fort Vaux might claim the rank of a cruiser. More modern than Souville and Tavannes, which are caponier forts, not so vast or so fully equipped as Douaumont, whose girdle contains a vast quantity of turrets, cupolas, casemates, barracks and strongholds, it plants its levelled walls more firmly in the soil. Built of masonry about 1880, it was reconstructed in concrete after the invention of the torpedo-shaped shell (1885), then in reinforced concrete, and was not finished till 1911."

In the ravine beneath it and commanded by its guns runs the road to Verdun, and the railway to Fleury. This country with its "soil so well-wooded and so uneven is eminently suited to a war of surprises, of traps, of ambuscades, of bold strokes, of slow and treacherous penetration. It lends itself admirably to the ebb and flow of hand-grenade duels." With Douaumont, Vaux had mounted guard before Verdun. In the early days of the war when the German armies had halted before Verdun the forts had shared the same perils, in the long stagnation that had followed had signaled each other the news of the battle line. Now Vaux stood alone to bar the German way to Souville, Souville before Verdun!

THE BAVARIAN INFANTRY IS MOWN DOWN BEFORE VAUX.

From February 21 onwards Vaux received its daily ration of shells: ten thousand on an average for the district and of all calibres, but chiefly of the heaviest, the 210 mm., the 305 mm.,

and even the 380 mm. The enemy had laid siege to it on March 9 and the following day announced its capture. It was eighty-eight days before that *communiqué* was verified: eighty-eight days of bombardment and assault, of thirst, and suffering and sleeplessness. By the end of May all superstructure had vanished under a tornado of fire, even the wire entanglements were in German fire that it fought on independently, cut off from all communication with the fort, not knowing whether it had fallen, or still stood. Even by night there was no peace, for star-shells lighted up the tortured slopes where trees and birds had once been. The men were tormented by thirst, and thankful when it rained so that they might lay out canvas and drink-

FRENCH SCOUTS NEAR FORT VAUX

A scene among the côtes of the Meuse, where scarred and spectral trees replaced once luxuriant forests. In this fighting both sides utilized the broken timber for parapets and shelters. As the artillery destroyed the trees, matters improved for the airmen who had at first found it impossible to pierce their thick screen.

fragments or buried in shell-holes. The position was entirely isolated. The commander of the fort, Major Raynal, had a distinguished record: twice seriously wounded he had asked for a post where there would be plenty of danger,—and so had been sent to Vaux. The normal regulation number of the garrison was from 250–300 men, but this was added to by companies taking refuge, so that by June it had swelled to nearly 600—a force for which it was impossible to provide water under the German hail of fire.

WATER TO BE HAD ONLY UNDER FIRE.

By June 1 the strangle-hold began to tighten around the fort. One of the redoubts, R1, was besieged from that evening on, and so intense was the ing-mugs. Through uninterrupted bombardment, daily onslaughts, lack of provisions, water and sleep, amid the smell of the corpses and asphyxiating shells, the redoubt lasted on until the night of June 8–9, the day after Vaux itself had fallen.

On June 2, the Germans reached two open breaches in the fort and tried to force their way through. Soon there were two masters in Fort Vaux a German above and the gallant Raynal beneath. By means of carriers and signals news was flashed to the watchers outside. Thus at 3 P.M. on the 3rd the fort issued a bulletin: "The enemy has gained possession of the north-eastern and northwestern transverse galleries. I am pursuing the struggle in the inner passages. A large number

of wounded and fugitives. Officers and men are all doing their duty. We shall fight to the bitter end."

THE LAST MESSAGES FROM THE GALLANT DEFENDERS.

On the 4th, about midday, a poor wounded pigeon dragged itself laboriously up to its resting place. Its dispatch ran, "We are still holding out, but are subjected to a very dangerous gas and smoke attack. It is urgent that we should be extricated; let us have immediate visual signaling communication by way of Souville which does not answer. This is my last pigeon." Two messengers escaped from Vaux the following day and restored communication with the fort which ever through the days that followed signaled more and more urgently for relief and water. The enemy in Vaux was around the fort, above it, inside it. The garrison step by step defended the passage ways, and foot by foot the stairways. Then the Germans attacked with jets of fire and liquid flame, and gases whose heavy fumes filled the echoing vaults. "An unspeakable horror stalked through these dim vaults," writes the author quoted above, "where, in a thick pestilent atmosphere, a sleepless, nerve-racked, thirst-maddened garrison, crowded into a narrow space, refused to abandon the struggle."

SOUVILLE FORT BEFORE VERDUN

The last thrust for Verdun was directed against the line on which stood Souville Fort and Thiaumont village and work, and it reached within half a mile of the fort before it could be stayed. Souville and Tavannes were caponiere forts, less modern and less powerful than Vaux and Douaumont. If they had fallen, only St. Michel and Belleville remained to defend Verdun itself.

The effort to extricate Vaux was not relaxed for a moment but made no progress. On the evening of June 6, Raynal in a message resembling a last will musters the names of his comrades-in-arms, pays a tribute to his men, and offers them to the High Command. After that Vaux is silent to all signaling, silent until at daybreak on the

7th the fort issues its last appeal. The signaling posts make out these words "*Ne nous quittez pas!*" Fort Vaux did not speak again. Nevertheless General Nivelle sent a special message to the contingent entrusted with a final effort for its relief. But Vaux was lost. When Major Raynal was captured he was allowed to retain his sword—for his gallantry moved even the Germans to admiration. From his captors he learned also that he had been promoted to the rank of commander in the Legion of Honor and that the insignia of his rank had been conferred upon his wife in a special review at the Invalides.

THE GERMANS NOW MAKE THE LAST THRUST FOR VERDUN.

The fall of Vaux registers the end of the battle of the wings. While this had raged on left and right banks of the Meuse, the line in the centre had changed very little, save when for a brief space the French had held Fort Douaumont. The last German thrust for Verdun now came. No longer were the enemy attacking from the north, but from the west, endeavoring to advance from Douaumont Plateau downhill towards Verdun and the Meuse valley. De Souville Fort, the village of Fleury and the work of Thiaumont opposed their progress. If these were taken, Tavannes, isolated, must fall; three valley routes were open to the Germans leading down to the river meadows; and the light railway from Vaux, the tunnel of the main Paris-Verdun-Metz railway, and the Metz-Verdun highway, all allow of bringing up a tremendous wave of reinforcements against Fort St. Michel and Belleville, the last and least important of the Verdun forts.

There was not much time, for airmen reported that Allied preparations on the Somme were well-nigh complete, and on the first day of July the Franco-British offensive opened. Before it became dangerous, the enemy began his attack July 11, along the Thiaumont-Vaux front, where if he could capture the little village of Fleury-devant-Douaumont, easy access might be had to the inner defense lines. The attack succeeded and the enemy got within a kilometre of Souville fort before he could be stayed.

GENERAL CHARLES MANGIN

General Mangin was in command at Verdun of the Fifth Division of the Third Corps. In May he recaptured Douaumont from the Germans and later commanded the offensive in October which regained both Vaux and Douaumont.

GENERAL MANGIN NOW TAKES THE OFFENSIVE.

In four days came the French counter-attack. General Charles Mangin, whose Normans had retaken Douaumont, began a series of hammer-strokes along the whole line upon the right bank of the Meuse which completely altered the character of the fighting, for the Germans now were forced to stand upon the defensive on their new and hard-won positions. Fleury and Thiaumont position changed hands several times during August, and at the beginning of

September the Verdun front lapsed into a period of stagnation which lasted for over six weeks and during which the French line ran from Thiaumont to Vaux-Chapitre. The second phase of the Verdun battle was over. In the third the French themselves were to take the offensive.

That offensive was taken in order that the Germans might be driven back from the circle of forts which they had captured, whose proximity gave Verdun too little breathing space. In Douaumont, Vaux, and the heights about them, the Germans had a good position for a final drive against the fortress, whenever they were free to make it. The Somme engagement was now draining off German reserves of men and machines, and before the winter's immobility fell upon the *côtes*, Nivelle determined to make his thrust. General Mangin, who had led the Fifth Division when it had recaptured Douaumont in May, was renowned for the vigor of his attacks, as well as for his knowledge of the Colonial troops gained through arduous service in Africa. Mangin proposed to use only three divisions in his operations against the German eight that were occupying the line of the coveted French objectives.

How the attacking troops were trained.

Preparations were exact and methodical. The men selected were sent to the rear in August and September and practiced in the detail of the terrain of the coming battle. An exact replica of Fort Douaumont itself was used in training the troops, and served good purpose when the day came, for thick fog obliterated all landmarks. The month of October was wet and the attack therefore put off, but airmen were aloft observing and mapping the maze of enemy trenches and his battery sites. Never so far in the history of the war had this been done with greater exactitude. Men and guns came pouring up behind the lines, and in the thick mud, preparation troops dug new support trenches and field stations, and built light railways so that the new heavy French artillery might be adequately munitioned.

FORT ST. MICHEL, BEFORE VERDUN

After the fall of Vaux early in June things looked very dark for Verdun, for of all her circle of forts on the western bank of the Meuse only de Souville and Tavannes still stood outside St. Michel and Belleville, the smallest and least important. Surprisingly firm resistance developed along the Fleury-Thiaumont line, however, and the German line advanced no nearer to the city.

The main objectives were Douaumont and Vaux forts with their commanding heights. For their capture the High Command planned a twofold operation. Upon the French left, General Guyot de Salins with Zouaves, Tirailleurs and famous Moroccan regiments was to advance and capture Haudromont quarries, the ridge to the north of the Ravin de la Dame and Thiaumont Farm and fort. In the centre, General Passaga with the Chasseurs was to advance upon the Caillette wood. On the right General de Lardemelle's division of *fantassins* had before it the Fumin, Chapitre and Chenois woods and the Damloup battery. When this advance had been consolidated, the troops were to push on to their final objectives, Douaumont and Vaux forts and their outflanking eastern and western positions. As events turned out, however, the vehemence of the French attack and its speedy success merged both operations into one.

THE MOROCCANS TAKE DOUAUMONT IN THE FOG.

After three weeks' continuous rains, Saturday, October 21, dawned clear and cold, and at once the French seized the chance. The front to be attacked was only four miles in width, and owing to French aerial superiority in the district, and to the enormous number of great guns concentrated, the artillery preparation was intense and effective. For two whole days the fretted countryside was pounded and distorted as the German lines went up in fragments and smoke. By Tuesday, the 24th, the guns began to vary their range; it was time for the infantry to make use of their curtain. But a damp thick fog was rising from the cold Meuse and the clayey Wöevre, and blanketing the outlines of the *côtes*. If the men had not been so thoroughly trained in the topography of the enemy defenses, the attack could not have proceeded. As it was it was twelve before it started. Success came at once, and the left reached Douaumont fort itself. It was well that the two Moroccan regiments were familiar with its features for its outlines were swathed in mist, so that even the points of the compass were lost. Three hours after the Colonial troops had left their parapets they carried the fort!

Major Nicolay's report thus describes its capture: "The Marsouins, dragging one foot after another from the mud, pushed forward to try their luck. There was no gunfire on their line, no infantry resistance. It was close upon three o'clock. Dorey's detachment had entered the fort without firing a shot, and was installed to the southwest of the quarters and turrets, in excellent condition, neither firing nor being fired upon. We could no longer think of methodically adopting the order of battle which had been originally foreseen. The Boches, without any doubt, were aware of our arrival, and we had to attack them as quickly as possible, before they had recovered from their panic. The men, moving forward under a low-flying aeroplane showing the three colors of France, advanced to the ditch and then climbed up the steep slope of the rampart through the gorge. When they reached the top of this rampart they saw before them the gaping openings of the lower casemates, and in front of them the courtyard in extraordinary upheaval. Before the chaos which had fallen upon the great fort, a symbol of will and of power, the fort which had been so marvelously retaken, the leading sections of the columns came to a halt, and gazed. The battalion leader, who had stayed behind for a moment at the bottom of the moat in order to control the movement, reached the head of the battalion at this moment, and while acknowledging to the full the sanctity of this unforgetable sight gave the order to attack the machine-guns which were beginning to get into action from the casemates. The resistance put up by the Germans was brief, and the grenadiers soon cleared out the last of the garrison from the underground caverns of the fort." The attack in the centre was equally successful, and in fifty-eight minutes won its objectives and held a line east of Fort Douaumont to the slopes north of Fausse Côte Ravine and Vaux pond.

MORE RESISTANCE IS OFFERED AROUND FORT VAUX.

The right division under de Lardemelle had the fiercest of the fighting, for Vaux hill had been carefully defended and the German lines here were very strong. When darkness fell only the front line trenches had been carried, and the battle raged all through the first night and the second day as noted: "As fighting on the French sector of the Somme battlefield died down the position before Verdun became again critical. The French attacked on the 24th, we lost Fort Douaumont and on November 1 were obliged to evacuate Fort Vaux also. The loss was grievous but still more grievous was the totally unexpected decimation of some of our divisions."

DISTANT VIEW OF BELLEVILLE ON THE MEUSE

This picture, taken within the sheltering ring of Verdun's forts, shows Belleville in the distance. The Germans were confident that if they could advance beyond Souville and Tavannes neither the garrison in Belleville nor St. Michel would offer protracted resistance for their retreat would be cut off by the river in the rear.

the French line crept around the fort that Raynal had been forced to surrender. Throughout the 26th, the men in the German second line trenches, Gotha, Siegen, de Saales and Damloup village, defended them fiercely. It was thought wisest to renew the gun preparation once more against the fort. The bombardment continued at intervals for several days and on the second Vaux was entered by the French who found that the garrison had hurriedly evacuated it, and left large military supplies behind. The tide had now certainly turned.

In Ludendorff's story of the war the results of the October fighting are thus

NIVELLE PREPARES TO MAKE A FURTHER ADVANCE.

Douaumont and Vaux had been retaken, but the enemy was still in possession of the high ground around Louvemont and the Côte du Poivre, and was able from these positions to bombard the city and shell its communications. The French Command therefore made preparations throughout November and early December to seize these points. Mangin, as before, was in charge of operations, with four divisions. Results of the October thrust had fully justified the careful training given to the men who captured Douaumont, and it was repeated for

the new troops. As one pushed north from Verdun into the *côtes*, the more broken and tortuous became the outline of the country. The time of year, and the fact that so many tides of battle had churned the hillsides into caverns and cliffs, and ploughed the ravines into the semblance of a lunar desert, made preparations more arduous. The difficulties of bringing up

AN UNDERGROUND DRESSING STATION ON THE FRENCH FRONT

Where possible the surgeons were glad to establish themselves in caverns like this. Here they could work undisturbed by shells which sometimes exploded in tents or buildings which they were using as field hospitals, disturbing or injuring patients and surgeons. Some parts of Eastern France are honeycombed with great caves which occasionally are used as storage rooms for wines. Often these caverns are old quarries.

heavy artillery which the British were experiencing on the Somme were felt in exaggerated degree in the Verdun area.

On December 15, just after the Kaiser's peace proposal, and as if in answer to it, French guns echoed once more across the bare hillsides and through the dreary Meuse valley. The French were striving to push the Germans back from the strong positions on which they themselves had made their strongest stand in February. Infantry attacks began at 10 o'clock in the morning, and were successful beyond measure. By the 18th, the enemy had been swept out of Vacherauville, his strong positions on the Côte du Poivre, Louvement, Hill 378, Bezonvaux and the Hardaumont position between Douaumont and the Wöevre. Thus the French main positions outside the circle of forts were once more in their own hands. More than 11,000 prisoners, 115 guns, 44 mine throwers, 107 machine-guns and great quantities of stores were captured. France's answer to German peace overtures was given through the mouth of the gun and at the point of the bayonet.

LUDENDORFF'S MOURNFUL REVIEW OF THESE OPERATIONS.

Of this fighting Ludendorff says: "On December 14, 15, and 16, there was again very hard fighting round Verdun. The French attacked so as to limit still further, before the end of the year, the German gains of 1916 before this fortress. They achieved their object. The blow they dealt us was particularly heavy. We not only suffered heavy casualties, but also lost

FRENCH INFANTRY AT DOUAUMONT ADVANCING THROUGH COMMUNICATION TRENCHES

THE RUINS OF VERDUN

Verdun had suffered several alarms of bombardment, but these had been at long intervals and in fancied immunity the citizens grew secure. When heavy bombardment began at the end of February, orders for civilians to evacuate the city were published at once, and a weary stream of fugitives wandered west through the by-ways of France, avoiding the main roads where the hordes of soldiers were hastening in the opposite direction.

important positions. The strain during this year had been too great. The endurance of the troops had been weakened by long spells of defense under the powerful enemy artillery fire and their own losses. We were completely exhausted on the Western front."

Some measure of what Verdun meant to France,—and to all the Allies—may be gathered from the following paragraph written by the editor of the *Gaulois* at the end of 1916: "Only a few hours, and 1916 will be finished, the year that we may, that we ought, henceforth, to call 'the year of Verdun.' In spite of the griefs brought by so many disappointments succeeding to so many hopes; in spite of the sufferings of today and the trials of tomorrow, Verdun has thrown over the year which is ending such a light that gloom, anxiety and anguish disappear and leave only in our imagination the two towers of Verdun, the inaccessible and the inviolable. Verdun, where Castelnau and Pétain have done their splendid work, where Nivelle was revealed!"

THE REMAINDER OF THE GROUND IS REGAINED IN 1917.

The real battle of Verdun ended in December, 1916, yet the enemy still held Hill 304, le Mort Homme and French positions south of the Forges stream on the west bank, and the Côte de Talon, and the villages of Samogneux and Champneuville on the east. When Pétain came to the post of Commander-in-Chief in the following summer, he organized a third limited offensive which threw the Germans off the dominating hills and restored to the French the positions they had held in February, 1916. Verdun stood as a symbol of French invincibility.

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VICE-ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., D.S.O.

When in Command of the Battle Cruiser Fleet

The German Cruiser Rostock Lost in the Jutland Battle

Chapter XXX

The British Navy and the Jutland Fight

WEEKS AND MONTHS OF PATROL DUTY AND ONE GREAT ENGAGEMENT

BEFORE reviewing the story of naval warfare 1915–1916, it is well to compare the conflicting claims of the rival maritime powers as to their achievements during the first year of fighting. Count zu Reventlow, pointing out the impossibility of preventing Germany's isolation from the oceans because of the commanding geographical position of the British Isles lying "like a long mole before the North Sea," continues: "The losses of the German Fleet in the first year of the war were very small. It looks to the future with confidence, and even though it has carried on a strategy of reserve and of waiting it has on the other hand, repeatedly shown that it possesses full freedom of action in the North Sea. . . . The German Fleet has coursed about in the North Sea a great number of times, and at times, as it is known, has even advanced to the English coasts in order to bombard English coast defenses and marine stations. The past twelve months have demonstrated that the days of absolute British supremacy are at an end."

What are the duties of a fleet in time of war?

Contrast this claim with that of Mr. Balfour for the same period of time. "The British Navy has," he wrote, "performed the only seven functions which a fleet can perform.

It may drive the enemy's commerce off the sea.

Protect its own commerce.

It may render the enemy's fleet impotent.

It may make the transfer of enemy's troops across the seas impossible, whether for attack or defense.

It may transport its own troops where it will.

It may secure their supplies, and (in fitting circumstances) may assist in their operations."

Which of the two claims do the following facts support?

The work of the British Navy in the war.

The communications of the Grand Alliance were sea communications, stretching from Archangel to Gibraltar, Gibraltar to Suez or the Cape, the Cape to Colombo, Colombo to Melbourne, and Melbourne to Vladivostock. These communications extending round the globe were kept open all the time, and the figures for 1916 in transport of war material alone read eight millions of men, ten million tons of supplies and explosives, over a million sick and wounded, over a million horses and mules, and fifty million gallons of gasoline. In addition to these, the ordinary import and export trade went on. Such trifles as 100,000,000 cwts. of wheat, 7,000,000 tons of iron

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JELLICOE

Admiral Sir John Rushworth Jellicoe was in command of the Grand Fleet until November, 1916, when he became First Sea Lord and was succeeded in his former office by Sir David Beatty.

ore came into the British Isles, and exports to the value of $2,500,000,000 were sent out. The Allies assisted in these vast undertakings. France had, in addition to her Navy, 360 ocean-going vessels, Italy about the same, Russia 174, and Belgium 67. Yet these nations were borrowers, and not lenders. To France, Britain lent 600 ships, to Italy 400. Sir John Jellicoe in the second year of the war remarked, "Without our Merchant Marine the Navy,—and indeed the Nation,—could not exist." To add to the Navy's reconnaissance, over 100 merchant ships were commandeered as auxiliary cruisers.

ONLY ONE GREAT ENGAGEMENT TO RECORD.

The character of this year of naval warfare is, then, one of watching and waiting. There is only one great engagement, and no large offensive movements except the co-operation with the Allied military forces in Belgium and at the Dardanelles; and the Russian fleet's work in conjunction with Grand-Duke Nicholas in the Black Sea; in all these cases the ships were engaged not against ships but against forts and land intrenchments. The warfare, save at Jutland, was waged with the sea's lighter troops. While the German High Sea Fleet lay inactive, protected by a barrier of submarines, mines, sandbanks and land-fortifications, British armed auxiliaries controlled traffic, mine sweepers labored ceaselessly in the North Sea and adjacent waters, gun and patrol boats hunted submarines and the cruiser squadrons kept tireless watch. British battleships in the northern mists like German battleships in the Kiel Canal were condemned to watchful inaction.

The policy which gave to naval fighting such a character was conceived by Admirals von Tirpitz and von Pohl. Behind the fighters they struck at the fighters' supplies. If the Allied shipping could be crippled, Britain must either reduce her military operations or find her population in serious economic distress. For once English and German opinion tallied in a striking particular. Sir Percy Scott early in 1914 had prophesied the advent of the submarine in war and foretold that it would create a panic in merchant shipping, and von Tirpitz and von Pohl believed that the mine and submarine would have this effect and that the British Navy would be slow to discover means of defense and reprisal. They were mistaken; von Tirpitz himself in his Memoirs acknowledges the latter fact: "I am certain there was still a possibility of attaining a tolerable peace if Germany had concentrated all her powers in the submarine war as England did in combating it." Germany, by submarine

attacks in 1916, had not created a panic, but by the end of the year she had destroyed 1000 ships which could not be easily replaced, and by extensive mine-laying at the end of 1915 and in the early months of 1916, was preparing to reduce ships of war also. Details of the submarine campaign will be found in another chapter.

THE DIFFICULTIES RAISED BY THE BRITISH BLOCKADE.

One of the chief weapons used by England to make Germany's attack costly was a blockade of the enemy's territory by sea. This blockade raised difficulties with America, and was strongly criticised in England itself as not being sufficiently effective in preventing foodstuffs passing into Germany through neutral shipping. Britain could not at first easily discriminate between neutral imports intended for neutral use and those which might be passed on to the enemy, until central distributing agencies were arranged in neutral states which governed the destination of all consignments. A special ministry in the Cabinet was created to deal with the question. Lord Robert Cecil was the first to hold it and in his answer to criticism of the scheme, he said: "We could stop up the holes in the dam as they appeared, but it was inevitable that a good deal of water should run through while the repairs were being made." By this blockade then, no ships except submarines or an occasional commerce raider could penetrate into the Atlantic. The whole of the North Sea was declared a military area, and by means of certain regulations such as reducing lights, stopping fishing in certain areas, and closing the East coast ports to trawlers of foreign registry, Sir John Jellicoe was enabled to regulate traffic and check suspicious movement.

Who maintained the blockade? The auxiliary craft. It will be recalled that in May, 1915, a change in the British Admiralty had occurred. Lord Fisher and Mr. Winston Churchill had both resigned and their places had been taken by Sir Henry Jackson and Mr. A. J. Balfour. Lord Fisher had, during his tenure of power, set in progress vast schemes of ship construction of every kind, with new designs and improvements on the old designs, so that the new ministry found itself "upborne upon an ever-swelling tide of deliveries of crafts of all kinds and of a kind best fitted to the purposes of the war," according to Mr. Winston Churchill's speech in the House of Commons, March, 1916. Similar ship-

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR R. H. S. BACON

Vice-Admiral Sir Reginald H. S. Bacon, K. C. B., succeeded Rear-Admiral Hood in command of the Dover Patrol in April, 1915, and in the autumn assisted the land forces in Belgium.

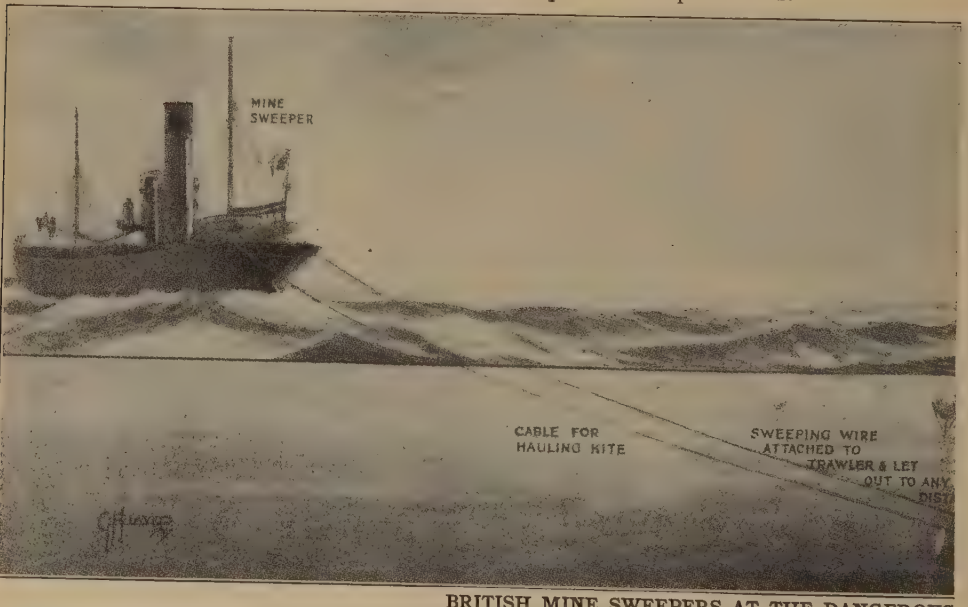
building activities had been undertaken also in France and Russia. The vessels as they had come in had been drafted into various units according to function. One of the chief units was the Dover Patrol, a section of the fleet stationed in home waters with bases at Dover and Dunkirk and a sphere of influence extending for a considerable distance on either hand. Coming up Channel or down the North Sea all vessels would take their final stages along sea-roads policed by fighting ships of the Patrol and its attendant cruisers. Its beat made it into the front line trench of the war by sea, and

every day somewhere it came into touch with the Germans or their handwork. Fighting of a similar type was going on at the same time in the Upper Adriatic and in places in the Baltic Sea.

THE GALLANT OPERATIONS OF THE DOVER PATROL.

From the early months of fighting the activities of the Dover Patrol were both defensive and offensive. The enemy had brought down and concentrated strong flotillas of destroyers behind their mine-fields at Zeebrugge, but these were powerless to prey upon the merchantmen who came and went between London and the world at large because the "keeper of the gate" was in the way. Offensively, the patrol co-operated with the Allies against the German lines in Flanders. Vice-Admiral R. H. S. Bacon had succeeded Rear-Admiral Hood in command of the Patrol in April, 1915, and at the end of August he left England with a fleet of eighty vessels, including several new monitors and a new class of fleet messengers, fast motor boats. His ships were manned partly by trained naval ratings, but more largely by men of the Naval Reserve, and by men who hitherto had been deep-sea fishermen. They were assisted in their work by the French Second Light Cruiser Squadron which operated against submarine attack.

Cruising in company by day and night under war conditions the Patrol made some attacks (some of them lasting for four days) through September, October and November, upon the enemy coast. "Out from Dunkirk with slow ungainly gait trudges a batch of monitors accompanied by motor launches and other satellites making smoke screens. At a chosen spot the smoke-makers put up their screens and from behind this cover the monitors train their big guns shoreward." Aircraft directed the fall of the shot and commonly the Germans got it three ways, from the air-craft bombing overhead, the monitor shelling from the sea and the siege-guns bombarding along the coast. Batteries, military factories, locks, guns, ammunition depots, wharves and stations were the targets for their fire so that (states the official account) "the whole coast during our passage was showing signs of considerable alarm and unrest as a result of our previous operations."



BRITISH MINE SWEEPERS AT THE DANGEROUS

Nothing is more dangerous than the work of mine-sweeping. The men engaged incur tremendous risk of disaster to their ships and of swift destruction for themselves. A large number of trawlers, ships of about 150 tons, were employed in this task. They worked in pairs with a strong steel hawser stretched between them, which is weighted

THE STRAITS OF DOVER ARE FINALLY CLOSED.

As winter came on, the shortness of daylight and bad weather impeded the Patrol's work but gave cover to the enemy for laying mines and escaping its vigilance. In six months over 21,000 merchant ships, apart from men-of-war and auxiliaries, passed through the Patrol with a loss of less than one per thousand, although the Patrol itself showed a casualty list of over four per cent. Besides this policing of the trade route the Patrol assisted in the protection of the flanks of all sea transports to and from the armies in France, and not a single life was lost in the passage. Finally, in a later year, 1918, the Patrol succeeded in closing the Straits of Dover against enemy submarines by a gate, and triumphantly passed from defense to aggression when they attacked and destroyed Zeebrugge and Ostend.

A second defensive measure which German activity in this respect rendered continuous and strenuous in all weathers was mine-sweeping. There was considerable speculation early in 1916 as to new German naval plans, for, like Great Britain, France and Russia, she was busy in new construction. The British Admiralty had evidence of considerable mine-laying at the end of 1915 and during the early months of 1916, and heard rumors of a new type of U-boat which had been devised. Whatever the uncertainty as to novelties in warfare, however, the mine was certainly known to be present in large areas and prompt measures were needed to deal with it. Before war broke out there was the nucleus of a mine-sweeping fleet and in four years of war this grew to enormous proportions. The fisherman, especially the toiler from the deep sea, mainly supplied the personnel of this fleet, and in the beginning of 1917, Admiral Jellicoe announced that 2500 skippers from the fishing fleets were employed as skippers with the R. N. R., 100,000 fishermen were serving with the navy, and three-quarters of the first-class fishing vessels were in the Admiralty Service. These kept the seas the year round in mine-infested regions. Trawlers working in pairs towed a sweeping wire which was kept at the required depth by a contrivance called a kite. The sweeping wire would catch and hold the steel moving wire of the mine and

WORK OF CLEARING THE SEA OF GERMAN MINES

with two heavy kites or sinkers as seen in the picture. As the hawser is dragged along it comes into contact with the ropes holding the mines to their anchors and pulls these along so that the mines explode by contact with each other, or are harmlessly exploded by fire from light guns if they come to the surface.

bring the infernal machine to the surface where it was exploded by rifle-fire.

DIFFERENT SORTS OF MINES IN USE.

The mines they sought were of all descriptions. Says the author of "In the Northern Mists:" "There are some kinds that have horns—like a dilemma—some are arranged to come up to the surface long after they are hidden in the depths and at unexpected times like regrettable incidents from a hectic past. Others are constructed with fiendish ingenuity to wait after touching a ship until they have felt out its most vulnerable spot before exploding. Some are made to float about at random. . . . And others, more dangerous still, drift when they were meant to remain anchored. . . . There are frequently found near the surface above the big mines laid deep to catch large vessels, smaller ones designed with special forethought to entrap the mine-sweepers engaged in clearing the field."

In addition to this perilous work, the fishermen although not keeping the seas for such a service rendered valuable service to survivors from torpedoed vessels like the Cressy, Aboukir, Hogue, and Hawke and others in like case, and a certain percentage of their total continued the very hazardous task of fishing the mine-sown depths for food for the nations they served.

THE HARDSHIPS OF THE MEN OF THE PATROL FLEET.

The Dover Patrol formed only one division of a general cordon of defense kept by cruiser squadrons and destroyer flotillas upon the outlets to the North Sea, and in all the waters around France and the British Isles where enemy activity was to be feared. It meant a good deal, this keeping the seas in all weathers through all seasons. It meant, for example, says the writer quoted above (a chaplain serving in these waters), "a pitch-black night, with the temperature well below freezing; there is half a gale of wind blowing and a heavy sea running; a blinding snowstorm stings the faces of the look-outs and makes it impossible to see more than a foot ahead. And through all this the Fleet is steaming at fast speed, without lights. The officer of the watch knows that there is a ship ahead of him, and another astern, and he must keep his exact distance if he would avoid a calamity which might mean not alone the loss of hundreds of lives and of a $10,000,000 ship but the weakening of Britain's first line of defense."

A FEW COMMERCE RAIDERS BREAK THROUGH THE LINES.

But the cordon was kept unbroken and such vessels as the Meteor and later the Möwe and Greif which broke through the North Sea guard are exceptions, like the Emden or Königsberg of a previous year. The Meteor had been a commerce raider in the Baltic in June and on the night of August 7, 1915, she broke through the British lines. Her first encounter was with the Ramsey, which she sank together with half her crew and her commander. The Germans hailed the exploit as a splendid manœuvre but in reality the Meteor had masqueraded as an ordinary merchant ship, flying the Russian colors and carrying masked guns and torpedo tubes. She then burned the Dutch vessel Jason off Horn's Reef, and transferred her survivors together with those from the Ramsey to a Norwegian ship. Having a little idle time she laid new mines, and these on August 9 were struck by the British destroyer Lynx which sank with a loss of seventy officers and men. At length a squadron of British auxiliary cruisers got on her track but her commander took his ship within fifteen miles of the German coast, ordered the crew to take to the boats, and blew up his vessel by detonating the remaining mines. The crew made good their escape and upon their return home received a great ovation.

The Möwe had an even more sensational career. She left a German base in December, 1915, and under a snowstorm eluded the cordon, and for the next six weeks made many captures around the Canary Islands. At least fifteen Allied vessels fell to her "bag" and her captures began to exceed even

HEROIC DEEDS IN ROUGH SEAS

An R. N. V. R. lieutenant swam to a drifting mine and fastened a line to its ringbolt. It was then towed to smooth water and destroyed.

KEEPERS OF THE SEAS

A mine-sweeping officer and an engine-man boarded a deserted trawler and, at imminent risk, cut away two mines fouled in her tackle.

those of the Emden. In the middle of January she intercepted the Elder-Dempster liner, Appam, on her homeward voyage from West Africa. Placing a prize crew upon her, the Möwe sent the ship to the United States where she made a dramatic appearance at Norfolk on February 1, and presented a curious problem for the government to solve. Early in March the Möwe under her commander, Captain Count von und zu Dohna-Schlodien, returned safely to Germany. She had had many encounters, and not the least that with the Australian merchant vessel, Clan MacTavish, which put up one of the pluckiest fights on record. By false signals the Möwe had approached the Clan MacTavish, and when abaft her beam threw off her disguise, lowered her canvas screen and disclosed her battery of guns opening fire. The Clan MacTavish held on her way, returning fire from her little 2-pounder till further resistance was hopeless.

THE GREIF IS DESTROYED BY A LUCKY SHOT.

At last came the day of reckoning. On the last day of February, 1916, the Alcantara on patrol duty in the North Sea sighted a large steamer flying Norwegian colors. She ran down the stranger and asked name and destination. Obtaining no answer she lowered a boat, whereupon the merchantman dropped her false bulwarks and opened fire. Both were large ships of over 15,000 tonnage, and with a will the Alcantara returned the raider's fire, and badly mauled the German cruiser which fled. A little later, the Andes, another armed merchantman, came up and with very pretty gun-practice drove the Germans from their guns as she swung on her helm to avoid the torpedoes which the escaping Greif was firing. Just as the inevitable end seemed near another light cruiser appeared and joined in the fray. At some distance her gunlayers picked up the range and presently the German ship blew up with a terrific explosion.

As the year progressed, the attack on Verdun halted on the Western Front. It seemed as though the issue of the struggle might be forced upon the sea; perhaps the steadfast watchers in the northern wastes felt their hopes rise at the thought of forcing the Ger-

man High Sea Fleet to decisive battle. Certainly some sort of demonstration was needed to reassure the German people that all was well with them. Reasons there were in plenty; Russia might be checked by a naval offensive in the Baltic, or the Allied shipping losses increased by the placing of swift commerce-destroying cruisers upon the Atlantic, the home people encouraged, and neutrals impressed, or the import of munitions into Archangel checked. Whether it was the British challenge which lured the lurker out, or German Naval pageantry which invited attack does not matter. Certain it is that after two long years of waiting the German High Seas Fleet was brought to an engagement off the Coast of Denmark on May 31, 1916. The combat which ensued lasted till darkness fell, and even spat forth viciously during the night.

AN ARTIFICIAL WATERSPOUT

This volume of water shot high into the air is the result of the explosion of a submarine bomb from a patrol which had located a U-boat at this spot. Modern mines contain from 200 to 1000 pounds of gun cotton or trinitrotoluol. When a mine is exploded in contact with the bottom or side of a ship the result is destruction of the adjacent part of the hull.

How the Battle of Jutland Came About.

Early on the morning of the fateful day the German fleet under Vice-Admirals Scheer and Hipper put out from its bases on what the German Admiralty characterized "an enterprise directed northward." The previous day by arrangement—we can not call it chance or coincidence—the British fleet left its bases for the purpose of carrying out one of its periodical sweeps in the North Sea. The fleet was divided into two parts; an advance or shock fleet of battle cruisers supported by the Fifth Battle Squadron under command of Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty went ahead. Because of its superior speed its function was reconnaissance, and when this was accomplished Beatty was to repair to a rendezvous in the North Sea where the Battle Fleet under Admiral Sir John Jellicoe would meet him. Beatty's force was not all cruisers, nor Jellicoe's all battleships. The former had with him two battle-cruiser squadrons, three light-cruiser squadrons, and units of four flotillas of destroyers. In addition he was supported by the Fifth Battle Squadron under Rear-Admiral Evan

Thomas who had four fast battleships of the Queen Elizabeth class, the Valiant, Barham, Warspite and Malaya. Jellicoe's rear or main body of the fleet was accompanied by one battle-cruiser squadron, two cruiser squadrons, one light cruiser squadron and three destroyer flotillas.

This was the situation at the start: the Germans were coming out from Wilhelmshaven and Kiel, and the British Grand Fleet from Scotch ports, and both bodies were approaching one another in mutual ignorance. When Beatty had completed his reconnaissance on the morning of May 31, he was turning north to his rendezvous when the Galatea, the flagship of the First Light Cruiser Squadron, at 2:20 P.M. sighted two enemy vessels to the E. S. E., apparently stopped and engaged in boarding a neutral vessel. Recognizing the possibilities of the situation the British admiral turned his fleet to the E. S. E. so as to get between the enemy and his base. Fifteen minutes later the Galatea descried a large amount of smoke such as might come from a fleet steering north. Beatty sent a seaplane up to scout and as the clouds were lying low the daring navigator flew beneath their screen and clearly made out five enemy armored ships with attendant cruisers and destroyers who directed heavy fire at him.

BEATTY'S FLEET PURSUES THE RETREATING CRUISERS.

Although the sea was calm and the wind fair there was much haze upon the water, a fact that would both destroy the advantage of powerful guns in shortening the range and also aid the hunted in his flight. Other than this the odds were in Beatty's favor at the moment, for he had six cruisers to the German five, besides the Battle Squadron of four ships. He knew that probably the Germans would try to lead him back on to their main Battle Fleet, that with this he must engage at terrible odds, or in turn himself enact the rôle of fugitive and decoy the High Seas Fleet back into touch with Jellicoe's battleships.

There was no time for hesitation, so prompt decision was made and line of battle formed at once though the two forces were thirteen miles apart. When the distance fell to ten and a half the action opened. At its commencement the fire from the German vessels was exceptionally rapid and accurate; the Lion was hit twice three minutes after fire was opened, and within twelve minutes the Lion, Tiger and Princess Royal had all received several hits. Shortly after 4 P.M. the Indefatigable under the weight of two salvos fell out of line and sank by the stern. Still Admiral Hipper refused to close, and turned his ships to southwards so that both squadrons were steering a parallel course S. S. E. with a distance of 14,500—18,000 yards between them.

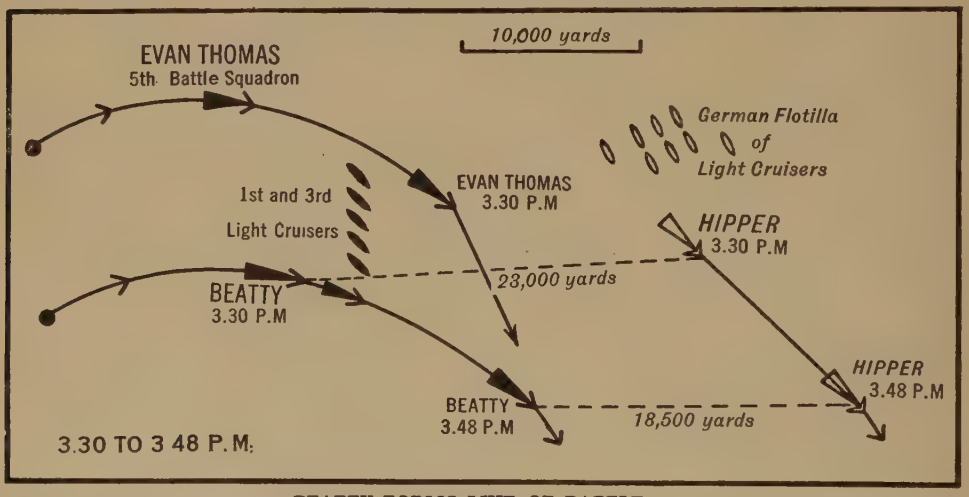
ADMIRAL SIR CECIL BURNEY

Admiral Sir Cecil Burney was Second-in-Command of the Grand Fleet at the Battle of Jutland and became Second Sea Lord, December 1916.

BEATTY RISKS AN ENCOUNTER WITH THE MAIN FLEET.

At 4:08 P.M. the battleships were near enough to come into action, and they caused the German fire to slacken. Well aware that he was being drawn on towards the German battle fleet Beatty nevertheless clung tenaciously

to his foe for he hoped now to dispose of Hipper before Scheer could help him, and he knew that in no other way could the main fleets be brought into action. He had sent wireless messages to Sir John Jellicoe advising him of the engagement and of the course that he was pursuing, and so for an hour ran on towards the heart of the foe, while in his trail the main British fleet came on in expectancy of the moment when Beatty would double back on the track with his pursuers hot upon him. A naval engagement has as many phases of fighting as a land battle, for its units are as varied as the troops on terra firma. Fierce brushes took place between opposing flotillas of destroyers, the sea's light troops; stern conflicts raged between the battle-cruisers, the heavy forces. In one of the former, three British destroyers, out of a flotilla pressing an advantage to get within torpedo range of the foe, were isolated and two of them, the Nestor and Nomad, were sunk by the enemy. Meanwhile in the battle-cruiser engagement where heavy guns thundered continuously a second serious casualty had occurred. The Queen Mary received a hit in her magazine, and when the Tiger following close astern of the victim emerged from the smoke of the explosion there was nothing to be seen of the ship. Afterwards, a few survivors were picked up by the destroyers. The loss of two destroyers and two cruisers reduced the odds in Beatty's favor.



BEATTY FORMS LINE OF BATTLE

3:30-3:48 P. M. Beatty forms line of battle at 3:30 P. M. and turns E. S. E. At 3:48 P. M. the battle begins, when he turns S. S. E. and closes a little. Jellicoe is far to the north. Hipper turned on seeing Beatty, returning to where he knows von Scheer with the Battle Fleet may be found.

SIR DAVID BEATTY'S REPORT OF NEW CONDITIONS.

Let Sir David Beatty continue the narrative. "At 4:38 P.M. Southampton reported the enemy's Battle Fleet ahead. The destroyers were recalled and at 4:42 P.M. the enemy's Battle Fleet was sighted S. E. Course was altered 16 points in succession to starboard and I proceeded on a northerly course to lead them towards the Battle Fleet. The enemy battle-cruisers altered their course shortly afterwards, and the action continued." Thus, like the German ships following in Beatty's lead, we enter upon the second phase of the battle of Jutland with the British in retreat from 4:45 to 6 P.M

Where in the meantime was the main British Battle Fleet? The move of Beatty's force to the southward at a speed considerably greater than the battleships could manage had opened a large gap between the two forces, and when Beatty turned, Jellicoe was fifty miles to the north. The distance how-

ever was closing at the rate of 45 miles an hour, and Jellicoe believed that the German battleships would be unable to catch either Beatty's cruisers or the Fifth Battle Squadron. "No doubt," he says, "existed in my mind that both our battleships and our battle-cruisers would keep well out of the range of the enemy's Battle Fleet if necessary until I was able to reinforce them." Later the gallant admiral learned that he had been underrating the speed of the German ships, and that the Fifth Battle Squadron when going at its utmost speed had found considerable difficulty in keeping the lead.

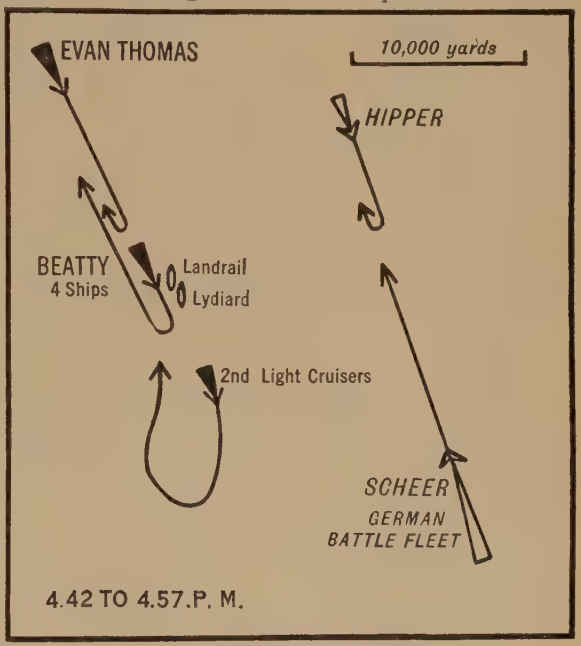
THE HUNTER NOW BECOMES THE HUNTED.

As Beatty ran before the Germans he was indeed their quarry. Eight ships now against nineteen. Nevertheless, the Germans were unable because of weather conditions to use aerial reconnaissance and were in complete ignorance of Jellicoe's approach. Moreover, when the surprise came Beatty reckoned that the German ships would be able to turn only very gradually or else be exposed to enfilade fire from the leading British cruisers. Thus he was in a sense master of the situation. The action between the battle cruisers continued but the British fire was only intermittent, for from shortly after 5:00 P.M. the light was against them, as they stood silhouetted against a clear sky in the west, while the German ships were obscured in the eastern haze. So uncertain became the target that for half an hour Beatty ceased firing altogether. Now and again a great shape would loom up substantial in the mist, and when the light grew better the Lion, alone, true to her name, roared some fifteen times. Just then one of the enemy's battle-cruisers, perhaps the Lützow, quitted the line in a considerably damaged condition and others showed signs of increasing injury.

BEATTY NOW ATTEMPTS TO CUT OFF THE GERMAN SHIPS.

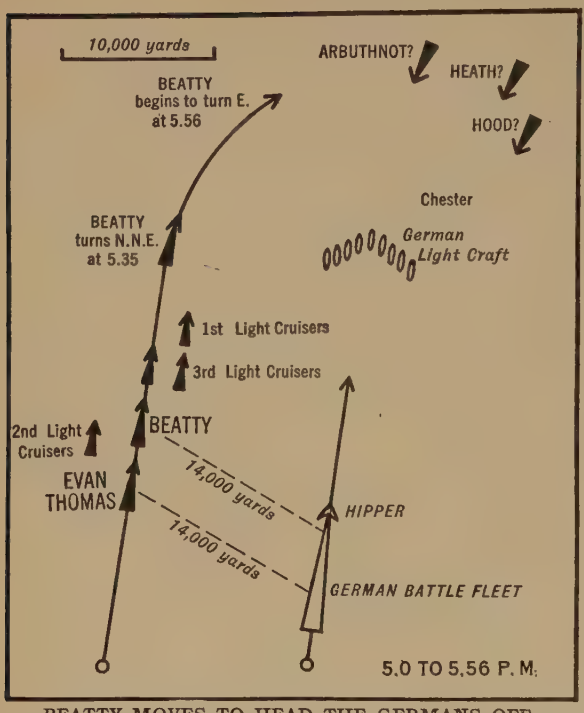
About 5 P.M. Beatty, sure of the proximity of the battleships and using all his speed, drew ahead of the enemy, pressing in and curving round their T shaped line. Then he drove across it straight to the east, bringing down the range to 12,000 yards. His object was twofold: first, he wished to bring the leading German ships under concentrated fire; secondly, he strove to clear a space for Jellicoe to come down to complete their destruction. While the battle-cruisers were thus turning the German van, the four battleships fought the whole High Seas Fleet. The gap between Beatty and the battleships steadily widened, for Beatty was allowing sufficient space between himself and Evan-Thomas for Jellicoe to deploy his Battle Fleet between them. It would involve a deployment in the midst of battle of a delicacy and accuracy only possible to a tactician of high order, but it was skillfully accomplished when the time came.

At 6 o'clock the leading vessels of



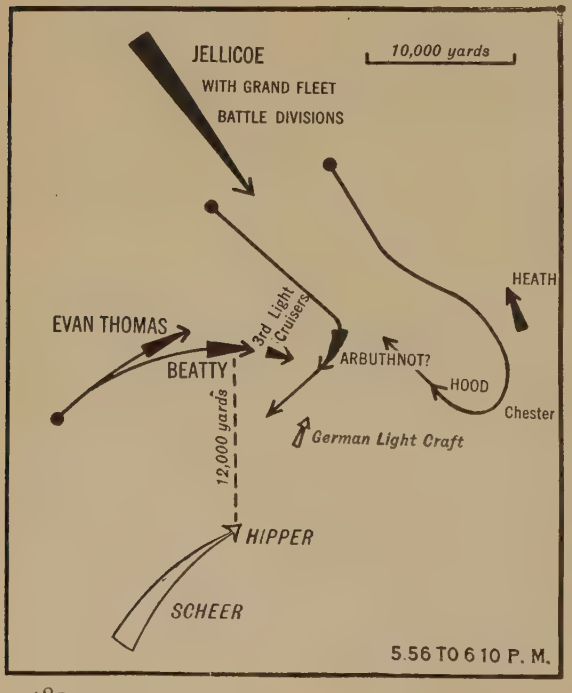
BEATTY SIGHTS VON SCHEER

4:42-4:57 P. M. Beatty sights Scheer with the German Battle Fleet at 4:42 and swiftly turns. Evan-Thomas, with the Fifth Battle Squadron, does not turn at once, but falls in astern of Beatty. The Second Light Cruisers reconnoitre before turning.



BEATTY MOVES TO HEAD THE GERMANS OFF

5:00-5:56 P. M. Just before the junction with Jellicoe. Beatty is steaming northward and begins to work east, to join Jellicoe and head the Germans off. The enemy at this stage is being slowly forced east away from his bases.



Jellicoe's Grand Fleet had been sighted five miles to the north, and his Third Battle Squadron under Rear-Admiral Hood had been sent to the help of Beatty. The ships came into action, steaming hard to south, and took their places at the head of the cruiser line, and by thus lengthening Beatty's line allowed a complete envelopment of the German cruisers who turned some 12 points to the starboard to get out of the trap, and were in their turn followed by the battleships which for over an hour had been faithfully battered by Evan-Thomas's battleships. Hood's action had brought him within 8,000 yards of the enemy and exposed him to desperate fire. His flagship, the Invincible, was sunk and with it perished an admiral who in faithfulness and courage must rank with the heroic figures of British naval history.

MANŒUVRES AND FIGHTING IN THE TWILIGHT.

It is interesting to note that after 6 P.M. though the vision became reduced, it was undoubtedly more favorable to the British than to the enemy. At intervals the German ships, —now to the westward of the British,—showed up clearly and received severe punishment, battle-cruisers and battleships alike.

From a quarter to six to 6:50 while the two British Fleets were coming into line the situation was delicate and the fighting confused. First the close divisions of the Grand Fleet spread out and melted gracefully into lines—to all appearance as easily as if they were battalions of infantry—then they swung round to the east, the foremost vessel reaching out to join up with Beatty's battle-cruisers. As the Grand Fleet deployed, Evan-Thomas

swung in his four battleships so that the Barham (leading the line) fell in behind the aftermost of Jellicoe's battleships, and the remainder of the Fifth Battle Squadron completed the line which stretched now in one long curve to the west and north and east of the Germans. Shortly before 7 o'clock the British Fleets were united, the German line was headed off on the east and Beatty and Jellicoe were working their way between the enemy and his home ports. But the fog was deepening and already the light was failing.

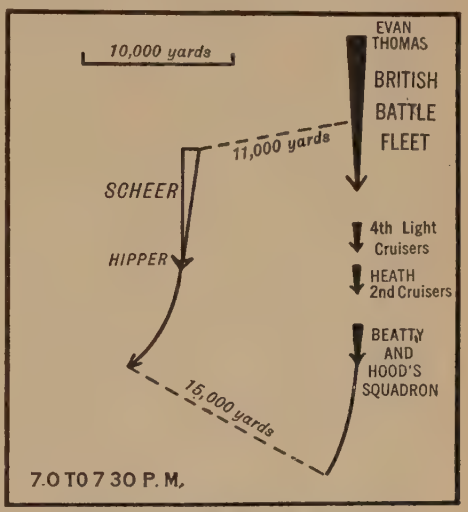
WHY WAS NOT THE GERMAN FLEET DESTROYED?

The two phases of the Battle of Jutland that follow are the ones that have given rise to all the controversy, confusion, hopelessly irreconcilable official German and British dispatches that exist. Writers will be explaining these engagements, old men theorizing upon them, for generations to come. So far what happened is perfectly clear and simple—a pursuit by Beatty, followed by a retreat. Two groups of shell-emitting gun-platforms that had now in succession chased each other up and down the North Sea. Given the English favorable position between the enemy and his base, his superiority in ships and guns and speed, and his advantage in whatever daylight was left, how is one to explain the fact that the British Fleet did not complete the destruction of the German High Seas Fleet upon that May night?

That the Germans realized their imminent peril is clear if one reads the end of Scheer's dispatch in which the note of deliverance rather than the pæan of victory sounds. "Whoever had the fortune to take part in the battle will joyfully recognize with a thankful heart that the protection of the Most High was with us. It is an old historical truth that fortune favors the brave."

THE GERMAN FLEET IS CUT OFF FROM ITS BASE.

Let us review the happenings before seeking to account for them. It was already 6:15 when Jellicoe's deployment was complete; the visibility was becoming greatly reduced all the time; often the targets disappeared altogether. Admiral Scheer was moving away south and west, with the British farther to the east in pursuit, so that in effect the German High Sea Fleet was turning slowly inside the British Fleet, which had formed in an enormous line and was turning outside the Germans on a longer radius. The interior curve of the Germans neutralized the British advantage in speed, but if mist and darkness had not settled



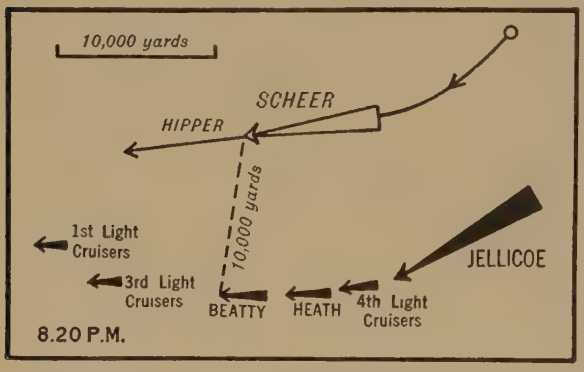
ENEMY CUT OFF FROM HIS BASES

7:00-7:30 P. M. The Germans have been forced to stand out against the sunset sky. The British after effecting a junction steam south about 7 P. M., and haul westwards in their endeavor to close with the Germans; the enemy turned away, allowing the British to cut him off from his bases. At 7:15 the British Battle Fleet makes a turn away from the Germans.

down Jellicoe could have kept them revolving in a circle and have prevented them from reaching port. To defend his withdrawal and to delay Beatty and Jellicoe, Scheer seized the one chance of safety left to him, namely the delivering of repeated torpedo attacks which would prevent the Battle Fleet from closing in and destroying the German Fleet by gun fire while the light lasted.

At 7:12 Admiral Jellicoe for the second time began to move his battleships in line of battle nearer to the enemy, but the vehemence of a torpedo attack from a number of destroyers caused him to make a second turn away from the enemy, and thus the battle cruisers were left nearer to the

enemy than the battle fleet. In these conditions the action between the fleets lasted intermittently from 6:17 to 8:20 P.M. The enemy constantly turned away and opened the range under cover of destroyer attacks, and smoke screens as the effect of the British fire was felt. The marks were usually not the hulls of the enemy's ships, but the elusive flashes of his guns. Thus this third phase of the battle, which from the English point of view was an attacking phase, could also in the sense of torpedo attack be so claimed by the enemy. If to the low visibility and the



THE MIST COMES DOWN

8:20 P. M. Last moments of the battle between the big ships. Beatty alters course to support his light cruisers and attack the head of the German fleet; just after this he is heavily engaged at 10,000 yards. Then the mist comes down, and at 8:28 p. m., the German Fleet is last seen from the big ships steaming west.

sunset be added the long range of the torpedo, it is possible to understand why Beatty and Jellicoe did not close with the enemy and wipe him off the seas.

WHY ADMIRAL JELLICOE DID NOT CLOSE WITH THE ENEMY.

By 9 o'clock the enemy had completely disappeared and darkness was falling fast. The Admiral had now to make a difficult decision. The British fleet was the mainstay of the Allies. If its superiority was lost the whole Allied cause was lost. He was aware that in the event of a night engagement some German equipment was superior to the British. Their ships were provided with star shells which would light up the waters and reveal the enemy without disclosing their own whereabouts. The lighter guns were fitted with a system of director firing; their searchlights were more powerful and better controlled and they had more torpedo-tubes to a ship than the British. The seas were swarming with torpedo craft, and accordingly Jellicoe felt compelled to consider the safety of his ships till the action could be renewed at dawn. He says, "In view of the gathering darkness, and the fact that our strategical position was such as to make it appear certain that we should locate the enemy at daylight under most favorable circumstances, I did not consider it desirable or proper to close the enemy Battle Fleet during the dark hours. . . . At 9 P.M. the enemy was entirely out of sight, and the threat of torpedo-boat destroyer attacks during the rapidly approaching darkness made it necessary for me to dispose the fleet for the night with a view to its safety from such attacks, while providing for a renewal of action at daylight. I accordingly manœuvred to remain between the enemy and his bases, placing our flotillas in a position in which they would afford protection to the fleet from destroyer attack, and at the same time be favorably situated for attacking the enemy's ships."

SMALLER CRAFT CONTEND DURING THE NIGHT.

This fourth phase, from about 9 o'clock to dawn, can hardly be called an engagement, for it was mostly a series of scrimmages between the smaller craft as the British destroyers sought for the enemy in the darkness. The British heavy ships were not attacked, but throughout the night the destroyer flotillas delivered gallant and successful attacks upon the scattered German units, although with heavy losses. When the enemy fleet ran for home it seems to have scattered, and the British destroyers were strung out far and wide in pursuit, each commander acting on his own initiative. Rudyard Kipling in his "Destroyers off Jutland" (Fringes of the Fleet) thus describes the fight: "In that flotilla

alone there was every variety of fight, from the ordered attacks of squadrons under control, to single ship affairs, every turn of which depended on the second's decision of the men concerned; endurance to the hopeless end; bluff and cunning; reckless advance and red-hot flight; clear vision and as much of blank bewilderment as the Senior Service permits its children to indulge in. That is not much. When a destroyer who has been dodging enemy torpedoes and gun-fire in the dark realizes about midnight that she is 'following a strange British flotilla, having lost sight of my own,' she 'decides to remain with them' and shares their fortunes and whatever language is going." In more measured tone the High Commander thus reported their work: "It is impossible to state with certainty which of our destroyers were entirely successful in their attack. The work of the flotillas as a whole, was characterized by the splendid dash, skill and gallantry for which our destroyers had been conspicuous throughout the war. They were most ably led and achieved magnificent work under very difficult conditions." Even the Germans give due credit for this phase of the fighting. Von Tirpitz in his Memoirs says: "The mass of English torpedo boats (destroyers), supported by cruisers were thus presented with an incredibly favorable opportunity to attack our fleet. . . . The attack was carried out with courage, but little skill."

THE GERMAN FLEET DISAPPEARS BEFORE THE MORNING.

The morning revealed no foe, only the wide, open, glassy sea, empty save for the sorrowful litter of gallant ships floating aimlessly. Scheer had worked through and around the British ships and sped away homewards in the dark, passing behind the shelter of the German minefields in the early morning on his way to home ports. Von Tirpitz explains: "Admiral Scheer and our whole fleet regarded a renewal of the fight on the following morning as a certainty. They preferred, however, to face this fight at a less distance from the mine-fire fairway, and accordingly decided to move thither in the night, and take station close to Horn's Reef." Only a Zeppelin which passed over the British fleet at 3:30 A.M. was seen of all the great enemy host. The pursuit of the Germans by the destroyers in the night had been so widely scattered that it was late before a final concentration was effected. Jellicoe remained on the spot cruising about until 1 o'clock when

REAR ADMIRAL HOOD

Rear-Admiral Hood commanded the Dover Patrol until April, 1915. In the Battle of Jutland in coming to the help of Sir David Beatty, he was lost with his flagship the Invincible.

he decided to return to his northern station. The British Fleet arrived at its bases June 2, fuelled and was reported ready at 9:45 P.M. on that date.

These are the facts of the engagement. What follows is its reflection in public opinion. When the officers and men of the British Navy went joyfully ashore, they were greeted with dismay and commiseration as survivors of an awful disaster. The battle which they had just fought, and in which they were conscious of having sustained no mean part was, because of the clumsy statement of the English Admiralty, looked upon in England as a reverse.

VICE-ADMIRAL SCHEER

Admiral Scheer was chief-in-command of the German High Sea Fleet. For his services in effecting the escape of his ships off Jutland he received the order "Pour le Merite."

The Admiralty's first installment of news had been the publication, bald and almost unedited, of the serious list of English losses. Panic not unnaturally followed, and the Kaiser seized the occasion to congratulate Scheer upon a victory which he asserted "destroyed forever British mastery of the seas." The German official dispatches—as admitted later—were deliberately falsified "for strategic purposes," and their published losses both in men and ships looked small beside the English disasters, which though grave, were frankly conceded.

THE GERMANS CLAIM TO HAVE WON A GREAT VICTORY.

Time passed and the so-called "victorious fleet" still stayed close within its fastnesses behind a cordon of mystery and silence. Wilhelmshaven was seven-sealed and no citizen, however loyal, was allowed to view the forces of the Fatherland. Through neutral channels the tale of loss and injury began to come in and as the fruits of the engagement fell all to the English, public opinion swung to the other side.

The following specimen of the other side of the picture as represented by German dispatches, gives some reason for Allied and Neutral anxiety as to the issue of Jutland: "As the dawn colored the eastern sky on the historic first of June, everyone expected that the rising sun would illuminate the British line deployed in readiness to renew the battle. This expectation was not realized. As far as the eye could reach the horizon was clear. Not until the late morning did our airships, which had gone up in the meantime, announce that a Battle Squadron consisting of twelve ships, was approaching from the southern part of the North Sea, going at full speed on a northerly course. To the great regret of all concerned, it was too late to overtake and attack this." As things really were at this time, the German High Seas Fleet was close to the Horn Lighthouse steering for home behind the minefields; the British Grand Fleet was

VICE-ADMIRAL HIPPER

Vice-Admiral Hipper commanded the German scouting squadron which was sighted and followed up by Admiral Beatty in the Battle off Jutland.

where it had been when darkness fell, waiting for the enemy; the "airships of late morning" represented the "Zeppelin of 3:30 A.M." which steered the retiring fleet through the British disposition. If there were twelve ships steering for home, what a chance for Germany to come out and destroy them! Why did she not take it?

with his foe and there fought to a finish at even odds. Although the German fleet emerged from the "wet triangle" several times during succeeding months, yet it never sought another engagement, and continued to hide until that day more than two years later when it left its base and sailed for the British coast there to

H.M.S. IRON DUKE

The Iron Duke was the flagship of Admiral Jellicoe, Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet in the battle of Jutland. A super-Dreadnought, laid down in 1912, the Iron Duke has a displacement of 25,000 tons and a speed of 21 knots. She carries ten 13.5-inch guns, twelve 6-inch guns, and five torpedo tubes.

BOTH PARTICIPANTS FAIL TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR PURPOSE.

The true test of a fight, whether on land or sea, lies in its results. The issues of Jutland—had the engagement been fought to a finish—would have been enormous. It seems clear in view of the evidence, that it was a conflict of encounter and manœuvre and no deliberate forcing of a Trafalgar. Nevertheless, Germany when she fought was seeking to reduce the disparity between the rival fleets, and trying to break the British blockade. England on the other hand sought to annihilate the German High Seas Fleet. Scheer failed in his first aim or he would have sought another conflict

strike its flag and intern. Neither did Scheer's victory raise the blockade; not a single raider found its way through in the Mediterranean or Atlantic Seas, only such as were at large in the Baltic there continued.

Jellicoe did *not* annihilate the German High Sea Fleet. Scheer escaped from a situation of desperate danger, but nevertheless the fleet that the Kaiser described as "defeated" was ready to resume wonted watch and guard after a very brief interval. Unchecked and unhindered her transport of men and tons of artillery continued, and freed from threat of German aggression, the Russian offensive in the Baltic went forward.

CONFLICTING AND IRRECONCILABLE STORIES OF THE LOSSES.

The British losses, published by the Admiralty, were: three battle cruisers, three armored cruisers, and eight destroyers, the total tonnage amounting to 114,100 while the officers and men who perished numbered 5,613. The Germans only admitted one battleship, one battle cruiser, four armored cruisers, and five destroyers, with a total of 63,015 tons, and 3,966 officers and men. Reports from British Commanders sent in after the fight raise the figures to four battleships, one battle cruiser, five armored cruisers, six destroyers and one submarine, or a total of 113,435 tons. Von Capelle in his testimony before the War Investigation Committee was asked why only 90 U-boats were built in 1916, and 269 and 220 in 1917 and 1918. He replied "The Skagerack battle (as the Germans call the battle of Jutland) caused serious damage to our boats. Their repair held up the construction of other boats."

The heavy loss in British battle cruisers was seemingly due both to good markmanship, on the part of the Germans and to the superiority of the German armor-piercing shells according to Admiral Jellicoe. Insufficient precautions had also been taken to guard against the ignition of the magazine by flashes from exploding shells which entered the turret.

THE GERMAN CRUISER POMMERN

The Germans did not admit their losses in full in the Battle of Jutland, and their reserve was deemed necessary, it was stated, for "strategic reasons." They could not conceal the sinking of their fine cruiser Pommern, which built in 1905 had a displacement of 13,200 tons, and carried some of the best of the Kaiser's gunners.

THE BATTLE SHOWS NOTHING NEW IN STRATEGY.

Considered strategically the battle offers nothing new or startling. Conventional and accepted tactics were used with usual and expected results, and as the engagement progressed, the Chief of Staff remarked to Jellicoe, "This is all going according to expectation." The principal changes in the battle orders were the large amount of discretionary power invested in Flag officers commanding squadrons, since over that wide expanse, funnel-smoked and gun-befogged, a central command could not always see or be seen, and a freedom of initiative was

H.M.S. QUEEN ELIZABETH AND THE ALLIED FRENCH AND BRITISH FLEETS IN THE DARDANELLES

The Queen Elizabeth, one of the largest of the British super-Dreadnoughts, was laid down in 1912. She has a displacement of 27,500 tons, and her main armament consists of eight 15-inch guns and twelve 6-inch guns, while she has a speed of 25 knots an hour. Sent down with the Allied French and British Fleets to the Dardanelles to cover the landing forces at Gallipoli, her guns on one occasion fired across the peninsula at Chanak. Later the Queen Elizabeth was stationed off Scapa Flow with the British Grand Fleet. She was not present in the fight off Jutland, but the Valiant, Warspite, Barham and Malaya of Beatty's squadron were of her class. Picture, N.Y. Times

encouraged in dealing with torpedo attacks. Scheer's torpedoes delayed the British Fleet's attack, but little prey fell to them, and in the long run this fact seemed established by the "Battle of the Giants": the big battleship rules the sea. A submarine or a destroyer is a raider that achieves striking local successes, but every raider must have refuge and asylum

toum had always had. It had been arranged that Lord Kitchener should go to Russia to confer with the government upon the question of the Allied drive that was impending, and to arrange some details of the munition supply. He left England June 5 intending to land at Archangel, visit Petrograd and be back by the 20th of the month. The cruiser in which he

COALING A WARSHIP AT SEA

The warship in the picture was steaming at twelve knots an hour, towing a collier astern, from which sacks of coal were hoisted to a platform at the masthead, and sent by cable to the warship. From the masthead to the deck a net was suspended to shield the collier's men from falling fragments. In this manner sixty tons of coal were transshipped within an hour.

ports and these can only lie secure behind the might of great ships.

Before the echoes of the Battle of the Giants had died away the world received the news of the death of Lord Kitchener. There is something fitting in this setting for the last scene in the life of the great soldier. The Norsemen of old believed that their heroes in order to attain Valhalla must die upon the field of battle or upon the "path of the whale," and the elements of unreality and stunning surprise in the loss of the Hampshire accorded well with the mysterious appeal to the imagination that the hero of Khar-

sailed was the Hampshire, which had returned only three days before from the Jutland fight. Before he left, Lord Kitchener saw Sir John Jellicoe and his staff upon the deck of the Lion, and the latter used some little persuasion to induce him to defer his journey, as the weather boded ill. Lord Kitchener was accompanied by Mr. H. J. O'Beirne, former counselor of the British Embassy at Petrograd, Mr. O. A. Fitzgerald, his personal secretary, General Ellershaw and Sir Frederick Donaldson. Time was precious and Lord Kitchener decided that he could not afford to wait for better weather.

THE DEATH OF LORD KITCHENER AT SEA.

The Hampshire was convoyed by two destroyers, which, when the gale increased, the captain unfortunately ordered back to port. Between 7:30 and 7:45 P.M., as she was proceeding along the west coast of the Orkneys, the vessel struck a mine and began at once to settle by the bows, keeling over to starboard before she finally went down about fifteen minutes later. The seas were too rough to admit of any of the boats getting away; in the effort to launch them one was broken and its occupants thrown into the water. It was evident that the Hampshire was doomed, and accordingly the captain ordered the men to their posts for abandoning the ship. In all some three or four rafts got safely away with some fifty to seventy men on each. Yet such was the force of the seas as it beat upon them that many were thus battered to death, others relinquished their hold and just slipped into the depths, or died of cold or exposure, and yet more were thrown senseless on the cruel rocks that guarded the coast. Though it was daylight until about 11 o'clock only 11 men and one warrant officer of all the company were saved. Nothing more was heard of Lord Kitchener and his colleagues, though wild rumors that he was in a German prison camp arose. The Admiralty published the following statement on June 15:

"From the report of the twelve survivors of the Hampshire the following conclusions were reached. As the men were going to their stations before abandoning the ship, Lord Kitchener, accompanied by a naval officer, appeared. The latter said: 'Make way for Lord Kitchener.' Both ascended to the quarterdeck. Subsequently, four military officers were seen there, walking aft on the port side. The Captain called Lord Kitchener to the fore bridge near where the Captain's boat was hoisted. The Captain also called Lord Kitchener to enter the boat. It is unknown if Lord Kitchener entered it or what happened to any boat."

To perish without seeing the results one has wrought for is hard. Kitchener died upon the eve of the great Allied offensive, for which he had labored so intensely to build up a vast British force. Yet in a sense his task was done, just as was that of the heroes of Jutland who lay beneath the same treacherous waters of the North Sea. In the early dark days of the war he had been the one man to whom Britain turned. And his loss was only yet another call to the Empire to strengthen those that stood, and establish the weak-hearted to "carry on" the work which he had begun.

THE FRENCH BATTLESHIP GAULOIS SERIOUSLY DAMAGED IN THE DARDANELLES

A PITIFUL EXAMPLE OF THE TOLL OF WAR

One of the innocent and defenseless victims of the far-reaching cruelty of war—an old woman and her only remaining possession, a cow. Bombed out of her home by German shells, she has no refuge but the street, no protection save public charity. Yet no bitterness distorts her features which are stamped rather with patience.

AMID THE DÉBRIS OF CRUEL WAR

There is no class in life upon which the horrors of war have fallen more heavily than upon the aged. Helpless before violence and bereft of the support of the young, or homeless in the face of invasion and bombardment, they have suffered further cruel agonies of bewilderment and nostalgia amid the strange surroundings whither for safety they have wandered.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

The Palace of Louis XV at Compiègne

Chapter XXXI

France in War-Time

THE MARVELOUS STORY OF FRENCH DETERMINATION, FORTITUDE AND ENDURANCE.

"I HAVE lived through unforgetable hours, and I understand now, how much there is of beauty and nobility in France to fight for," wrote a lad of twenty from the trenches. Joan of Arc in the forests and meadows around Domremy dreamed through unforgetable hours and came, a girl of seventeen, to that same full knowledge. Roland, in the gloomy depths of the Pyrenees, sacrificed a life which had flowered freely in knightly service and died, murmuring, "Terre de France mult estes dulz pays!" Unless we accept the young soldier's and the peasant girl's and the paladin's point of view and strive to see with their vision, we cannot really understand the spirit which inspired the heroic resistance of Frenchmen in this great war.

France on the day of mobilization, August 1, 1914.

It is August 1, 1914, and the general order of mobilization has been posted in the streets of Paris, in the cities of the provinces, at the seaside, throughout the country. See the cabmen, *concièrges*, *boulevardiers*, fishermen, peasants, diplomats, merchants reading it. How quietly, seriously, and yet gladly each turns away, intent upon making the most of the short hours before he entrains at the nearest station and reports at his headquarters. And the women: is there a tear, a sigh, a groan? Not for now, nor for this cause; there may be, hereafter, when none shall see and none be weakened in fulfilling the task. Quite naturally, and with a smile, Madame L—— lifts up the baby as Sergeant L——, early on Sunday morning, sets forth from the *Gare des Invalides*.

From midnight on Saturday, August 2—and for fifteen successive days—mobilization proceeded. A hundred, a thousand, a million, and more, came to their nearest station and took the waiting train, and reached their headquarters on scheduled time, where each man found a uniform, coat, boots and field-knapsack. Nowhere was there confusion; not in any place even hesitation. All went according to plans made years before, and all went smoothly and with the utmost precision and quietness. There was no singing, no shouting, no hysteria. Where was the Frenchman that the Berlin press represented as fear-pressed, or revenge-intoxicated? Quiet, disciplined conduct covering tremendous moral determination was the keynote of every company and regiment, every station and barracks and square.

Men to the war, and women to work.

The trains roll in, mile after mile of them, and the men are equipped and

counted, and then the train takes them again and bears them this time north and east to the fronts. "I am for the Ardennes, where I shall see some service." "And I for Nancy, I!" are the exchanges flung as the long silent monsters pull out from shed and siding, once more. The country-side was bare and deserted, for tools and implements were flung on wayside and field as the news came in. Soon—it may be in an hour—these groups of peasant women, gathered to watch the trains go off, will break up and the wives and mothers go silently and unquestioningly back to the fields. Through that hot afternoon they bend to the work, and through all the long silent days to come; their thoughts with the men who have gone, who with other weapons and in other fields are reaping the harvest of savagery. And the fisherman's boats are pulled up upon the shore and his nets lie idle. In the city one reads over the little cobbler's shop, "Absent from the first day of mobilization."

THE HISTORIC MEETING OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

It is Paris again, and the fourth of August in the Chamber of Deputies. In complete silence the deputies are seating themselves, and one notices, yet hardly with surprise, a few handshakes between those who yesterday were enemies. The president rises and pronounces amidst the silence, his oration upon Jaurés, killed by insensate folly the day after war was declared, and the words of the national liturgy, honored in century-old use, roll forth "la justice sociale, la fraternité humaine, la conscience humaine ....." with the response, "Du cercueil de cet homme sort une pensée d'union, de ses lèvres glacées, un cri d'espérance!" Silence falls again, until the President of the Council, M. Viviani, already deep-engrossed in multifarious cares, arrives. He who was yesterday a partisan is now the government of France. Amidst pregnant silence he reads the message from the President of the Republic and ends "Keep we high our hearts. *Vive la France!*" The causes of war are reviewed, France's case stated, and a long series of laws relative to defense passed; and for a brief interval the deputies adjourn to pace the corridors while they wait the vote of the Senate. No long interval and Viviani is with them again, to announce that in agreement with the Chamber, the Senate has given its consent to the war measures and grants of moneys.

One more scene: it is St. Cyr on the last night of July, and in place of the historic *fête du Triomphe* that generally graces the occasion, word has gone forth for general mobilization. In the midst of a scene of intense fervor and enthusiasm, one of the young officers, Gaston Vorzard, springs to his feet and makes all the officers of his class swear that they will not go into battle except in white gloves and with their *képi* adorned with the casoar, the red and white plume. "*Ce serment, bien français, est aussi élégant que téméraire,*" he cries. And, with acclamation, his comrades take the oath. They kept it and were some of the first French officers to die in battle at the head of their regiments. Days passed, and the recruiting offices were besieged by long queues of men, pleading to be taken. "I have seen weeping among those who may not go first," writes Clemenceau of those days, but it was the only sign of weeping that France gave.

WEARY WAITING FOR THE NEWS OF BATTLES.

Then the soldiers have gone, and to eager hours of preparation and days of quick discussion, succeeds a weary time of waiting, for the hand of the Government is upon the Press and little news filters through when every *communiqué* may be read by the enemy. "What use to speculate now," say the women, "do we not know where they have gone, have we not stated and restated our good reasons for hoping, but we cannot tell what victories they may have won." There is no depression, only a sense of emptiness and of tortured waiting.

In the early days of August, uncertain at first, but growing clearer, came news of the barbarity with which the German march through Belgium was attended. With violent recoil, the

"CARRYING ON" ACROSS THE HOME FIELDS OF FRANCE

With the men filling trenches and manning guns upon the far-stretching battlefield, and the horses devoted to the necessities of warfare, women found their tasks multiplied. Mouths must be filled that national vigor might not fail. In France, as in other lands, women sturdily shouldered the burden. Central News Photo Serv.

FRENCH PEASANTS LAYING IN A STOCK OF FIREWOOD

There was great shortage of coal in war-time in France because of the tremendously increased demand for the industrial purposes of war, and also because of the complete stoppage of supplies from the invaded coalfields of northern and eastern France. In addition to these causes there was scarcity of labor due to mobilization, as well as difficulties in transportation. Picture, H. Ruschin

French mind springs aside from such savagery. Von der Goltz's "Nation in Arms" may vainly advocate such measures as shortening the war in the interests of humanity. "It is thus," comments the French Press, "that so many religions have resulted in bloody sacrifices, glorifications of our native cruelty, and that the Christian doctrine of love came to accommodate itself to an eternal hell. . . . Well, let the experiment in bloody philanthropy follow its course. As for us, we shall not dispatch the wounded. On the contrary, our women will proudly make all efforts to save them; and when we are on enemy territory we shall aid the weak instead of shooting them. Only on the field of battle do we accept the war of extermination imposed upon us."

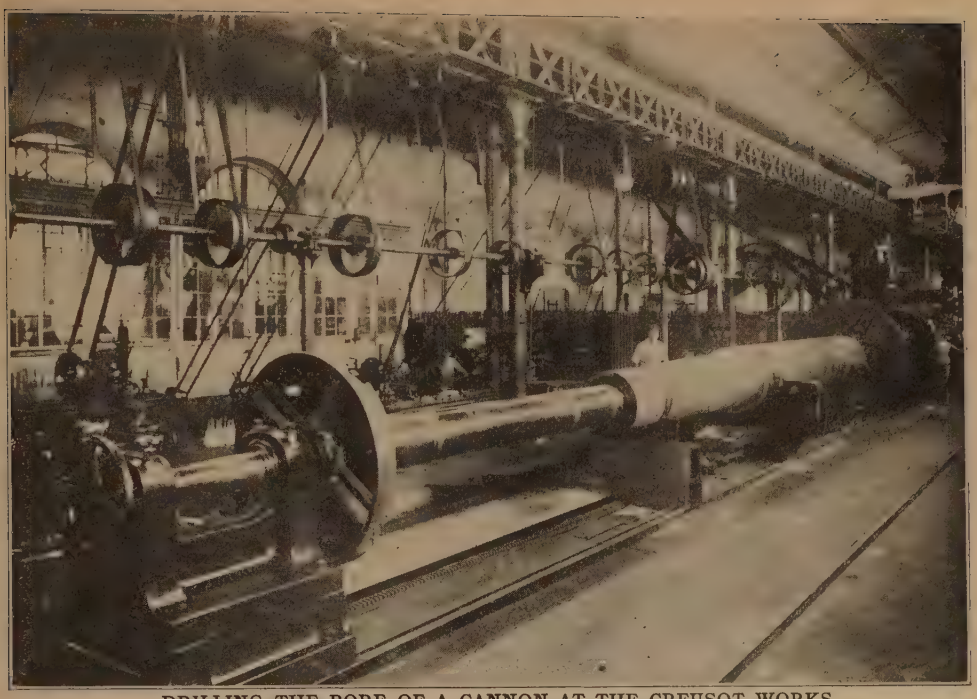
VAGUE RUMORS CIRCULATE AMONG THE WAITING THRONG.

There were some who made harvest of rumor amid this dearth of news. The *monsieur bien-informé* of boulevard café, whose brother-in-law's sister was a cleaner at the war office, dealt in certainties as to the Russian troops and the last attack and terrorized the men who knew nothing. But Paris and France stood firm. It was glorious weather, yet in the capital the great avenues were deserted, soulless, and at night half-lighted and void. No interest here, it all lay upon the horizon. French life ceased, it seemed, save for the army, for in imagination, in mind and heart, all were in Dieuze, in the Vosges, in Belgium. What a horrible simplification of life—this sunshine, this ennui, this waiting!

Meantime, what was happening with the army at the frontier? France, respecting the neutrality of Belgium, had placed her strongest armies upon the eastern, not the north-eastern border, and in the early days of August, the British troops had not yet been landed. When they came, the Belgian sacrifices at Liège and Namur held up the German onrush, but still did not give time to allow efficient concentration of the Allies. The foe, after heading his way through Belgium, spread out in a great circle down the left bank of the Meuse and found the way clear. He met only on his right, the British Army still very small, and on his left, French territorials but recently recruited from counting-house and shop. These French and British troops opposed the German attack, but the disasters of Charleroi and Mons and Le Cateau demonstrated their fruitless effort, and von Kluck's army came on irresistibly at 30 to 35 miles a day, till it lay at the nearest point a cannon shot from Paris. By this time brief official *communiqués* indicated the retreat, but no panic followed. "Although the disappointment is great, we must not exaggerate it," wrote M. Clemenceau. "Though the task that rests upon us is so manifest, so difficult, so long, so incomparably agonizing, who will dare to say that we must not accept it? And it is not enough to accept the infliction; we invoke it, we run to meet it, we offer ourselves to its blows, we pray that they may be redoubled, in order that the day may be hastened when fortune, weary of scourging us, will come to know that there is a soul in us that nothing can force to yield." Fortune weary of scourging did come to know—and at no long day. The German advance, on September 5, lay at one point near the northern forts of Paris. On September 6, General Joffre issued this order to the troops, "Now that a battle begins upon which the fate of the country depends, all must remember this, the time is gone for looking behind; every endeavor must be aimed at attacking and throwing back the enemy; troops unable to continue advancing, will at all costs keep the ground won, and must die rather than yield. In this juncture there can be no mercy for any shortcoming."

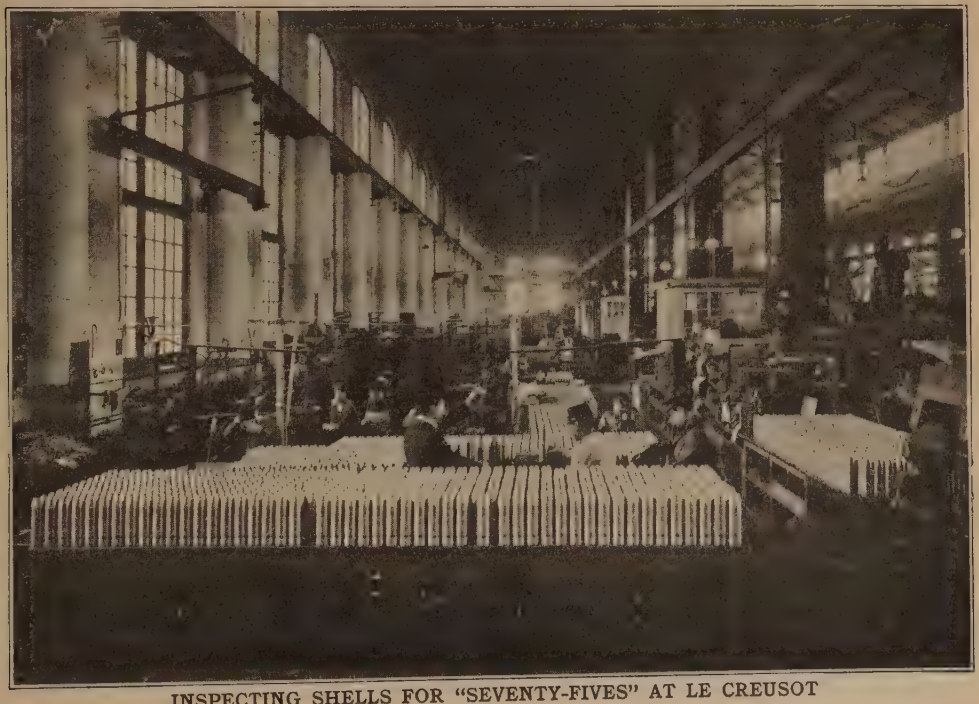
THE GERMAN TIDE IS TURNED BACK FROM THE GATES OF PARIS.

The day before, September 5, von Kluck had turned east in order that he might better encompass Paris. On the sixth, Joffre ordered the attack; and suddenly the German right found an army before it under General Manoury, whose strength it had never even suspected. General von Kluck ma-



DRILLING THE BORE OF A CANNON AT THE CREUSOT WORKS

When the enormous mass of steel has been cast and then forged by heavy hammers, it is ready to be transformed into the barrel of a great cannon. Here we see the powerful drill slowly eating its way into the steel. The bore of the gun must be exactly true through the whole length of the barrel.



INSPECTING SHELLS FOR "SEVENTY-FIVES" AT LE CREUSOT

The steel for the French shells came in large measure from England and the United States. The completed shells, stamped from the steel by powerful hydraulic presses, are here being carefully inspected for any possible defects or irregularities which might interfere with accuracy of fire or certainty of explosion. No difference greater than one one-thousandth of an inch could be permitted.

nœuvred magnificently and retreated 50 miles to a good position; the Crown Prince on the German left was in difficulties and retreated less magnificently. But the wave was rolled back and Paris was saved. This in brief was the battle of the Marne—a supreme and a great retrieval.

And Paris? Had she trembled with the foe at her gate? Not for an hour. There had been no time for adequate defenses, earthworks, wire-entanglements, intrenchments, that alone could have helped her. On the 30th of August it was deemed prudent for the government, the banks, and such people whose position placed them upon Germany's prepared list of hostages, to repair to Bordeaux and thither they went, in orderly retreat. Under the notice of the government proclamation announcing its departure, was posted a small notice from General Gallieni, the new governor of Paris, "I have been ordered to defend Paris. I shall obey this command to the end." But Paris that remained, that heard the guns, that knew not which way the tide was flowing, remained calm until the news of deliverance. And then—with the question "Shall we celebrate?" and General Joffre's reply "No—for our losses have been too great," the new key of Paris was safely struck again; and this time with hopes firm-founded she waited for the next news.

TRENCH WARFARE IS THE NEXT TEST OF BRAVERY.

The Germans fell back upon prepared positions on the heights of the Aisne and the French and British followed and attacked. Paris under General Gallieni perfected her fortifications, and by the time the Germans were ready to attack again, she had become impregnable. Then the objective of the Teutonic High Command shifted, the race for the sea began, and was finally won by the Allies; with the result that trench warfare between North Sea and Vosges became the rule. Now came the test. Could French fire and gallantry survive a war of waiting? Would tenacity be found side by side with impetuous ardor? Might endurance be added to enthusiasm?

The world has the answer. "Until the end—we cannot be vanquished, for we shall never accept defeat." On a line from North Sea to Vosges, night and day the French troops burrowed in mud-holes, shivering, benumbed, but with hearts armored with ardent bravery that made them smile at cold, or hunger, or death;—at one moment heroes and in the next but children amused among perils that have aspects of romance in them. Never was the spirit of Paris so gay as they were. "What letters our children send us from the army," writes M. Barrés in "*L'Ame Française;*" "A perpetual burst of laughter—brave boys—they wish to prevent us from becoming lovingly anxious. Then they have too, a health of soul, a quality of sensibility...."

From the beginning of August to late October such was the hurried march of events that there was no time for France to reflect upon her causes for fighting. She knew she must fight, and therefore she fought as she did—fought in retreat, fought in attack, fought in waiting. But in the weary winter campaign, all through its dark short days and lurid long nights, Frenchmen could reflect upon their cause, and the more approve it. They knew that they were fighting, first because on the 3rd of August at a quarter to seven war had been declared upon them, their country had been invaded, their cities destroyed, their fields laid waste. But the Frenchman hates war as the German loves it, and he fought fiercely to destroy it, to have "that plague of mankind, war, banished off the earth." France fought moreover, for the cause of 1870—fought to vindicate her defeated arms, to reconquer her natural frontier, to make French again a region that Germany had not been able to make German in forty-three years. She fought for her place in the world first of all, but she fought also, for her place in the world's thought. She fought Germany because she was attacked, she fought also for French intelligence and taste, for French measure and culture, for the cause of liberty peculiarly sacred to her tradition.

TESTING SIEGE MORTARS AT THE SCHNEIDER WORKS

Though the name sounds as if it were German the Schneider works at Le Creusot, Harfleur, and Champagne-sur-Seine are the chief French sources of artillery and munitions. During the war they had over 25,000 workers, and produced weapons of marvelous precision. Here is the final test of siege mortars soon to go to the front.

GERMAN BARBED WIRE MILLS

The interior of a French factory in the iron and steel region of Northern France, occupied by the Germans, who have converted the building into a barbed-wire mill, and can be seen in the picture storing the finished product until it is called for. Barbed wire formed one of the strongest outworks of the "war of positions." The number of miles used is almost incredible.

THE MORAL BASIS OF THE FRENCH DETERMINATION.

This war of all wars has demonstrated the superiority of moral to material values. The costliest mistake that Germany made—and a mistake that was to cancel forty years of organized preparation—was to misread the French spirit. She believed France decadent and exhausted, forgot that France of all countries is the land of new beginnings, of fresh waves working up from underneath. Because France had submitted to every insult and provocation for forty years, Germany believed that it was because she dared not, rather than that she would not, resent. Certain surface signs of corruption, lack of political unity, absence of great undertakings in militarism, were responsible for Germany's misconception—which to be sure was shared by some Frenchmen even, who, when they saw their country's effort, believed her born again. But this is not so; it is a mistake to say that France had a new beginning in the war. For France cannot die; she is of those who cannot and will not disappear.

France fought with unity. Never at any period of French history had the waves of party strife risen higher or beaten more furiously than in the years immediately preceding the war. *Révanchard*, *Internationalist*, *Dreyfusard*, Catholic, Socialist, Syndicalist, and a myriad others break off, and redivide, and mingle. Cast a glance over the groups that have made up the French Chamber of recent years, and endeavor to comprehend the kaleidoscopic swiftly-changing mosaic of French political parties. Reduce the manifold divisions and subdivisions of these parties to the lowest possible figure and even now you will still have to recognize at least seven among them. In the Chamber of Deputies before the seat of the presiding officer rises a semicircular amphitheatre rising to the galleries, and in this well the deputies group themselves according to parties and to wings of parties—somewhat variously named. Beginning on the left come the Unified Socialists, the Independent Socialists, the Radical Socialists and the Radicals. After an invisible line which divides the left from the right come the Progressists, Nationalists, and finally ending up at the President's right hand the Royalist-Imperialists. From the parties which temporarily combine to form a majority in the Chamber, the ministry is formed. That the combinations do not endure for any length of time is because they are entered upon with perhaps only a single end or two in common: the parties themselves live on because they rest on a basis of general principles and work towards many distinct goals in all branches of the national life. The premier attempts to keep a majority in the Chamber by combining now with one and now with another party. Yet the term "*l'union sacrée*" is no empty figure of speech even when applied to French political life during the years of the war.

FRENCH UNITY OF SPIRIT AND ACTION ESTABLISHED.

Conflicting opinions as to the conduct of the war existed, and ministries fell, yet though political divisions cut deep in France they do not cut deep enough to sever the roots of "*La patrie*," and Barrés, the leader of the Nationalist party, writing of the historic meeting of the French Chamber on August 5, 1914, exclaimed, "We knew that there would be no wide divergencies of opinion among us, but this prodigious union of hearts and minds transcends all our hopes." *L'Union sacrée* as inaugurated by the National Cabinet formed in August, 1914, was the political answer to the trench query, "If only the civilians will stick it!" It was a ministry which aimed at representing all the groups of the Chamber, rather than at mobilizing its best talent, and soon after the historic session of early August parliament adjourned and a practical dictatorship was vested in the President acting through his Cabinet. Laws were passed and money raised or borrowed by decree, free speech and the liberty of the press were abolished, the liberty even of the subject abolished. The control of parliament and public opin-

ion over the acts of the government was swept away, every law and every right made subservient to public safety. In twelve hours the constitution of the Third Republic was transformed into an autocracy. When Parliament reassembled at the end of 1914 nothing was really changed, although having by this time become accustomed to the war it made spasmodic attempts to reassert itself. Nevertheless an autocracy in the name of public safety continued. The rock-like figure of General Joffre was enthroned in the confidence of his countrymen.

THE MEN BEHIND THE GUNS

M. Albert Thomas, French Minister of Munitions, Sir Douglas Haig, General Joffre and Mr. Lloyd George in consultation. Ministers and war leaders met for the first time in Allied Council in Paris, November 1915, and similar conferences became frequent.

THE FIRST SUGGESTIONS OF DISSATISFACTION.

With the opening months of 1915 well-sustained attacks on the Viviani Ministry over alleged inefficiency in handling the munitions problem, and accusations of favoritism in awarding military commands broke the calm. The Socialists in particular demanded secret sessions and full discussion, and the discord came to a head in July. The government had good grounds of defense on the first charge. Heavy cannon and other weapons could not have been furnished more rapidly because hitherto fully nine-tenths of the total iron output of France had been derived from sections occupied by the enemy since the first weeks of the war, especially the department of Meurthe-and-Moselle. This explanation, together with assurances of reconstruction and adaptation of the iron industry, called forth a wave of enthusiasm and the president on the occasion of the transfer of the body of Rouget de Lisle to the Pantheon expressed the attitude of the nation when he said, "Since we have been forced to draw the sword we have not the right to sheathe it again until the day when we have avenged our dead, when the common victory of the Allies shall allow us to rebuild our ruins, to make France whole again, to protect her effectively against the periodic renewal of provocation."

In October unhappy developments in the Balkans, where M. Venizelos was turned out of office and Greece openly refused to support her one-time ally, Serbia, reflected upon Allied diplomacy and caused a resolution to be passed by the Finance Committee that "the committee is convinced of the necessity of a complete and immediate explanation on the part of the Government." The Socialist groups took a similar resolution and discontent broke out again. M. Delcassé, Minister for Foreign Affairs, resigned, to be followed by his chief, Viviani, October 28. The next day a new Ministry was formed with Aristide Briand as Premier, and a Coalition Cabinet which called upon the talents and experience of the nation, and represented

an effort to secure the highest administrative efficiency combined with the advisory value of men who were most experienced in public life. In this blend of experts and elder statesmen were MM. Jules Cambon as General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, de Freycinet as Secretary of State, General Gallieni for War, Viviani for Justice, Malvy for the Interior, Ribot for Finance, and Painlevé for Public Instruction and War Inventions.

THE WAR COUNCIL OF THE ALLIES IS FORMED.

That autumn definite steps were taken to achieve real military and strategic co-operation between the Allies. In November the first meeting of the Joint War Council of France and Britain attended by Asquith, Lloyd George, Balfour, Grey, Briand, Gallieni, Lacaze and Joffre took place in Paris, and on the 7th of December the first War Council of the Allies in Paris under the presidency of Joffre saw representatives of France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, Belgium, and Serbia meet together. In the last week of November a permanent organization for the conduct of the munition business of the Allies was announced, and an Allied Board of Strategy having critical and deliberative functions was formed.

So the winter passed and with the spring of 1916 the political situation grew dark again. The Radical Socialists were suspicious of M. Briand's tendency to govern without much parliamentary assistance and began to assail his ministry. That the movement was purely internal, and French Socialists thoroughly patriotic was shown by the vote of the National Council of the party, April 9, when a motion was adopted which condemned the resumption of relations with the Socialists of enemy countries by a two to one majority. In May, General Gallieni was compelled through ill-health to leave the Ministry of War, and died much regretted, on the 27th of the month. At the end of the summer France was keyed to a high pitch by her achievements at Verdun, and little disposed to find fault with her leaders. But the government had never an easy seat and during the winter of 1916 had to face a series of petty crises. The apparent futility of Allied diplomacy in the Near East fanned discontent which, increased by the scarcity of coal and the heavy losses in the Somme campaign, came to a head in late November and early December. A number of stormy secret sessions in which the parties re-grouped themselves took place, and finally the premier was ordered to defend his policy. He did so in full session but his majority continued to dwindle, and finally he was told to reconstruct both Cabinet and High Command.

CHANGES IN THE CABINET AND IN THE FIELD.

Under the new arrangement, an inner Cabinet was created which like the British one was exclusively for war. In the High Command sweeping changes were made. General Joffre relinquished the office of Generalissimo and became military adviser to the new War Committee. In his place General Nivelle of Verdun renown became Generalissimo in the West. So the government ran for a few more months. In March, 1917, M. Ribot succeeded M. Briand in office. M. Briand had not lost his majority but his prestige had suffered from his handling of the Greek question. It is characteristic of the French Parliamentary situation that a change of Ministry does not imply great change of *personnel*, and under the Ribot leadership, Briand's colleagues continued their work. But the government had never been popular with the Socialists, and was not greatly trusted by the army.

At the beginning of September came realization of the meaning of much of the obscure disquiet that throughout the summer had been afflicting France. German money had succeeded in buying over a portion of the French press, and such men as Louis J. Malvy, Minister of the Interior, Joseph Caillaux, the leader of the Radical Socialist Party, and Paul Bolo, who was in financial charge of Germany's underhand propaganda, were discovered to be in league with the enemy. The Ribot

A GERMAN SAW-MILL IN FRANCE

French timber was exploited by the enemy for the thousand and one needs of a great army in wartime. In addition, when the Germans were forced to retreat, whole forests were denuded, thousands of stately trees which lined the country highways laid low, and orchards of valuable fruit-bearing trees wantonly destroyed.

"ELEPHANTS A PILIN' TEAK"

The German General Staff was insistent that every citizen of the Fatherland should bear his share of the war. It could not always obtain the co-operation of the government in making the Auxiliary Service Acts sufficiently extreme, but in this case where "Hathi, the elephant" is seen employed in drawing heavy timber in France, the Staff must have been fully satisfied with his co-operation.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

Ministry was severely censured for not suppressing "Boloism," as it was called, and on September 7, 1917, placed its resignation in the President's hands. On the 12th M. Painlevé, formerly Minister of War, became Premier with a Cabinet largely formed from the old. The Socialists stood outside but they announced they would support the government if it showed it deserved their doing so. The Unified Socialists under Albert Thomas distrusted Painlevé for his imperialistic views and were dissatisfied with the government's war aims, and only two uneasy months ran through until in November the Ministry fell once more. This time the President entrusted to M. Clemenceau the formation of a government and on November 16, 1917, in the fourth year of the war and the seventy-sixth of his life, this remarkable man took office and defied the malcontent Socialists by going on his way without them.

THE DIFFICULTIES AND TRIALS SEEM TO INCREASE.

The times were gloomy; the collapse of Russia had set free German divisions for service on the western front. American soldiers were not yet trained. Caporetto had occurred and Germany, in anticipation of the moral effect of long months of trench warfare and the burden of heavy battles seemingly without result, had set on foot a very active pacifist and "*défaitist*" propaganda. A dangerous crop of treason seemed to be springing up all over France, among the press and the baser politicians. German agents had done their worst and successfully fostered the pacificism of the extreme Socialists. Against all this M. Clemenceau waged ruthless war. "Boloism," "defeatism" and other underground forces which were sapping the nation's vitality were at once attacked ruthlessly and the premier pledged himself to conduct the war to a victorious end.

No French government had hitherto dared to attack M. Caillaux, the leading spirit in the councils of one of the largest and most influential political parties in the state, but M. Clemenceau dared. On January 14, 1918, M. Caillaux was brought before a court-martial charged with having endangered the security of France. The case was transferred to the Senate of which M. Caillaux was a member, but because of his illness the trial was postponed until 1920. He was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment, and banishment from Paris for a term of years, and to loss of political rights. Bolo Pasha's trial meantime was proceeding, and on February 14 he and Filippo Cavallino were sentenced to death. Later, other Boloists were given various terms of imprisonment, and Duval, director of the suppressed newspaper, *Bonnet Rouge*, was condemned to death as a traitor in May, while M. Malvy, convicted of holding communication with the enemy, was sentenced to banishment for five years. Premier Clemenceau carried the Chamber of Deputies with him by an overwhelming majority. He, who in his forty years of political life had destroyed by pen and word more ministries than any other man of his day, eighteen, it is said, now restored "*l'union sacrée*" and carried France over her dark days to final victory.

THE QUESTION OF SUPPLIES FOR THE ARMY.

It has been noted that modern war conditions, and the occupation of the French iron districts brought about a serious deficiency in cannon and ammunition during the early part of 1915 and exposed the Viviani Ministry to charges of incompetency in dealing with the situation. A nation in arms besides having in readiness its millions of men to fight must have also hundreds of thousands of workmen in workshops and factories to supply the wherewithal to wage war. After the battle of the Marne, things were serious in France. The expenditure in munitions had been much greater than was anticipated, and supplies believed adequate were already running short. Heavy artillery was of paramount importance and France had far too little. How to construct heavy artillery as rapidly as possible, and produce munitions and explosives in sufficient quantity to satisfy the demand? Neither state workshops and factories nor private concerns were equal to these acute

FRENCH FLOCKS GUARDED BY GERMAN SHEPHERDS

Early in August 1914 there was established in Germany a Bureau of Raw Materials for the War. This was made part of the Ministry of War and, after the occupation of Belgium and northern France and parts of Russia, seized the raw material from the occupied regions including the flocks of sheep.

HARVESTING IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORY

The German Army in northern France and Belgium grew, with the assistance of the peasants, the grain required for themselves and their horses, and even sent some back home. Sixty per cent of all plowable soil was cultivated by the army itself, twenty per cent by peasants and army together and the remainder by the peasants themselves.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

needs. Mobilization had left in the factories barely enough men for the expected output. These estimates were wrong, and the need three or four times as great. The problem was solved, however, in two ways: first, by intensive state manufacturing; secondly, by private enterprise. For the latter France was divided into regions, each having at its head a man who had previously been director of some great industrial, metallurgic or railway company. These men were authorized by the state to estimate the industrial resources in their regions, so that they might make use of even the smallest firms and thus obtain the greatest number of men and machines.

HOW THE DEFICIENCY WAS MET AND OVERCOME.

At first there were eight such divisions, later the number developed to fifteen. The men at the head had fullest powers and dealt with the Minister of War. They were responsible for quick deliveries as for delays. They could pass over some of their authority to superintendents who owned factories in the district. Here was a scheme then for intensive production; it remained to assure three things: the necessary material, the plant and the manual labor. As regards material, the situation was critical; most of the steel mills of the North and East which in normal times produced an important quantity of the metal used for artillery were in the hands of the enemy—so that about 70% of the normal production in metallurgy was lacking when most needed. Fortunately the metallurgic factories in the centre of France whose output is much inferior in quantity to that of the East and North, have specialized for the past twenty years in the output of fine steel and other accessories for army and navy. Thanks, then, to these, in spite of the occupation of the coal and mining districts of North and East by the Germans the production of Martin steel (most needed by artillery factories) was reduced by only 44% while that of Thomas steel was reduced by about 95%. The deficit, however, was serious enough.

Metallurgic factories which could produce the necessary material were reorganized, other factories brought into use, all the Martin furnaces (dead since the beginning of the war) rekindled, and large contracts for raw material placed in America, in England, and Italy. The government met the need for machines in two ways: by adapting machines that had been used for other things, and by importation from America. The question of man-power was even more vital. A large proportion of the men had been mobilized. The directors began by advising manufacturers to recruit all available civil labor. The result of this fell far short of the need, and it then became necessary to recall to the factories skilled laborers and mechanics who were with the colors. By a rigorous and efficient state-control, supply and demand were thus co-ordinated. The creation of an under-secretary of state for artillery and munitions in May, 1915, shortened early hesitancy and delay, and production rose enormously. In August, 1914, large shells were being made at the rate of 100 per day; in February, 1916, at the rate of 3,040. Production of the *mitrailleuse* or machine gun for the same period of time rose from 100 to 8,800 and other output correspondingly. Early in 1916 France supplied the refugee Serbians with rifles and ammunition, and later in the year sent heavy guns to Rumania. All trench weapons had to be created, for only some old mortars and grenades existed at the beginning of the war. In aerial production the demand at first largely outran resources but by degrees all the new types were built and France began to furnish the Allies with airships and with artillery. She was woefully ill-provided with automobiles, trucks, tractors, etc., but in this respect also caught up and by the second year of the struggle was even supplying Russia. But except for mobilization, French defense, though united, was impromptu.

THE SPIRIT OF THE MAN IN THE TRENCHES.

To politician and industrial worker add—for he is the crown—the soldier

IN THE WAKE OF WAR

A convent chapel in northern France which has been converted into a hospital, and is occupied by the wounded of a Saxon regiment. Such tenants were in the nature of a boon to the place, because in all probability their presence saved it from pillage and destruction. In the quasi-ward everything is orderly and circumspect.

THE SEIZURE OF METALS IN FRANCE

The Germans did not hesitate to go to any length in their endeavors to get metal. Here is some stored in a church they had stripped, but had been unable to remove. Ordinances were issued in various places in the occupied zones announcing the seizure of household fixtures of copper, tin, nickel, brass, bronze or tombac. Articles made of such metals in trade and industry were also commandeered. British Official

of France to complete *l'union sacrée*. Foreign correspondents, visiting officers, Allied soldiers, even the enemy himself, all testify to this spirit of united service and camaraderie among the soldiers of the republic. Discipline of the highest order existed in the French army, but it was a discipline maintained by the thought of the common end, and endowed with esteem and mutual affection. A great army filled with the spirit of democracy was at one with itself because of its extraordinary comradeship. This feeling—due to the democratic training received during the years of service—is well expressed in the words of two *poilus* in the trenches one Christmas night. "A year ago I was supping at the Café de Paris." "I know—I was the runner who fetched your car, old man."

Between officers and men there is no division like that created by Prussian military caste. The French officer at his best is both leader and comrade. His men are "*mes enfants*." Barrés tells the story of a correspondent whose cold slumbers in an empty compartment were interrupted at an eastern station by the entry of a stumbling figure. It was dark and only by the palish glimmer of the white dressings and sling did his sleep-logged senses tell him that here was a seriously wounded man, who, however, brusquely refused all offers of help. Dawn revealed a middle-aged officer whose bruised and fevered face, bootless feet, and many dressings betokened serious injuries. By degrees the soldier's brusqueness softened a little, and as the train worked its slow way north he told his story. "This" had happened five days ago—five charges of grape-shot as he was leading his children. Unconscious, he had been put in an ambulance and taken to Rheims, and from thence without knowing why to Rennes. Four days and four nights of wounds and fever had not conquered him. As soon as he could get upon his feet, one thought took possession of him. Where were his children? All this while under fire...and then there was a bugler who had sounded the charge at a critical moment...you should have seen the effect. He must get back to them. What were they doing without him? And so he had escaped from the hospital—bootless and in his stockinged feet. The train slackened and drew up some miles from X————, and an agonizing delay set in. After two hours of it the lieutenant asked the correspondent to get out and walk with him to X————, and the latter consented. The motion shook the wounded man's shattered shoulder and augmented his fever but he at last gained X————. There was no train for Y————! Well, he had his wounds dressed and set off to find an automobile, and succeeded in finding a seat in one that was going part way. He would arrange the rest.....

INCIDENTS OF DEVOTION AND FORTITUDE.

And there are countless stories of the other side. Instance after instance of touching devotion from man to officer. There is the story of the trooper shot through both legs and lying in an open space who saw his officer fall before machine-gun fire but a few yards nearer the enemy's line. When he could speak he called out to the officer and told him the nature of his wound, and the officer, himself in agony, believing him faint-hearted, counseled fortitude. Much distressed, the wounded *poilu* explained that he only spoke of his wounds so that his officer might understand how it was that he left him lying there!

If France fought united, she fought also with the exaltation of one who glories in the moral beauty of the cause she champions. Read the letters from the trenches, from boys of twenty, from men of forty-five, they count all lost that is not France. "Si vous ouvrez cette lettre, c'est que je ne serai plus et que je serai mort de la plus belle mort. Ne me pleurez pas trop: ma fin est enviable entre toutes..Pensez de moi par moments comme d'un de ceux qui ont donné leur sang que la France vive, et qui sont morts joyeusement." And again "All our sacrifice will be of sweet savor if it leads to

a really glorious victory and brings more light to human souls." The same spirit is reflected in the women, the wives and mothers and sisters. Before a hospital bed on which lay her son's dead body a father was weeping, the mother, a peasant woman, took his hand. "We must have courage, my man. You can see how much our boy had." And a mother writing to an officer to thank him for his letter says, "The anniversary of my boy's death is both cruel and sweet; cruel because it recalls a day when I loved him without a thought of the trial that his valor would bring me; sweet because I cannot think of the quick ending of this pure young life without supreme joy. Thank you for all that you tell me of my little soldier; that his glorious death may contribute to the victory of our France is my constant prayer."

Passionate devotion to the very soil of France.

France fought with undying and passionate devotion to the soil of France: nowhere is this feeling more apparent than in the glow which blazed in the hearts of the young intellectual officers at the beginning of the war. Jean Allard-Méeus was only twenty-one and a half when he was killed at Pierrepont. He had shared in the oath of the *fête du Triomphe* at St. Cyr, and war had transformed a brilliant scholar into the sternest of soldiers. His poem "*Demain*" which begins, "Soldats de notre illustre race," expresses the patriotic passion of France, and his "*Plus haut toujours*" is the vivid portrayal of the flight, ecstasy, and death of a young airman. Paul Lintier was another of these young officers. Struck by a shell on the Lorraine frontier in his twenty-third year, he was a prose writer of the first class whose wonderful book "*Ma Pièce*" was written night after night upon his knee in seven feverish weeks. On March 26, 1917, the *Société des Gens de Lettres* met in solemn assembly to commemorate the authors who had died during the war, and as name followed name the single phrase "Mort au champs d'honneur" fell upon the pause.

Let us recall one more proof that the spirit of Roland and Joan lives still in modern France. The Germans had invaded a trench and overcome all resistance; the French soldiers all had fallen. Suddenly from out the heap of wounded and dead one man arose and seized a sack of grenades that lay beside him. "Let the dead arise," he cried. Then the other men awoke from their death trance and fought the foe and drove him from his capture. Is not the word "Verdun" honored currency in the country of the brave and chivalrous?

The women of France in the war.

"Jusqu'au bout" was the motto of the women of France, as of the men. No nation can fight a long and successful war without the support of its women, and Frenchmen in their long record as a military race have had fullest proof of this. In 1870 as in 1429, in 1793 as in 1914 French heroism and endurance was as much the rule among the women as among the men. But the last great war has taken place in an age where woman has proved by careful training of body and of mind that all paths are open to her. In 1870 French women, willing as they were, could not, even had the need been as great, have taken the places of the men called to the colors. Their training did not admit of it, public opinion would have prevented it. In the Great War the so-called feminist movement has won a fresh and glorious charter of liberty.

One can divide their service into four distinct categories, although in several instances a woman has served in double and triple capacity. There are those women, whose destiny set them in the zone of war and exposed them to an enemy whose ferocity recognized no distinction of age or sex. In some cases these women by their bravery and quick wit have cost the enemy important delay as in the case of Marcelle Semer who opened the draw-bridge across the Somme in the face of the Germans and flung the key of the bridge into the canal, thereby causing them twenty-four hours' delay. Some have aided their countrymen to

escape, or under bombardment have fearlessly continued their work as telephone-operator, instructress or nurse. Others in time of need have assumed civic and intermediary duties and have represented a populace whose *maire* or magistrate was missing. Others again in this war-scourged region have succored the wounded and the dying—of their own and of the enemy also—comforted little children and protected the homeless ones.

CIVILIANS OF ST. QUENTIN TRANSPORTED

In France and in Belgium the German system of forced labor and deportations was attended with callousness, brutality and horror. At first only the male population was carried off, then young women and girls over fourteen years of age were taken to Germany. Only the briefest time was allowed for preparations for departure.

THE WORK OF THE VARIOUS SOCIETIES.

Then there is the class, and it is perhaps the largest, of those women who have cared for the blinded, mutilated, convalescent, tubercular, civil refugee, prisoner, orphaned and widowed of the war; who have taken as their appointed function in the struggle the amelioration, healing, and closing of the awful scars which war inflicts. The French Red Cross composed of three societies, "*la Société de Secours aux Blessés Militaires*," "*l'Union des Femmes de France*" and "*l'Association des Dames Françaises*," worked at the front and in the rear, in hospital stations, canteens, and workshops, under bombardment and during occupation, on the fields of France, the cliffs of the Dardanelles, at Saloniki, in Mudros and in Corfu.

By the opening months of 1917 these three societies had raised their number of hospitals to over 1500, their beds to 115,000 and their trained nurses to 43,100. Besides the Red Cross Hospitals, many others of public and private enterprise have been sanctioned by the government so that France had perhaps 8,000 such institutions of her own. Nevertheless, the beds in these were reserved for men suffering from severe wounds and illnesses. For the *éclopé*, or man who was not wounded or seriously ill but run down and in dire need of a brief rest, no suitable place was provided. Men whose health gave way temporarily were thus in the early months of the war miserably quartered behind the lines or on the outskirts of Paris, in barns, or disused factories, thousands indeed without shelter of any kind. Here on the poorest beds, and with scanty and coarse food how could they regain their physical fitness and tone? Some of them fell prey to the incipient maladies from

which they were suffering, many of them never returned to the trenches again. In this miserable state of affairs a French priest intervened, sent stores, sent visitors. Within two years a hundred and fifty *Éclopé Depôts* grew up in France, all of them well-built shelters, comfortably furnished, sanitarily arranged, offering good food, some means of recreation, and conditions for convalescence. This was largely the work of a young French woman, Mlle. Javal, who by dint of hard work and perseverance succeeded in inaugurating in November, 1914, the great organization of "*L'Assistance aux Dépôts d'Éclopés, Petits Blessés et Petits Malades, et aux Cantonments de Repos.*"

THE INVADERS SOMETIMES MOVED TO PITY

In strange contrast to German harshness, as practised against women and children on the march towards Paris, is the incident shown above where enemy soldiers are distributing portions of their rations to keep French children from starving. The German troops were generally well-fed, and could easily spare a part of their allowance.
Picture, H. Ruschin

THE REHABILITATION OF THE CRIPPLED SOLDIERS.

In direct connection with the hospitals and of enormous value to the future, must be mentioned the Schools for Re-education of Crippled Soldiers, which from quite early in 1914 have been so active in France and of which the celebrated *École de Joffre* at Lyons is at once the pioneer and model.

Among the blessed company of women who have sought to heal the ravages of war, are those who have exerted themselves to organize work and means of support for those who had been left stranded, either by the tide of invasion or by the paralysis of industrial conditions. In Paris, as in other cities of the province in the early months of the war, thousands of little shops were closed and it seemed impossible to prevent their employées from starving. Into this gap came the "*ouvroir*" or workshop organized by patriotic women where necessary articles for the men in the trenches were made, and which served the double purpose of employing the needy and arming the fighting man. In a later day, as need arose, these *ouvroirs* were much amplified and women were taught all manner of trades and professions from cooking to market gardening.

Societies—of mushroom growth and heaven-born pity—for caring for the fatherless and widowed, the aged and the impotent, sprang up on all sides. Nor let us forget those organizations whose magnificent effort robbed trenches and billets of many horrors by the loving thought and substantial refreshment of their "comfort parcels" or wayside canteens. A ministering band of women trod the highway of war, like the Samaritan of old, binding up the wayfarers' wounds and pouring in oil and wine.

THE WOMEN WHO TOOK THE PLACES OF MEN.

There is a third class in this band of heroines: those who have taken men's places in forge and foundry, factory and munition plant, field and vineyard, ship-building yard and office. Did Paris starve when after the second week in August all men between the ages of 17 and 48 were called to the colors? Had you been in the suburbs the following morning and every morning after mobilization, you could have seen the same big trucks and horses go by carrying in to the city the same abundant field and garden produce. True, the drivers' seats were occupied by women in coifs and handkerchiefs, the wives and sisters and sweethearts of the men of yesterday, who had organized as automatically as their menfolk. In the provinces, among the vineyards in Champagne or in the South, who is it who gathered the harvest and sowed the seed for this and every war-year? Who baked the bread and fed the cattle and reaped the corn that France might eat and not die? Who built the furnace and filled the forge, and turned out artillery and munitions that the army might fight and win in this crusade against aggression and tyranny?

Lastly, there are those who served in silence, suffered separation and loneliness, uncertainty and crushing bereavement, exile and poverty with a simple courage that yet was fine enough to have a smile for the wounded, a tear for another's woe, a heart uplifted with ardor for France, and an unconquerable will that would not accept defeat. Said a peasant woman of Poitou whose two sons and son-in-law were in the trenches, "There are some women in our village who are praying that their sons may be spared, but I cannot do that for it would seem to me in so doing that I should be praying for others to be killed!" Near Verdun *gendarmes* surprised an old woman crouching on a fresh grave and questioned her. "I have come from Rochelle," she said—"five of my sons have already died in this war and I have come here where the sixth and last is buried to weep for him." Overcome by the tragic grandeur of the spectacle the *gendarmes* saluted. The old woman arose, trembling and sobbing, and uttered a cry "*Vive la France. . . . .quand même. . .*"

MURIEL BRAY

A Working Party Going Forward

Chapter XXXII

The Battle of the Somme I

THE FIRST STAGES OF THE GREAT BRITISH AND FRENCH ASSAULT

THROUGH Picardy in northern France flows the river Somme with its little tributary, the Ancre, coming from the northeast to join it near Amiens. The furrow of the Ancre, "which is a swift, clear chalk stream, sometimes too deep and swift to ford," is flanked by undulating ground, broken by dry ravines—a kind of terrain which extends to and a little beyond the Somme. Ridges revealing chalky soil separate the valleys; and on the narrow plateaus topping the gently-sloping ridges villages long have had pleasant setting among orchards or groves of large trees, with extensive patches of woodland dotting the countryside around. The Somme meanders with frequent curves and loops through its broad valley, widening now and then into swamps and rush-grown stretches; bordered here and there by peat-mosses; and accompanied, wherever its own stream is not navigable, by a canal. The country further south is called the Santerre. Beyond Assevillers and Estrées, seated in the broadest loop of the river, it flattens out into a plain.

FAIR PICARDY THROUGH WHICH THE SOMME FLOWS.

The shining acres of Picardy, by nature fertile and radiant, fair with grain-fields and beet-root-fields, gay with poppies and cornflowers and mustard blossoms, seem designed for peace and quiet rural beauty. "It is a sweet and pleasant country," wrote Philip Gibbs on the first of July, 1916, at the outbreak of one of the most terrible and devastating battles of the world's history, one in which "the flower of the manhood of three nations was locked in a death grapple."

Already in that pleasant, smiling land, the tale of battle was an old familiar one, in whose chapters Frankish warriors, Norse rovers, determined Burgundian soldiers, sturdy English bowmen, and steel-clad French knights on armored horses, fought and fell or marched under victorious banners across those hills and valleys. Out of the heart of Picardy had arisen broader conflicts, involving the far parts of the earth; for Amiens had been the home of Peter the Hermit, and Noyon, the birthplace of John Calvin. Many a lad had grown to manhood near the trout-pools of the Ancre brook and much water had run under the bridges of the Somme, before, in the nineteenth century, war had again rolled across the fields of northern France. This, too, had passed and the earth had bloomed again.

THE GREAT TRENCHES THROUGH THE CHALKY SOIL.

But the scars of the warfare that began its ravages in 1914 were deeper

and more disfiguring than Europe had ever suffered before. The long jagged slash falling across the West from the North Sea to Switzerland cut through Picardy, crossing both the Ancre and the Somme. There, after the first breathless struggle of the rival armies in their sweep toward the sea, they had dug themselves in securely, transforming towns and wooded plantations into formidable fortifications. Farther north, around Ypres, and farther south, near Soissons and Verdun, battles had raged with fearful intensity, but this part of the front had been comparatively quiet.

THE GERMANS BELIEVE THEIR POSITIONS IMPREGNABLE.

For more than a year and a half the time had been spent in extensive preparation for a possible future test of the endurance and fighting strength of two great forces. On the one side, the German lines were established with intricate and elaborate detail until they were deemed impregnable. Behind the imposing first position, constructed with systems of trenches for firing, support, and reserve troops, and deep dugouts for protecting the men and machine-guns against bombardment, there was a second position of almost equal strength. Behind this, again, third and fourth positions lay, including various villages and clumps of woodland. Trenches and dugouts were driven far down below the surface, in a soil that "cut like cheese and hardened like brick in dry weather." They were connected by tunnels, provided with manholes, lined with timber, approached by well-built wooden stairways; and in some of the dugouts, thirty feet or more below ground, the luxuries of electric lighting, wallpaper, cretonnes, and pictures were not wanting. Deep cellars in village houses became strongholds and shelters for resistance in later combats. In the woods, matted underbrush was intertwined with thick barbed wire, until the tangle appeared utterly impenetrable around the network of trenches it protected. Without exaggeration one could say, "The great German salient which curves around from Gommecourt to Fricourt is like a chain of mediæval fortresses connected by earthworks and tunnels." The arteries that furnished supplies and material of all sorts to the complicated structure were the railways passing through St. Quentin, Cambrai, La Fère and Laon.

THE BRITISH PREPARE TO BLAST THEIR WAY THROUGH.

While the German Command were thus building what they considered an immovable wall to stand in defiance against all assault, the Allied leaders were bending their thoughts and energies toward the destruction of the wall. To make the effort adequate required months of labor, planning, and training. In the spring of 1916 the British area had been extended to include the whole front between Ypres and the Somme, but the New Army was not yet ready to undertake a great military project. It was still in a state of preparation, drilling and pulling into form for a supreme effort. The material was of the best—England's choice young manhood, intelligent, ready, eager to give themselves to the work and discipline of army life, or to the ultimate sacrifice in battle, for the great end in view. For them, in the months of waiting, the front was a training-camp. Meanwhile, the manufacture of war material in England was being pushed to the utmost. Guns of all sizes, trench-mortars, grenades were produced in a profusion unheard-of before. At the bases vast reserve stores of munitions were piled up and then sent forward; for the supply required must be more than ten times as great as in any former campaign. With the increase in the calibre of the weapons and the weight of ammunition, the demands made upon lines of communication were broadened and intensified. Railways, tramways, sidings and platforms were built behind the lines. It was necessary, too, to lay as many as one hundred and twenty miles of water mains and install wells and pumping stations. As experience brought greater understanding of the needs, trenches were multiplied and improved, and dugouts were prepared

to serve as storehouses, dressing stations and shelters. Gun emplacements were made ready and posts for observation carefully screened and disguised.

THE BRITISH AND FRENCH IN ENTIRE ACCORD.

As the battle of Verdun progressed, during the spring and summer, French and British leaders were working in accord. It was with the approval of General Joffre that the British lines remained undemonstrative, except for artillery activities, patrol raids in quest of information, and minor engagements in the way of trench and crater fighting, which held the attention of parts of the enemy forces. But, in adding the region around Arras to their own front, the British had been able to release the French Tenth Army, which had been stationed there.

"It would be idle to pretend that the events of the spring and early summer of 1916 were on the whole exhilarating," writes Mr. H. Perry Robinson. "In the spluttering activities which went on along the whole front, our men showed always the greatest pluck; but it was horrible warfare, a warfare of gas attacks and midnight raids and mining—all dreadful forms of fighting."

THE SITUATION AT VERDUN DEMANDS AN OFFENSIVE.

Sir Douglas Haig felt it to be the part of wisdom to postpone an important attack until his forces were well prepared to make it effectual. However, the long, severe strain of Verdun at last called for a strong stroke to divert the enemy from his concentration there. The Somme area had already been determined upon as the scene of the next great effort. It was here that the armies of France and Britain lay side by side and could, consequently, work in direct co-operation. The British were to assume the main responsibility, with the French action subordinate and complementary. Midsummer was set as the latest advisable date for the advance.

THE GERMANS EMPLOYED IN DIGGING A WELL

The imperative need for water, wherever an army might be, furnished one of the great problems of the war. Wells were dug behind the lines, and new ones constructed when the lines shifted. Here is one in process of building, the shaft partly sunk and crossbeams prepared for a roof. When leaving a position, the Germans were likely to poison the water in their wells to impede the enemy's advance.

Since the opening of 1916, the British infantry had appeared for the first time in their new steel helmets, when in March they had made a surprise attack upon the German trenches during a renewal of battling in the Ypres salient. In April the enemy tried various attacks of tear and gas shells, at least one of which was turned back upon his own lines by a shifting wind. On May 6, the Anzacs, newly arrived in France, had their first meeting with the foe on French soil, and a week later there was a vigorous German bombardment between the Somme and Maricourt, followed by an unsuccessful attack. Then Vimy Ridge became the centre of activity for a few days, with an explosion of mines and gallant fighting by the Lancashires.

THE CANADIANS AGAIN DEFEND THE YPRES SALIENT.

In the first week of June, the Germans made another concentrated attempt to break into the Ypres salient, where the 3rd Canadian Division, under Major-General Mercer, was stationed. Although stunned by a terrifying bombardment which preceded the attack, the Princess Patricia's Light Infantry and the Canadian Mounted Rifles made a splendid resistance in Sanctuary Wood and around Zillibeke. General Mercer and several other officers were killed, and, in spite of brilliant and determined fighting, the positions at the extreme point of the salient were lost. The line fell back behind the ruins of Hooge, until Major-General Currie with the 1st Canadian Division, by making a successful attack, regained the most important section of that bit of the front.

THE ALLIES HAVE THE ADVANTAGE IN THE AIR.

The air service of the Allies had grown steadily in effectiveness and confidence until it had unquestionably outstripped that of the Central Powers. By the aid of telephoto lenses, photographs could be obtained from a height of three or four thousand feet and panoramic views prepared. Moreover, the Royal Engineers, from airplane observations, were able to construct accurate detailed maps of the enemy positions. Wireless apparatus on aircraft had taken the place of the cruder signals for regulating gunfire from above. By pursuing hostile craft and by bombing supply stations and bases, as well as attacking infantry lines, the airmen furnished invaluable assistance. After a new method, dropping fire-balls, had been adopted for destroying captive balloons, the eyes of the enemy were considerably impaired. "Sausages" were far less numerous along the German lines, so many had collapsed and crumpled under the touch of the fiery darts falling out of the sky. Sir Douglas Haig's dispatch reports that "on the 25th of June the Royal Flying Corps carried out a general attack on the enemy's observation balloons, destroying nine of them." However, in the greater part of the Somme sector, the German positions were on higher ground, affording better direct observation of the lines of the British than the latter had of theirs, and the Germans were supplied with maps giving correct ranges along each road of advance.

In preparation for the offensive, the point of contact between the French and British troops, previously at the line of the Somme, was shifted to a point a little north of the river in the vicinity of Maricourt. Without the river between them, they could make closer and better co-operation. General Sir Henry S. Rawlinson was entrusted with the main attack, from Maricourt northward to Serre. His command, the Fourth Army, lay across the Ancre and rounded the Fricourt salient. The subsidiary attack, from Serre northward, near Gommecourt, was in the hands of General Sir Edmund Allenby and troops from his Third Army.

THE FRENCH HOLD THE POSITIONS SOUTH OF MARICOURT.

South of General Rawlinson's right wing and extending from Maricourt across the Somme to Fay, the French attacking force consisted of the Sixth Army, under General Fayolle, and the Tenth Army under General Micheler. These were the two armies which had

NORTH SEA
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
FRANCE
R. Scheldt
OSTEND
BRUGES
NIEUPORT
DUNKIRK
DIXMUDE
YPRES
MENIN
COURTRAI
TOURCOING
ROUBAIX
ARMENTIÈRES
LILLE
TOURNAI
GHENT
Audenarde
Ninove
Grammont
Alost
Termonde
Lokeren
Eecloo
Maldegem
Thielt
Roulers
Ingelmunster
Iseghem
Zillebeke
Hill 60
Messines
Mouscron
Renaix
Lessines
Enghien
Ath
Leuze
Soignies
LENS
Antoing
Seclin
LA BASSÉE
BÉTHUNE
LOOS
Lens
Carvin
Vimy
Souchez
Pont-à-Vendin
Carency
Lievin
Douai
Sin
Somain
Anzin
VALENCIENNES
Denain
Aniche
Orchies
St. Amand
Condé
Fresnes
Jemappes
MONS
Frameries
Binche
Audregnies
Marchiennes
Scarpe
Raismes
Vitry
ARRAS
Aubigny
Le Cateau
Le Quesnoy
MAUBEUGE
Hautmont
Avesnes
Landrecies
Bohain
Fresnoy
Guise
Hirson
Wassigny
Solre
Beaumont
Escaudœuvres
CAMBRAI
Bertaimont
Solesmes
Bousies
Busigny
Le Nouvion
Fourmies
Vervins
Albert
Bapaume
Péronne
Frise
Villers-Bretonneux
Corbie
Amiens
Doullens
Contay
Pozières
Thiepval
Ovillers
La Boisselle
Combles
Gouzeaucourt
Walincourt
Ciary
Le Catelet
Hermies
Bapaume
Achiet
Bucquoy
Ecoust
Mondicourt
Souastre
Avesnes
Roeux
Arleux
Aubigny
Vitry
Pampoux
Tinques
Lens
Henin-Lietard
Libercourt
Carvin
Pont-à-Vendin
Vermelles
Hulluch
Cuinchy
Givenchy
Richebourg
Neuve Chapelle
Aubers
Fromelles
Lille
Armentières
Bailleul
Hazebrouck
Wormhoudt
Poperinghe
Boesinghe
Langemarck
Zonnebeke
Passchendaele
Staden
Roulers
Iseghem
Lendelede
Courtrai
Wevelghem
Comines
Warneton
Ploegsteert
Wytschaete
Wattrelos
Roubaix
Tourcoing
Croix
La Madeleine
Marcq-en-Barœul
Wambrechies
Houplines
Deûlémont
Quesnoy-sur-Deûle
Sainghin-en-Weppes
Lomme
Haubourdin
Emmerin
Santes
Wavrin
Don
Sailly
Fournes
Merville
Estaires
Lestrem
La Gorgue
Armentières
Nieppe
Bois Grenier
Le Maisnil
Frelinghien
Quesnoy
Deûlémont
Comines
Warneton
Ploegsteert
Wytschaete
Messines
Mesen
Wulverghem
Kemmel
Locre
Dranoutre
Bailleul
Steenwerck
Merris
Strazeele
Hazebrouck
Cassel
Wormhoudt
Bergues
Furnes
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Mardyck
Coudekerque
Petite Synthe
Grande Synthe
Loon Plage
Bourbourg
Dunkerque
Malo-les-Bains
Zuydcoote
Bray-Dunes
La Panne
Adinkerke
Ghyvelde
Oost Dunkerque
Middelkerke
Westende
Nieuport
Lombartzyde
Ostend
Mariakerke
Zeebrugge
Blankenberghe
Heyst
Knocke
Breskens
Terneuzen
Hulst
Doel
La Clinge
Beveren
St. Paulo
St. Nicholas
Assenede
Zelzate
Evergem
Aeltre
Lovendegem
Zomergem
Waarschoot
Lootenhulle
Eeklo
Maldegem
Sleidinge
Evergem
Moerbeke
Wachtebeke
Zelzate
Langerbrugge
Ghent
Wondelgem
Merelbeke
Melle
Gontrode
Heusden
Zele
Stekene
Sinaai
Waasmunster
Tamise
Hamme
Moerzeke
Termonde
Baasrode
Dendermonde
Schoonaarde
Zwijndrecht
Burcht
Beveren
Kruibeke
Stekene
Moerbeke
Lokeren
Daknam
Wetteren
Laarne
Wichelen
Serskamp
Schellebelle
Wieze
Denderleeuw
Haaltert
Ninove
Lede
Zandbergen
Oordegem
Smeerebbe
Vlierzele
Sottegem
Wortegem
Zingem
Oosterzeele
Wetteren
Berlare
Uitbergen
Overmere
Zele
Lebbeke
Wieze
Denderleeuw
Haaltert
Ninove
Lede
Zandbergen
Oordegem
Smeerebbe
Vlierzele
Sottegem
Wortegem
Zingem
Oosterzeele
Wetteren
Berlare
Uitbergen
Overmere
Zele
Lebbeke
Audenarde
Heurne
Mullem
Nukerke
Elene
Hoorebeke
Petegem
Wannegem
Lede
Oombergen
Grotenberge
Ooteghem
Leerbeek
Denderwindeke
Pollare
Iddergem
Voorde
Meerbeke
Ressegem
Ledeberg
Gentbrugge
Melle
Gontrode
Heusden
Mariakerke
Afsnee
Merelbeke
Wondelgem
Ghent
Langerbrugge
Zelzate
Moerbeke
Wachtebeke
Evergem
Sleidinge
Eeklo
Maldegem
Assenede
Zelzate
Evergem
Aeltre
Lovendegem
Zomergem
Waarschoot
Lootenhulle
Eeklo
Maldegem
Sleidinge
Evergem
Moerbeke
Wachtebeke
Zelzate
Langerbrugge
Ghent
Wondelgem
Merelbeke
Melle
Gontrode
Heusden
Zele
Stekene
Sinaai
Waasmunster
Tamise
Hamme
Moerzeke
Termonde
Baasrode
Dendermonde
Schoonaarde
Zwijndrecht
Burcht
Beveren
Kruibeke
Stekene
Moerbeke
Lokeren
Daknam
Wetteren
Laarne
Wichelen
Serskamp
Schellebelle

French lines. He declares: "I never saw an army gayer or more fit and confident. The German prisoners seem to be utterly astounded and disgusted by what they see there; and their spirits are not raised by what they hear of what has been going on with the new British Army."

THE OBJECTIVES AND THE PLAN TO ACHIEVE THEM.

The tactical plan to be followed was for an advance by degrees, each stage to have a thorough preparation by the artillery so as to crush and weaken as far as possible the enemy's entanglements and fortifications. In a general way the objective of the British armies was Bapaume and that of the French, Péronne; but their immediate movements were aimed eastward by three simultaneous *échelons* (or steps). The first of these, by the British centre, was to push toward La Boisselle; the second, by the British right, toward Hardecourt and the Somme; the third, by the French section, had as its goal the Somme beyond Biache and Barleux. And there were three underlying purposes for the offensive:—to relieve the pressure upon Verdun, to stop the transference of enemy troops from the Western Front to other theatres of the war, and to break down the strength of the enemy's forces. These, rather than the actual addition of territory, were the ends to be attained. It was a costly process to roll wave after wave of splendid young manhood against the solid wall of defense set up by the invaders; but the wall would thus be worn thin and break through, if the process were pursued with vigor and endurance.

A BRITISH HOWITZER ON RAILWAY MOUNTING, SOMEWHERE ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Railway-mounted heavy artillery was highly developed in the World War. Thus was the necessary rigidity combined with mobility. Different mounts were used for different cannon. For howitzers and moderately long-range guns, mounts with limited traverse (or lateral swing) were employed. Mounts for small guns allowed all-around fire; while those for very long-range guns were fixed, depending upon curved rails for change of aim from side to side. These different types of railway mounts were adapted to different uses.

On June 24 began the fearful bombardment that ushered in a battle which was to become a five-months' siege. Irregular artillery attacks since mid-June all along the Franco-British front, had led up to this intensified fire, concentrating now here and now there with misleading emphasis. But, during the last week of June, through cloudy, heavy, rainy weather, ninety miles of British guns, with flanking miles to north and south, of Belgian and French guns, poured forth ceaseless volumes of shells and raged with roll upon roll of thunderous roaring.

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THE AREA OF THE GREAT BATTLE OF THE SOMME

The key map in the lower corner shows the Allied line before the battle, and the relation of the battle area to the rest of the Western Front. The British forces involved extended from Gommecourt to Maricourt, rounding the Fricourt salient. The attack on the section reaching from Gommecourt nearly to Thiepval, in the hands of the right wing of General Allenby's Third Army, was subsidiary and failed. The five corps of the Fourth Army under General Rawlinson made the chief attack, on the front between Thiepval and Maricourt. The French Sixth Army, with General Fayolle in command, lay next on the right, from Maricourt to Fay. This attacking force was flanked on the right by General Micheler's Tenth Army. Broadly, the British objective was Bapaume; the French, Péronne. The west face of the salient whose angle was at Fricourt lay across the Ancre and was crossed by the Albert-Bapaume road. The French line stretched north and south across the Somme itself. Fortified woodlands were traps in the path of advance. The first change in the line was made between la Boisselle and Montauban, while the forbidding barriers surrounding Thiepval and Combles resisted for many weeks. The French made steady progress toward their goal, and co-operation between the allies was close and effective.

"A German prisoner who had taken part in the Verdun fighting subsequently remarked, 'The shell-fire on the Somme was much worse than that in the region of the Lorraine fortress.' "

AN OBSERVER TELLS OF THE FIERCE RAIN OF SHELLS.

Of this phase of the battle, Mr. Robinson says: "Never since the war had entered on its stationary phase in the existing positions had there been anything approaching in scope and intensity the shelling and miscellaneous fighting which raged along a hundred miles of front. It was only the overture; but it was stupendous and terrifying, even though what one saw and heard was only a small section of the dreadful whole."

The effect of the raking fire he describes in part as follows:—"All the foreground was a mere brown wilderness embroidered with a maze of trenches. The woods within the dreadful zone were being deliberately stripped leafless, and château and farm and village alike converted into jagged piles of ruins. Most terrible of all was the constant cloud of smoke which overlay the landscape."

And at midnight of the thirtieth of June, as he watched from the Albert ridge, "As far as the eye could see it was one amazing display of fireworks. It was more constant than the flickering of summer lightning, resembling rather the fixed but quivering glow of Aurora Borealis. One could distinguish the bursts of the great shells from the rhythmical pounding of the trench mortars, and the quick, ruddier flashing of the shrapnel bursting in the smoke bank which hung overhead. Punctuating it, intensely white against the other flames, rose almost like a continuous fountain the star shells and with them red flares, like the balls of huge Roman candles, which rose and hung awhile and slowly sank and died away."

The enemy divisions holding the area of the proposed attack were the Sixth Army, under the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and the right wing of Otto von Below's Second Army. Anticipating that the assault would be made between Arras and Albert, they had stiffened themselves for resistance there, with the result that when the blow fell it was repelled with appalling loss to the Allies in the region of their subsidiary attack, between Gommecourt and Thiepval, while it drove through in the direction of Combles and the Somme.

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GREAT BATTLE.

In the early morning of the first of July, a morning bright and fair, with mists still hanging over the valleys,—the artillery action grew to a height that dwarfed even its extraordinary preparation of the preceding week. French and British guns spoke their loudest, and smoke screens were projected in the face of the enemy. The experiences of listeners varied strangely. To some at close range, there came almost no sound from the explosions they were watching; while others, miles away, were overwhelmed by the furor of deafening noise. It was a curious phenomenon. Philip Gibbs was on the hills, witnessing the storm of conflict.

"For a time," he says, "I could see nothing through the low-lying mist and the heavy smoke clouds which mingled with the mist, and I stood like a blind man, only listening. It was a wonderful thing which came to my ears. Shells were rushing through the air as though all the trains in the world were driving at express speed through endless tunnels in which they met each other with frightful collisions."

THE SIGNAL FOR THE ADVANCE IS GIVEN.

At 7:30 an instant's break in the thunder sound marked the lengthening of the range and the dropping of a barrage. Then came the added rattle and crack of machine gun and rifle fire. The men were starting forward. On they moved through the hail of shrapnel and shot coming from the German guns behind the smoke and barrage screens. At Gommecourt there were three shrapnel curtains falling between the British and their goal—a distance of five hundred yards. As high explosives from the German lines had shat-

GERMAN SOLDIERS BESIDE A CANAL OF THE SOMME

A canal accompanies the course of the Somme River, avoiding the marshes and cutting across at the bases of the deep loops formed by the stream. These Germans are on the look-out in a concealed position on the bank of the canal. Their attention seems fixed upon something in the distance down the canal.

A REVIEW BY RUPPRECHT, CROWN PRINCE OF BAVARIA

Prince Rupprecht, Commander-in-Chief of the Bavarian Army, the only member of German royal families to gain distinction during the war, was, at the opening of the Battle of the Somme, in command of the German army lying in the northern area, where the offensive was repulsed. Later, he was given supreme command of the German forces engaged in the battle. Pictures, Henry Ruschin

tered the assembly trenches, the British ranks had to be formed chiefly on the open ground; but in regular formation as if for parade the companies marched forward into a shattering shower of explosives. Thousands were destined to pay the price at once. Others broke through in safety to the goal beyond.

At Beaumont Hamel, where for seven months British fatigue parties, under the direction of Lancashire miners, had been at work upon a mine of cavernous proportions, the largest in the campaign thus far, the explosion on that July morning, immediately before the infantry advance, carried upward and scattered "half the village," according to one of the sergeants present.

THIEPVAL AND THE SCHWABEN REDOUBT TAKEN AND LOST.

From Thiepval northward, where the German preparations were most careful, and machine-guns, safe and sound, could be lifted out of deep shelters to be carried far to the front through tunnels leading to protected pits, there to be used to isolate parties that had already passed, the enfilading fire from thickly clustered guns of all sorts and sizes cut down numbers of the assaulting divisions, leaving only scattered groups to seize points that they could not hold. Thiepval village was entered by the members of a Scottish battalion; while the Ulster Division reached and for a time held the Schwaben Redoubt, on the ridge north of the village. They took about 600 prisoners and gallantly fought against all odds, making the day for them a day of glory. Yet, before night fell, the line from Thiepval to Gommecourt had been forced to return to its original positions.

The main attack, from the Ancre at St. Pierre Divion to Maricourt, included, as we have noticed, the Fricourt salient. Running back of Fricourt was a stiffly fortified chalk ridge ("the highest in the whole region between Albert and Péronne"), reaching from La Boisselle to the brickworks directly east of Montauban. Mametz was a hamlet situated on the southern slope of the ridge and very near Fricourt. Instead of attacking Fricourt directly, the Allies used again the pincers method that had been applied at St. Mihiel and on other salients. From the west, by way of Ovillers and La Boisselle toward Contalmaison, and from the south by way of Mametz and Montauban, incisions were to be made in the sides of the angle.

VETERANS OVERWHELMED BY SOLDIERS OF THE NEW ARMY.

Mametz was early taken by a division already famous for achievements at Ypres and elsewhere; and within a few hours of the opening of the attack Montauban too had fallen. The victors there, unlike the garrison of experienced Bavarian soldiers, were, among others, the Manchesters—chiefly young clerks and warehousemen, who had been but a few months in training, and who fought, nevertheless, with a spirit worthy of veterans. The 6th Bavarian Regiment opposing them was reduced almost to annihilation by a loss of 3000 out of 3500. The brickworks, where the British had anticipated vigorous resistance, were captured without difficulty, for they were found to have been shattered by artillery fire.

THE FRENCH ALSO MAKE CONSIDERABLE GAINS.

Where the French left joined the British right wing, the two armies kept pace together in a steady advance. Among the French troops in action was the 20th Corps, which had fought gloriously at the Marne and at Verdun. North of the Somme, on the first day of the battle, the French arrived at the edges of Curlu and Hardecourt. South of the Somme, where their attack was not at all expected by the enemy (who supposed the French resources strained to the utmost by the battle of Verdun), they swept on into Dompierre, Becquincourt, Bussu and Fay before nightfall. Their casualties were comparatively few, but the Germans had suffered great losses in killed and wounded.

On July 2, the French progress kept up the same rate. Curlu, Frise, the Wood of Méreaucourt and the village of Herbecourt were added to their conquests. General Fayolle's right

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THE SCENE OF FRENCH SUCCESSES ON THE SOMME, 1916

The progress of the French on their part of the front was accomplished without enormous losses owing largely to exact co-ordination between artillery and infantry. Hardecourt fell into the hands of General Fayolle's Sixth Army at once. By gradual steps they moved toward Combles, taking Maurepas in August. In September Combles was surrounded by British and French, the latter crossing the Péronne-Bapaume Road and seizing Bouchavesnes, Le Priez Farm, Rancourt and Frégicourt. On September 26, Combles was entered by troops of both nations. Further progress north of the Somme was toward Le Transloy. The French in October attacked Sailly-Saillisel and took Sailly. Farther south, along the river and beyond it, an immediate approach to Péronne had been gained early in July by the capture of Curlu, Dompierre, Becquincourt, Fay, Herbecourt, Assevillers, Flaucourt, Feuillères, Estrées, Belloy-en-Santerre, Assevillers, Hem, Biaches, and la Maisonnette. In September General Micheler's Tenth Army came into action and took the German first position on a front of almost three miles. During September and October they continued to go forward, taking Vermandovillers, Deniécourt and other places.

wing was no more than four miles from Péronne. In the two days, the French forces alone had secured 6000 prisoners, beside numbers of guns and masses of other material. It was evident that the German Command had begun the process known as "milking the lines," for several battalions from the Aisne appeared as reinforcements in the loop of the Somme. They were rapidly dispersed, however, by the French. In spite of storms and unfavorable conditions, General Fayolle's forces still drove forward. House by house they secured Estrées after several days of fighting. Belloy-en-Santerre, Assevillers, and the woods before Barleux, thoroughly intrenched and wired, were in their possession before July 6. On the day before, they had obtained Hem, north of the Somme. So close were they now to Péronne, the centre of supplies for that part of Picardy, that the enemy shifted his railhead from there to Chaulnes.

GENERAL HAIG NOW FORMS ANOTHER ARMY.

At the end of the first day, Sir Douglas Haig had decided to give into the command of Sir Hubert Gough, who had a nucleus of a Fifth (Reserve) Army, the two northern corps, the 4th and the 8th of Sir Henry Rawlinson's Army. Their position was north of the fine national road (whose foundations were laid by the Romans) which passes through Albert and Bapaume. They were now to continue a steady pressure upon the enemy from La Boisselle to the Serre Road and to serve as a pivoting point for the line on their right, engaged in the principal attack. The whole British line of the original assault had been something short of twenty miles, with the French adding about ten miles more on the right. Sir Henry Rawlinson was now to concentrate his efforts upon a front between six and seven miles long.

On July 2, Fricourt, having been cut off, was taken, and the fighting pushed on into the woods north and east of the village. These woods had been originally park-like plantations scattered at frequent intervals among the villages. Their undergrowth, uncut for several seasons, had been rendered more matted and inextricable by the German barbed wire and the recent artillery work of the French and British. As for the trees, it was not long before where they had stood there were to be seen, according to an officer's letter, "only a few jagged spikes." Most desperate struggles for the possession of these woods were fought out during the next few days. The German machine-guns and rifles, concealed in trees or in briery tangles, were able to defy approaching antagonists and make their advance both difficult and slow. Fricourt Wood, Shelter Wood, Birch Tree Wood, and others in the same group were gained by hard fighting. On July 4, Mametz Wood, an approach to Contalmaison, was entered, though it was not cleared until nearly ten days later, since the strong fortress known as the Quadrangle had to be conquered first. Bernafay Wood, on the eastern edge of Montauban, was taken on the fourth.

THE BRITISH GAINS IN FIVE DAYS OF FIGHTING.

All through those first days of July a grim and sanguinary contest was being waged about and in La Boisselle. Its ruins were finally occupied on the fifth, when the battle passed farther forward into Bailiff Wood, west of Contalmaison As the result of the first five days of the conflict, Sir Douglas Haig reported for his army the seizure of 94 officers and 5724 men of other ranks, with a territorial gain of one mile along a front of about six miles. This included, of course, the "four elaborately fortified villages," Montauban, Mametz, Fricourt and La Boisselle.

The second week of July was spent in preparing for a fresh advance upon the German second position and in completing the conquest of all strongholds leading up to that position. Gains were made in the neighborhood of La Boisselle, and the outer defenses of Ovillers were occupied—Ovillers, which was by this time "a place of abominable ruin, perhaps more ghastly than any other ruined ground along this front." Between July 7 and July 12,

A WAVE OF GAS SEEN FROM THE AIR

Waves of terrible destruction—waves advancing and retreating—rolled along the battle-acres, splintering the trees and buildings, crushing out all life and beauty. Still men fought to take or hold them. Here a wave of poison gases drives the Germans fleeing backward to the trenches and the shell-holes on that plain of desolation.

SEAMS AND SCARS ON THE SURFACE OF PICARDY

Shorn, excoriated, shattered, pounded, beaten, crushed and furrowed, ploughed, upheaved, torn, pitted, harrowed, wasted, desolated, ravaged, sown with pitiable wreckage nameless, horrible and mingled,—after months of battle-torture lay the sad and broken surface of the Santerre doomed and stricken. From the air it looked a desert cut with giant seams and gashes, strangely scooped in cups and hollows; and the infantry advancing seemed but pygmies in the fissures.

Contalmaison was taken, lost, and taken again. At last its tenure was made sure by clearing Mametz Wood of all enemy posts. There the British came face to face at last with the main German second position. Meanwhile, approaching from the west, a battalion of a South Country Regiment had spent July seventh and eighth, gaining control of the road leading from Ovillers to Contalmaison. There they "had been fighting in a quagmire of yellowish-white mud so tenacious that the very boots of the men stuck in it and had often to be wrenched off." A young Company Commander likened the churned-up ground soaked with drenching rains to "porridge with syrup over it." It appeared to him "as though cartloads of it had been dropped from the sky by giants—spilt porridge."

During this same time, British troops from Montauban were co-operating with their allies around Hardecourt. While the French approached the town from the south and took it, the British carried on a hot and desperate struggle for Trônes Wood, northwest of Hardecourt. Day and night they waged fierce battle in an area so raked by artillery fire from both sides that neither could establish a base there. There were numerous counter-attacks in which the enemy lost hundreds of men, but his position behind the wood gave him the opportunity of pouring in reinforcements until they might be urgently called for on other parts of the front.

A SUMMARY OF THE FRENCH ADVANCE.

South of the Somme, the French had reached and occupied, on July 9, Biaches, separated from Péronne by only the river and its marshes. Then, fighting on through the night and early morning, they reached and took the high ridges occupied by the Maisonette estate, which overlooked Péronne, commanding railroad stations and neighboring roadways. General Fayolle's army had now advanced over ground to a depth of six and a half miles upon a ten-mile front. In some places they had penetrated to the German third position. Some 12,000 men, beside 236 officers, had been captured, and 85 guns with a great quantity of other war material taken, by the French alone.

THE GERMAN FIRST LINE BROKEN ON A WIDE FRONT.

Sir Douglas Haig's report stated: "Our troops have completed the methodical capture of the enemy's first system of defense on a front of 14,000 yards." This had been accomplished by steadily working on "from wood to wood and from ruined village to ruined village." About 22,000 German prisoners had been captured, and tens of thousands of the enemy had fallen. The British losses were terribly heavy, especially those of the first attack. An entire disregard for danger probably increased the number even beyond what was necessary and unavoidable.

An abomination of desolation lay behind the advancing armies in unrecognizable heaps and masses that had once had form and beauty and human interest. Seen from the air, the battle area seemed a desert place, upheaved and churned, and pitted with deep hollows as if some mammoth birds had settled there, shaping for themselves huge nesting-places with rim touching rim. The trenches were but long, straggling scratches such as might have been drawn by a gigantic finger through the crumbled, arid surface. Where a mine or a large shell exploded, a monstrous geyser spouted high—a mass of earth and fragments—tossing upward to fall back in new heaps of horror and ruin. And all about along the miles of battle-front puffs and clouds of smoke broke out and drifted and dissipated—always renewed from moment to moment.

THE STORY OF AN OLD WOMAN'S TWO LITTLE FIELDS.

Only the men who had lived and struggled in that tormented region could realize fully the extent of its torture and transformation. The story of two little fields, whose owner, an old blacksmith's wife, was overjoyed by their recovery, is sketched in an officer's letter:

"Think," he writes, "what those fields must have been in the spring of 1914, and what they are today, every yard of them torn by shells, burrowed through and through by old trenches and dugouts; think of the hundreds of tons of wire, sand-bags, timber, galvanized iron, duck-boards, revetting stuff, steel, iron, blood and sweat, the rum jars, bully-beef tins, old trench boots, field dressings, cartridge cases, rockets, wire stanchions and stakes, gas gongs, bomb boxes, S. A. A. cases, broken canteens, bits of uniforms, and buried soldiers, and Boches—all in the old lady's two little fields."

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE GREAT BATTLE.

With no really perceptible pause for preparation, the second stage of the great battle was launched. The work of clearing up the positions in Mametz Wood, around Contalmaison and in Trônes Wood went hand in hand with the work of preparing the attack upon the German second line, which lay a little above and beyond, stretching in front of Pozières, Bazentin-le-Petit, Bazentin-le-Grand, Longueval and Guillemont. From July 11, the artillery fire was violent and spasmodic along the whole line; and toward the end of the bombardment gas and smoke attacks were made in the section north of the Ancre, although the British front of attack in the new effort was to be limited to the four or five miles between Pozières and the Wood of Delville. There not a moment was lost in the brief space allowed for preparation.

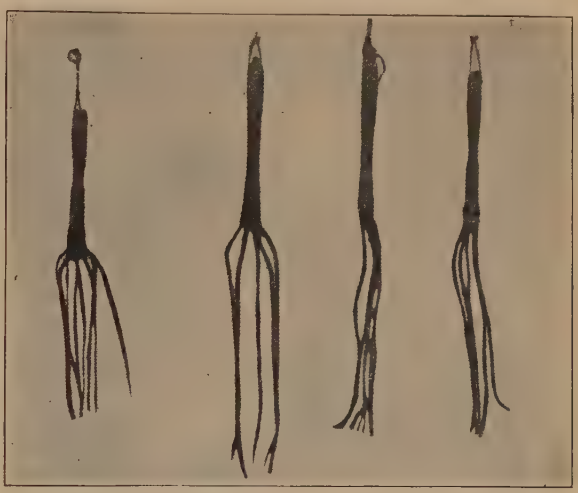
On July 14, the one hundred twenty-seventh anniversary of the Fall of the Bastille, while Paris was celebrating in an unprecedented fashion, with troops of all the Allies marching in procession amid cheering crowds, the armies of the British Empire on the Somme battlefield were shouting for France as they executed their "Great 'do'" on France's own great festival day. The skirling of the Scottish pipers who led the advance across the long stretch of No Man's Land north of Montauban was echoed by the skirling of the pipers on the Champs Elysée.

THE BOMBARDMENT BECOMES EVEN MORE FURIOUS.

Before dawn on the fourteenth, the bombardment reached its highest development, even outdoing the earlier demonstrations, impressive as they had been. The correspondent of *The Times*, Mr. Robinson, says of it:

"It was a thick night, the sky veiled in mottled and hurrying clouds, through which only one planet shone serene and steadily, high up in the eastern sky. But the wonderful and appalling thing was the belt of flame which fringed a great arc of the horizon before us. It was not, of course, a steady flame, but it was one which never went out, rising and falling, flashing and flickering, half dimmed with its own smoke, against which the stabs and jets of fire of the bursting shells flared out intensely white or dully orange. Out of it all, now here, now there, rose like fountains the great balls of star shells and signal lights—theirs or ours—white and crimson and green. The noise of the shells was terrific, and when the guns nearest to us spoke not only the air but the earth beneath us shook. . . .

"Far off to the right the shimmering



SOME SOUVENIRS FROM GERMAN TRENCHES, JULY, 1916

in the sky told us where the beautiful French guns were busy. On the left the region of Ovillers-la-Boisselle was like a volcano in eruption. But it was on the ground immediately before us that the chief interest centred, for there, between 3 o'clock and 3:30, the great attempt was to be made."

THE EFFECT OF THE FIRE ON THE GERMAN LINES.

The effective service of the artillery was realized by the men who followed the guidance of its storming cloud into the German lines and found trenches demolished, walls pulverized (as at Bazentin-le-Grand where 2000 shells or more were dropped in the last 20 minutes) and dugout entrances sealed with wreckage. The telephone, the indispensable auxiliary of every battery, guided the fire, whether the messages came from balloons far overhead or from operators pushing forward in the assault and unrolling reels of wire as they went. A French officer states that by the middle of July there were 12,420 miles of telephone wire in use in the Army of the Somme, and at least 1000 operators at work. As for the field artillery, a Lance-Corporal of a Yorkshire Regiment gives evidence of their activity. "Some of their guns," he declares, "were right up behind us, when we were in the fourth line. Their teams stood ready and they limbered up like lightning and were after us, racing over trenches and communication trenches, as if they were on a high road."

In the hour before daybreak on that unnatural morning of July, while a lark's song drifted down in intervals between the din of gun voices and a quail called from the fields behind the battle-lines, the attack broke forth. Just before 3:30 the men went over the lines that had so short a time been theirs, to claim others farther up the slopes before them. With the first signs of light, aeroplanes moved across in the same direction and kite balloons began to rise, to furnish eyes for the advancing host. The enemy's shells fell thick and furious, but most of them fell behind the forward-hastening figures they would have halted.

THE CAPTURE OF BAZENTIN-LE-PETIT WOOD.

On the southern edges of the main ridge that still rose before the British Armies stood the villages, Bazentin-le-Petit and Bazentin-le-Grand, each with its attendant woodland. Farther east was Longueval, engulfed in Delville Wood. In the central background, rather "out of the picture" at first, because a mile behind the German line, the Bois des Foureaux (known as High Wood) crowned the loftiest crest of the ridge. Fighting through the woods where the enemy had established himself so firmly with trenches, dugouts, wire protections, and machine guns, was exhausting and precarious business. One bad feature was the great difficulty of removing the wounded. But there was no hesitation about dashing into the woods and setting about the task of clearing them. Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, for instance, we are told, was "spanned at intervals by three successive lines of trenches, each with its separate wire protection. . . . The men waited in one trench while our guns from far behind them pounded the next, then pushed and staggered forward as soon as the guns had lifted, while the artillery went to the next. Then the process was repeated."

In this way they were three hours working through the wood, which was full of Germans. Among the 300 prisoners taken was a colonel who had sworn to "stay in the wood and hold it to the last." He was found "holding" it, in a dug-out at the bottom of two flights of stairs, each of which went down twenty feet.

THE HIGHLANDERS TAKE LONGUEVAL, HOUSE BY HOUSE.

The nearest villages, the two Bazentins, were entered immediately and in Longueval the ammunition stores and dumps were set on fire in less than an hour after the assault had started. Far on the right flank, a new attempt upon Trônes Wood was aided by the firm stand of a little group of less than two hundred of the Royal West Kents, who, separated from their battalion the day before, had fortified a position and

held it all night. At last, by the evening of the fourteenth, the Wood of Trônes was cleared.

It was a band of Highlanders who followed their pipers across the long stretch northeast of Montauban, nearly a mile, to charge the trenches of Longueval. They fought their way through the wire entang ements, which here had been less injured by artillery fire

KILTIES CARRYING A KETTLE OF "HOTCHPOTCH"

These members of a fatigue party belonging to a Scotch regiment are making their way through the tossed and tumbled débris of a village in Picardy, bearing to their fellows in the trenches refreshment in the form of a kettle of their native stew, which it is to be hoped will have a homelike taste.

than in other places. They fought through the cellars where the Germans were caught like "trapped animals." They stormed the strong redoubt that had been fitted in where Longueval and Delville Wood conjoined. And at last they worked around to link up with the English infantry in Trônes Wood.

TWO REGIMENTS OF CAVALRY TAKE PART IN THE FIGHTING.

By afternoon of that first day, High Wood was no longer in the background. The enemy's third position had been reached there by a division which was accompanied by two regiments of cavalry, the Dragoon Guards and the Deccan Horse. After eighteen months, cavalry were able again to take some part in the fighting. Moving from Bazentin-le-Grand by way of a shallow valley, they came out among the cornfields at the bottom of High Wood, and, attacking both from on foot and on horseback, they disposed of the German infantry among the corn before taking up a position from which to protect their own advancing infantry.

By evening, the German second line trenches had been secured on a front of about three miles, from Bazentin-le-Petit to Longueval; and by the end of the first twenty-four hours over 2000 prisoners had been taken.

THE SOUTH AFRICANS BEGIN TO CLEAR DELVILLE WOOD.

The Scottish victors at Longueval set about extending and consolidating their position, fortifying certain useful points, in spite of a severe shelling with all kinds of projectiles and explosives, including gas and lachrymatory shells. On July 15, a brigade of

South Africans passed through, to begin the difficult work of clearing up Delville Wood (soon known as "Devil's Wood"). For the next three days the South Africans went on with their task so doggedly and with such spirit that we are assured, "no mortal troops could have fought with more gallantry and stubbornness than the South Africans at Delville Wood." But the utterly destructive and withering bombardment flung upon the new British lines from German guns on the morning of the eighteenth made the positions in the wood untenable, especially when parties of infantry with machine-guns and rifles pushed down through from the northern part of Longueval. Dropping back as far as the Scottish trenches, the South Africans helped to hold the reserve line there against the vigorous attack of the enemy. Together, the spent and exhausted forces rallied for a counter-attack which drove back the body of fresh German troops and saved the line forming on the newly taken front. "Shell-shocked and wounded, sound or hurt, these men who had had four sleepless days and nights of continuous effort and fighting, somehow went forward. Unfortunately, one can get accounts of it only from men who were in it—and they, being Scotsmen, mostly will say very little. But it must have been such a sight as is not often seen in war."

GERMANS IN HIGH WOOD RESIST FOR TWO MONTHS.

Reinforcements were strengthening the German lines considerably from day to day. Among others came the Fifth Brandenburg Division, a corps d'élite. But the New Army was proving itself able to meet the best of them. Back in Delville Wood the fighting went on desperately for nearly two weeks. And at High Wood, though the German counter-attacks on the sixteenth forced a withdrawal of the troops whose temporary hold had been valuable in furnishing a screen for the lines behind as they were getting settled and consolidated, the struggle continued for two months. The Germans had connected by a "switch" line their third position with that portion of their second position which they still held. This, in turn, became an object of attack and contest, forming as it did, "the backbone of the enemy's defenses" between the British and the summit of the ridge. The day after the great attack was one of extraordinary success for the airmen, who within twenty-four hours had brought down four Fokkers, three biplanes, and a double-engined plane, with no loss to themselves.

The part of the German second line between Pozières and Bazentin-le-Petit had not been included in the attack of July 14, although it had undergone a series of intense bombardments which continued until the morning of the sixteenth. The result of the attack that followed was the capture of the first and second lines of German trenches up to a distance of about five hundred yards from Pozières, within reach of the fire of the guns there. From the west and south the right wing of the Fifth Army was slowly and gradually working toward Pozières. Ovillers-la-Boisselle had been for days the centre of siege. A remnant of its garrison, members of the Third Prussian Guard, were finally so closely pressed by their attacking foes that the British batteries could no longer fire upon them for fear of hitting their own men. The struggle in Ovillers then became one of bombs and machine-guns, with a barrage of shell dropping steadily between the garrison and their own lines.

THE THIRD PRUSSIAN GUARD AT OVILLERS-LA-BOISSELLE.

Cut off from supplies and reinforcements, they still did not yield but fought on through tortures of hunger and thirst, taking refuge, between bombing raids, in the vaults and cellars amid the horrible ruin in which they were enclosed. "They were living in a charnel house strewn with the dead bodies of their comrades and with wounded men delirious for lack of drink." When at last they surrendered, on the night of July 17, the survivors (not more than one hundred and forty) were received by their British victors with the honors of war. By that time,

while La Boisselle "was no more than a flat layer of pounded grey stones and mortar on the bare face of the earth," Ovillers-la-Boisselle was "non-existent." With reference to these positions, a young officer said: "It's marvellous to think those lines could ever have been taken. I am not a bit surprised the Hun thought them impregnable. Anyone would, when you come to look over them. Even now, when they have been pounded out of all recognition by our heavies, you'd think such a network could be held against any possible advance."

The courageous behavior of this garrison was the more notable by contrast with the cases where numbers of German soldiers, caught in cellars or dugouts, surrendered in mass. As a Middlesex sergeant expressed it, "They fight real well till you're right on top of them, I'll say that. Only, man for man, when it comes to it, they can't live alongside our chaps, ye know, sir—not they." The same sergeant adds his testimony to the frequently stated experience as to the scarcity of German officers in the captured lines, when he says, they "do keep most uncommon well out of the way." He himself had seen only one, a "boy" who fought bravely in a dugout near Ovillers.

NEW GERMAN GUNS ARE TURNED ON THE BRITISH.

Several days of rain and mist, when poor visibility impeded observation from the air, gave the enemy an opportunity to bring up guns and increase bombardments from new batteries upon territory every foot of which was familiar. They concentrated attack with shells, gas and *flammenwerfer* upon the region around Longueval and Delville Wood.

It was considered unnecessary to make a direct assault upon Combles if the ridges on each side could be taken. Accordingly, the right wing of the British had been assigned the village of Morval as their objective, while the French were to advance toward Sailly-Sailisel. This involved the capture of several well-fortified villages, woods, and trench systems. In Sir Douglas Haig's summary he states: "As the high ground on each side of the Combles valley commands the slopes of the ridge on the opposite side, it was essential that the advance of the two armies should be simultaneous and made in the closest co-operation."

The next step to be taken eastward by the British was an approach to Guillemont from Trônes Wood, a movement so difficult, because of the bare stretch of country between, that their first effort failed. Meanwhile, the French made a good advance east of Hardecourt, widening their break in the enemy front. Beyond them lay their most difficult problem, in the defile between the Combles valley and the fortified wood of St. Pierre Vaast.

THE ADVANCE OF THE FIFTH ARMY ON THE LEFT.

Sir Hubert Gough's advance in the direction of Pozières had been steady and unremitting, though slow. On the left, where his Fifth Army was operating, certain adjustments had been made, before July 23, when the great attack upon Pozières was launched. In the section between the Ancre and the Albert-Bapaume road and extending a little south of the road, the Second Corps and the First Anzac Corps had been placed, just to the left of the Third Corps. The attack upon Pozières was assigned to the Australians, who were to come up from the southeast, with a certain Midland Territorial division co-operating by attacking from the southwest. Lying between them and the ridge beyond the village, where the ruins of the Windmill crowned the highest elevation of the water-shed, three almost parallel lines of enemy works presented formidable barriers to be surmounted. The first was a sunken road which had been transformed into a strong line of defense. The second was a difficult line of trenches. The third was the highway itself where it entered and passed through the heart of the village. After three days of unfailing heroism, cool indifference to danger, steady response to discipline, in the face of incessant barrage from the invisible German guns as well as the frenzied fighting of the more immediate adver-

saries, the Australians and the Midland troops were able to join forces in the cemetery north of the village. "The whole resources of military art had been exhausted to render this position impregnable. But, battered to pieces so far as the above-ground constructions were concerned, the nerve-shattered garrison had been unable to resist the determined assaults of the British and Australians."

THE AUSTRALIANS ALSO WIN HIGH PRAISE.

As at Gallipoli, Lieutenant-General Birdwood's Anzacs had displayed an undaunted and invincible spirit, going along through the barrage "as you would go through a summer shower." One of their best officers announced, "I have to walk about as if I liked it; what else can you do when your own men teach you to?" The distinguished British regulars on their flank sent them a message to say they were proud to fight side by side with such valiant men.

"The sight of that ridge from the road east of Ovillers was one that no man who saw it was likely to forget. It seemed to be smothered monotonously in smoke and fire. Wafts of the thick heliotrope smell of the lachrymatory shells floated down from it. Out of the dust and glare would come Australian units which had been relieved, long, lean men with the shadows of a great fatigue around their deep-set, far-sighted eyes. They were perfectly cheerful and composed, and no Lowland Scot was ever less inclined to expansive speech. At the most they would admit in their slow, quiet voices that what they had been through had been 'some battle.'"

STRONG POSITIONS YET TO BE TAKEN.

While making the "slow and methodical progression" appointed for it, the Fifth Army was carrying out the further instruction to act as a pivot for the troops on its right. Thiepval, still before them, was a point in the old German first line, with all approaches deeply fortified. In good time it was to be stormed. On the right flank of the Fourth Army the position at Delville Wood and Longueval formed a dangerous salient for the elimination of which the combined advance of the adjoining British and French lines on the south was necessary. The guns of Guillemont were the great menace. Several unsuccessful isolated attacks by the British upon the village led to the planning of a "series of combined attacks to be delivered in progressive stages" upon the surrounding enemy strongholds. In the interval before the next great phase of the battle opened, on September 12, the prosecution of these plans was pushed forward. On the right, the French and British were swinging around to come into line with the centre; on the left the pivoting point was holding firmly and preparing the way for an advance to a new position. Between, the centre forces were climbing up towards the summit of the ridge and waging stern, incessant warfare for the mastery of High Wood and Delville Wood. Between Pozières and Thiepval the ruinous remains of what had been the Windmill and Mouquet (familiarly called "Moocow") Farm did not cease to be scenes of hot turmoil until they were secured beyond question. Although most of the fighting was in the way of local attacks, sapping and bombing, three general attacks were delivered, on August 18, September 3, and September 9, with what results we shall see.

The last days of July and the early part of August were a period of hot, stifling weather, when the dust and stench of the battle grounds made existence there almost insupportable. The stubborn endurance of the men was unshaken, however, and no epidemic developed. The latter part of the second week of August brought some relief, when the drought broke. On the whole, there was more rainfall and haze during both mid-summer months than is usual, a condition which favored the enemy by producing poor visibility for observers. In July the casualties of the Allied forces in their offensive had been considerably heavier than those of the Germans. But, during the second month, the situation was

reversed. The British, it is true, lost 4,711 officers and 123,234 men; but it has been estimated that the Germans suffered far greater loss.

COURCELETTE AND MARTINPUICH NOW IN SIGHT.

By August 6, the Australians had driven their way beyond Pozières to the top of the watershed at the site of the long-fought-for Windmill. From that point, the British could now look down upon the German lines on the northern slope and upon the towns of Courcelette and Martinpuich, both of which were under bombardment. At the extreme right, on the eleventh and twelfth of the month, the French, after working through the remainder of the German second position around Hardecourt, opened a brilliantly organized assault upon a front about four miles long, extending from east of Hardecourt to the Somme. They pushed through the trenches and redoubts of the German third line to a depth of three-quarters of a mile or more, and captured in one day at least 1000 prisoners. A few days later, they had extended their own line north of Maurepas, making gains there and a mile and a quarter south of the village. By this time, they controlled the whole of the German third line south of the Somme.

During the second week of August, the Armies on the Somme were heartened by a visit from King George. At the British Headquarters he was met by President Poincaré, who commended his Allies for the good work of their offensive.

At the end of the first six weeks of fighting in the sector around the Somme it had become evident that the Germans had not been able to stand the persistent push upon their front without throwing in some of their best reserves. They had already used there as many divisions as had been in action at Verdun during four months of struggle. Their lines were not broken through, but were bending under a strain far more severe than had been anticipated. The vaunted strength of their elaborate fortifications was proving vulnerable at last.

ISOLATED POSITIONS ARE NEXT SEPARATELY ASSAILED.

The combined general attack of August 18 and 19, differed in several respects from previous assaults. It consisted of a number of separate, independent attacks, by different corps at different times, starting at various hours in the day. It was a "cleaning out of a nameless maze of trenches" all along the front then existing. Where the Australians had broken up defenses of almost every conceivable kind, they had taken altogether by the end of this day a mile's length of German second line upon the ridge. Beyond Pozières, too, a new push was made in the direction of Martinpuich. Farther to the left, where Leipzig Redoubt formed the "very nose of the Thiepval salient," a lodgment had been made on the first day of the battle, July 1; but the garrison of the supposedly impregnable stronghold, secure in their subterranean fortress with their generous supply of machine guns, had been left for weeks to a life of ease and relaxation. This was suddenly and rudely broken up, on Friday, August 18, when the redoubt was rushed by two British battalions and the occupants—perhaps 2000—caught as in a trap. "Many of the garrison fought stubbornly to the end; others we smoked out and rounded up like the occupants of a gambling-house surprised by the police. Six officers and 170 men surrendered in a body." The garrison had been composed of Prussians of the 29th Regiment.

The newly constructed "switch" line was cut through in one place. Fighting around Delville Wood resulted in gain there. But Guillemont, the one important part of the German second line untaken up to this time, resisted still, although the quarry on the outskirts of the ruin that had once been a village was captured. Thence the British thrust southward to a point of junction with the French. In a sector east of High Wood some Suffolk troops who had taken possession of a trench vacated by the enemy found themselves isolated and forced to withdraw. They accomplished their retreat so imperceptibly by "leaking" out

through shell holes and a sap while one man guarded each end of the trench, using discarded German bombs to keep back the assaulting parties, that when these two men finally followed their fellows, the Germans from either side kept on bombing each other across the traverse. This incident was connected with the one "failure" of the day.

MOPPING UP GERMAN TRENCHES IN THE COURSE OF AN ADVANCE

Having learned by experience that the enemy were likely to hide in their dugouts and come out after a charging troop had passed, to attack from the rear with rifles and machine guns, the British detailed part of each advancing force to clear the trenches and dugouts and make sure that not a living foe was left therein. Experience taught them, too, to let a bomb precede them in entering.

For the rest of the month there was no cessation of activities. Violent German bombardments and counter-attacks accomplished no permanent advantage for the enemy. On the other hand, the weather gave opportunity again for air attacks by the Allied aviators.

In that same week, the French carried Maurepas; they and the British came together south of Guillemont; and a charge by a Rifle Brigade battalion practically finished the long sanguinary conflict in Delville Wood.

HOW THE IRISH OVERWHELMED THE BRANDENBURGERS AT GUILLEMONT.

On September 3, Guillemont was taken in spite of the desperate defense offered by the Brandenburgers. The honor fell to Irish troops from Munster, Leinster, and Connaught. "Of the village nothing fit to be called a village remained. One wrecked and battered building, apparently a barn, was all that stood among the waste of masonry pounded into the tortured earth. How even a fragment of the walls of that one building stood was a mystery, but some queer chance had kept it tottering on its feet when everything else had not only fallen long before but had been pounded to nothing after it fell. The ruins, however, were full of enemy lurking holes, and all round the edges there were strong positions with machine-guns and (especially on the southwestern and southern sides) deep dugouts. Besides the main, formidably fortified trench line running along and before these faces of the village, the ground everywhere was dotted with smaller works and with shell-holes converted into outlying strongholds."

With their pipers playing, the Irish-

men swept rapidly through and beyond this position to the sunken road farther east where they could establish themselves more strongly, while the Light Infantry fighting on their right finished the task in Guillemont, dealing with troublesome machine-gun shelters and clearing the dugouts. In the roads and woods east and south of Guillemont, the fight was pressed forward for several days following.

MOUQUET FARM YIELDS AFTER TWO YEARS.

At the other end of the attacking line, on the afternoon of September 3, the English, Scots, and Australians were engaged in one of the fiercest of conflicts with a Reserve Regiment of the 1st Prussian Guards, among the positions of the Mouquet Farm. "Of the farm itself, nothing remained but a waste of pounded rubbish and a few shattered fragments of trees. The enemy, however, had covered the whole area in and around the farm with trenches, isolated posts and deep dugouts, until it was practically all one fortress." There in the dimness before dawn the Germans were attacked and dislodged from their fastness after two years' occupation.

Nearer the Somme, the French First Corps, men from the northern districts whose homes were in the hands of the Germans, carried two villages and pushed on to the edges of Combles itself. Two days afterward, General Micheler's Tenth Army, south of the Somme, came into action for the first time since the battle started. They immediately seized a part of the German first position on a front of almost three miles, taking about 3,000 prisoners. And on the next day the French Armies both north and south of the river made considerable progress.

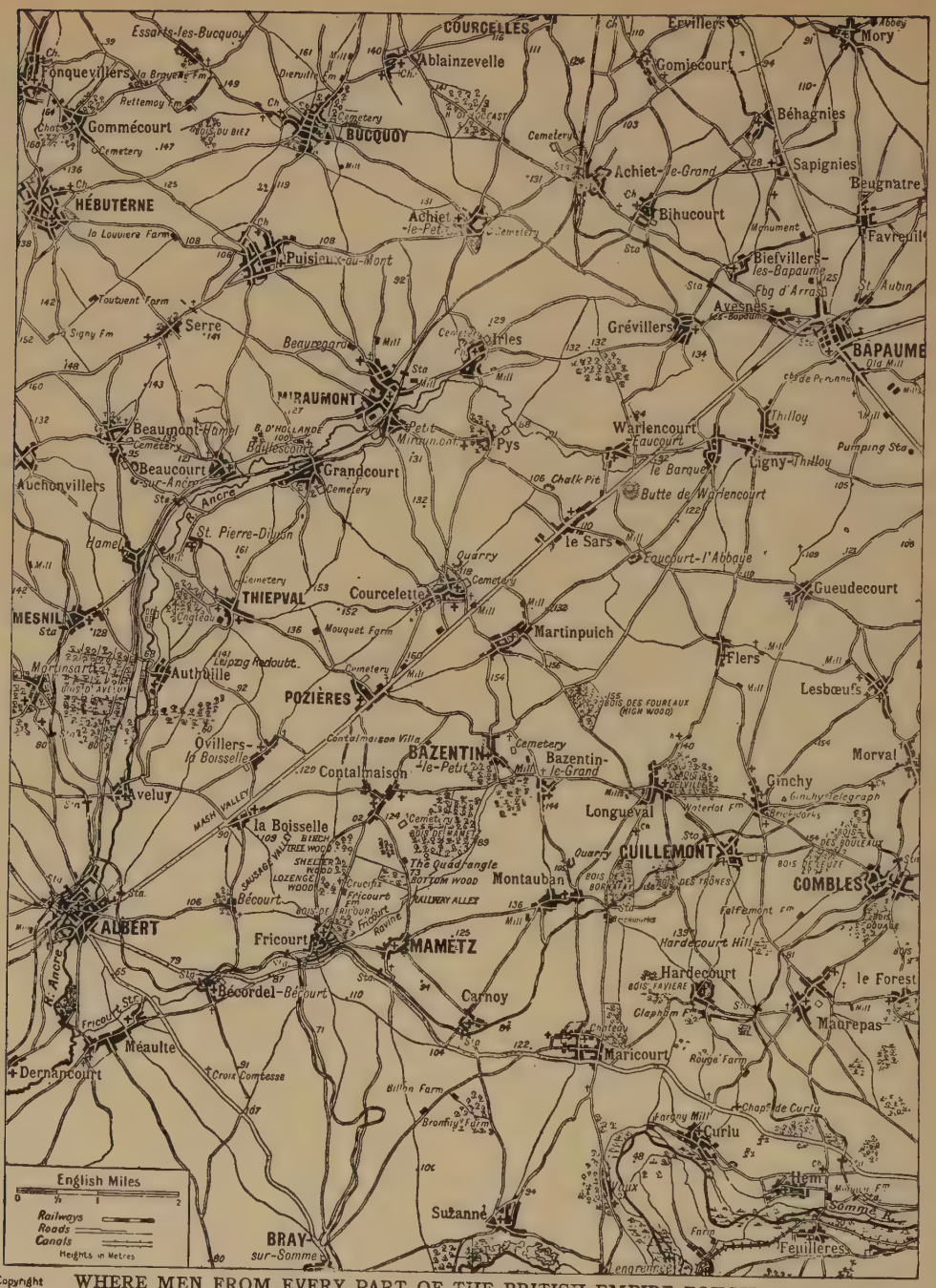
GINCHY IS TAKEN BY THE SAME IRISHMEN.

In the attack of September 9, the only success of importance was the capture of Ginchy by the same Irish troops who had had their part in taking Guillemont. At other points, the advance was quickly checked. Extracts from an officer's account of the attack upon Ginchy give a striking impression of the impetuous fervor of the assaulting troops: "Between the outer fringe of Ginchy and the front line of our own trenches is No Man's Land, a wilderness of pits so close together that you could ride astraddle the partitions between any two of them. As you look half right, obliquely down along No Man's Land, you behold a great host of yellow-coated men rise out of the earth and surge forward and upward in a torrent—not in extended order, as you might expect, but in one mass. There seems to be no end to them. Just when you think the flood is subsiding, another wave comes surging up the bend towards Ginchy. We joined in on the left. Our shouts and yells must have struck terror into the Huns, who were firing their machine-guns down the slope. But there was no wavering in the Irish host. We couldn't run. We advanced at a steady walking pace, stumbling here and there, but going ever onward and upward.

"How long we were in crossing No Man's Land I don't know. It could not have been more than five minutes, yet it seemed much longer. We were now well up to the Boche. We had to clamber over all manner of obstacles—fallen trees, beams, great mounds of brick and rubble—in fact, over the ruins of Ginchy. It seems like a nightmare now. I remember seeing comrades falling round me. . . . I believe our prisoners were all Bavarians, who are better mannered from all accounts than the Prussians."

A FEW USEFUL MILES ARE GAINED AT A PRICE.

By steady, persistent uphill pushing, the British had gained the high position on the ridge between Thiepval and Combles. Step by step, the artillery and infantry had worked together, becoming more and more skilful in co-ordinating their movements. As a result, the lines had been pushed back a little way and the Germans on that part of the front driven into new and improvised positions. A young officer who had been wounded in the battle exclaimed, "We've gained such a few miles, they say. Pretty useful miles, though, to the top of the ridge."



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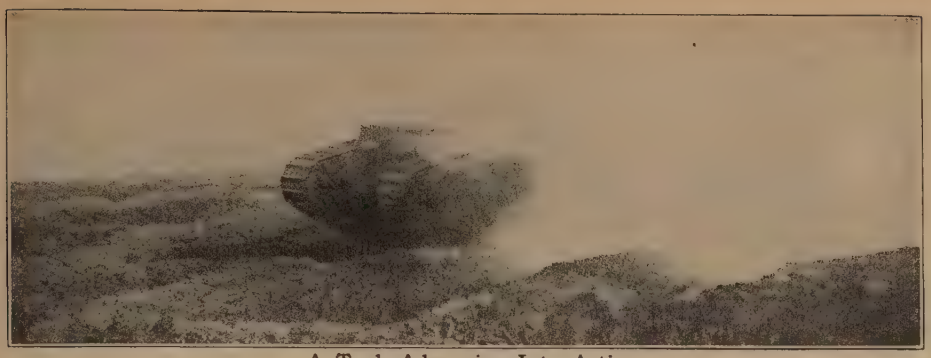
WHERE MEN FROM EVERY PART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE FOUGHT IN 1916

In the opening action of the Allied offensive, July 1, the British front of attack was about twenty miles long, from Gommecourt to Montauban. The actual advance made in the 1st Stage of the battle, over a mile in depth on about a 6-mile front, included the villages of Montauban, Mametz, Fricourt and la Boisselle, with the formidable woodlands between. A foothold was gained in Trônes Wood. The 2nd Stage, beginning July 14, was concentrated on a 3-mile front, from Longueval to Bazentin-le-Petit Wood. Trônes Wood, the two Bazentins, Ovillers, Longueval, and Pozières yielded after terrific warfare. Then the fearful struggle for the Ridge went on through midsummer heat in Delville Wood, High Wood, and around Guillemont and Ginchy. The 3rd Stage, opening September 15, took part of the Germans' last original defenses:—Flers, High Wood, Martinpuich, Courcelette, Morval, Les Boeufs, Combles (gained with the aid of the French), Gueudecourt, Thiepval, etc. At Mouquet Farm, Leipzig Redoubt and Schwaben Redoubt famous deeds were done. The 4th Stage, launched November 11, swung across the Ancre from St. Pierre Divion to Beaumont Hamel and Beaucourt.



A Tank Advancing Into Action

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Battle of the Somme II

THE FINAL STAGES OF THE GREATEST BATTLE THAT HISTORY RECORDS

SEVERAL scenes in the patches of woodland that were spread over the rolling chalk country north of the Somme, will help to a realization of what happened among those wooded slopes during the various stages of the battle that brought them out of obscurity into world-notice. The woods as they appeared while yet untouched by warfare may be pictured from this description, by Masefield, of a strip on the edge of the battle region: "It is a romantic and very lovely wood, pleasant with the noise of water and not badly damaged by the fighting. The trees are alive and leafy, the shrubs are bushing, and the spring flowers, wood anemones, violets, and the oxlip (which in this country takes the place of the primrose and the cowslip) flower beautifully."

A GERMAN ARTILLERY CAMP DEEP IN THE WOODS.

When the offensive was under way, a correspondent of the New York *Times* found in some of those woods the setting of an odd encampment, where Germans were resting after two weeks of service in the first trenches. "I walked down a narrow, winding pathway," he wrote, "through a jungle of underbrush full of infantry reserves. It was the strangest gypsy colony I had seen on any front. The men were living in galvanized sheds, semi-cylinders about ten feet in diameter, easily transportable, quickly set up, absolutely rain-proof, and resembling miniature models of the Zeppelin hangars. Eight men could sleep beneath each zinc dome." Already the German gunners were showing effects of the strain. Their faces "told their own story. The good nature of these skilled Teuton mechanics had given place to a grim set expression as if biting their jaws together and nerving themselves to fight off the physical fatigue of long weeks of continued cannonading. In their shirt sleeves and perspiring, with facial muscles drawn and strained, they reminded me of over-trained athletes toward the end of a hard-fought long-distance race who realized that they must not 'crack' before breasting the tape. They continued working their battery automatically, with the disciplined perfection and finished form of veterans."

SOME WOODS OBLITERATED BY THE FIERCE BOMBARDMENT.

In a few weeks, shells and mines and shattering fire worked their will. The conformations of the land itself were shifted and changed. At the outbreak of a bombardment, an officer's letter says, "Immediately the German lines became a mass of earth, bits of trees being tossed about in the air like the

foam on giant waves—in fact, it looked for all the world like a heavy sea, only the waves were of earth."

After the flood of destruction had passed over the devoted crest of the wooded ridge, Masefield, looking northward from Mametz, described the mutilated remnants that he beheld: "Just visible as a few sticks upon the sky-line, are two other woods, High Wood, like a ghost in the distance, and the famous and terrible Wood of Delville." A French writer declares of High Wood (Bois des Foureaux) that he can think of no more melancholy walk than a visit to the spot. A dark stain upon the height, it can be seen from all around, and broad bare stretches of the plateau have to be crossed in order to reach it from any direction. "An immense silence," he says, "reigns over all these solitudes." As for the forests themselves, he calls them ruins of woods, where only tree-trunks are left standing—wraiths of trees—and where the bordering copses are all hacked or obliterated.

THE GERMANS DRIVEN FROM THEIR COMFORTABLE DUGOUTS.

We have noted how the British lines had gained the top of the ridge along almost its whole extent and were even in some places reaching over the top and down on the other side. Many of the Germans were no longer living in their safe and comfortable dugouts, which a cockney private eulogized as "prime," a place where you could "generally always find a bit er suthin tasty, an' if yer strike a orficer's dugout it's a Lord Mayor's banquit fer certin." Instead, they were in very tentative quarters, for the most part, on the wrong slope of the ridge. An officer's letter gives a mournful picture of their condition beyond Pozières. "The wind-mill is over the hill. The hundreds of dead bodies make the air terrible, and there are flies in thousands . . . We have no dugouts. We dig a hole in the side of a shell-hole, and lie and get rheumatism. We get nothing to eat or drink. . . . The ceaseless roar of the guns is driving us mad. Many of the men are knocked up." An indication of the weakening morale of the defenders was observed in the increasing numbers of unwounded prisoners taken.

To open the way for the next step in advance, the British found it necessary to devote especial attention to an elaborate stronghold situated on a spur of land south of Thiepval, so sturdy a stronghold that it was known as the *Wunderwerk*. No power of engineering art had been spared in developing it. Before the valleys on either side could be entered or a move be made upon Courcelette and Martinpuich, this fortification must be demolished. On September 14, after two weeks of vigorous bombardment which had laid low all above-ground portions of the works and wrought havoc in some of the dugouts, the position was won by a part of Sir Hubert Gough's Army. Those of the garrison who remained were either killed in a fierce hand-to-hand encounter or driven by the onrush of the attacking party into the barrage that had been dropped beyond them when the charge began. Now that the *Wunderwerk* and the adjoining trenches had been secured, their wrecked fortifications were quickly turned into a strong position adjusted to protect the left centre of General Gough's forces in their progress during the coming offensive.

BRITISH AND FRENCH PREPARE TO ACT SIMULTANEOUSLY.

The special feature of this new attack compared with those preceding was that it should be a simultaneous movement of all the forces, British and French, between Thiepval and Vermandovillers; whereas, previously, the British divisions and the two bodies of French troops had acted independently and toward separate objectives. The plans about to be undertaken called for entire co-operation. From Le Sars to Morval, the last of the original German systems of defense was to receive the entire attention of Sir Henry Rawlinson's Army. In case the right wing were successful in reaching Morval, the attacking line on the left would be extended to include Courcelette and Martinpuich. In the section

from the French positions south and east of Combles to the Somme, General Fayolle's Army was to continue advancing, concentrating its efforts chiefly upon Rancourt and Frégicourt with the object of closing in farther upon Combles. South of the Somme, General Micheler's Army was to advance on a front of seven or eight miles extending south from Barleux to beyond Vermandovillers—an area including a line of strong German defenses.

The most difficult positions of those to be won were situated on the flanks. Combles, itself, was too well-garrisoned and too carefully protected to make a direct assault upon it practicable. It covered vast underground caverns and was shielded by strongly fortified points in the vicinity. The French were still aiming toward Sailly-Saillisel, but Morval furnished a stiff obstacle, and the approach to Morval from the British side was a most difficult one. Moreover, the southern road of approach to Sailly-Saillisel lay between the menacing strongholds in the Wood of St. Pierre Vaast and the Combles Valley. The two Allied bodies must work in complete harmony around Combles. At the western extremity of the line, Thiepval still remained a forbidding goal, which would be considerably nearer attainment if Courcelette and Martinpuich could be gained.

THE REMNANT OF THE OLD GERMAN DEFENSES ATTACKED.

The old third line of the Germans, which had now become their front line, had been but slightly developed when the battle began, in July. By the time of the September operations, it was not only completed but elaborated, while a fourth position had been established behind it. Courcelette, Martinpuich, Flers, Lesboeufs, and Morval were the strongest links in the chain forming the old third position. The British units, most of which were composed of fresh troops, had been assigned definite objectives for attack. Courcelette was confronted by a Canadian division which had, "under conditions of extreme difficulty," relieved the Australians there; Martinpuich was to be surrounded by a Scottish division of the New Army, when they had completed the capture of the switch line; Northumbrian and London Territorial divisions were given responsibility for clearing High Wood; the New Zealanders, who were having their introduction into action on the Western front, were to advance upon Flers; two divisions of the New Army had for their task the rounding out of the position in Delville Wood by securing the ground north and east of it; on their right were the Guards, who, with a division of old Regulars, were to go forward from Ginchy against Lesboeufs and Morval; the last division on the right of the British line was made up of London Territorials, operating in Bouleaux Wood and acting as a defensive flank.

The surprise element in the attack of mid-September lay in the intensity and character of the action. The enemy suspected that an attack was pending, but he was misled with regard to the location by the introductory rush upon the *Wunderwerk*. His own assault upon the British left wing, timed two hours before the Allies were to start forward, was quickly checked. It resulted in the Canadians' capturing many prisoners in their own trench-lines before crossing into the German lines.

A GROTESQUE NEW INVENTION APPEARS ON THE FIELD.

German aviators, on September 14, when they caught sight of a herd of fantastic mechanical monsters, made a discovery which gave some hint of the remarkable innovation to be introduced to the world on the following day. Whispers of a mysterious war-engine of some sort had been in circulation on both sides, but the nature of the engine had been carefully shrouded in secrecy. When the "tanks" (so-called because the name explained nothing with regard to their structure or use) lumbered into the foreground of battle, the shock of astonishment was unsoftened by any preparation. The first gasp of amazement was followed by shouts of hilarity or of terror. And in this reaction lay a part of the use-

fulness of the new armored cars. The spirit of the British fighters was braced into greater enthusiasm and dash by the appearance of an element of comedy upon the grim page of warfare. A corporal of the Canadian Division wrote that a tank's motions "would draw gales of laughter from a circus crowd."

Nothing obstructed it; a supernatural force seemed to drive it onwards. Someone in the trenches cried 'the devil comes' and that word ran down the line like lightning. Suddenly tongues of fire licked out of the armored hide of the iron caterpillar, shells whistled over our heads, and a terrible concert of machine-gun orchestra filled

BRITISH HOWITZERS DIRECTED BY AIRPLANE

The howitzer on the left has the muzzle tilted upward ready to fire over the slight elevation in front. The one in the middle of the picture is being loaded. Dugouts for the men and shelters for the ammunition are excavated in the bank, and strengthened by logs and sandbags. Both guns are concealed by boughs.

The effect upon the German soldiers, of the unaccustomed danger rolling down upon them was to awaken terror, in some cases almost superstitious terror, and so drag down their already wavering morale. A protest against the "cruelty" of the invention arose from the German Command and the German press. A correspondent for the *Düsseldorfer General-Anzeiger*, in giving an account of its first approach, calls the machine a "devil's trick," "a mystery which oppressed and shackled the powers." He goes on: "The monster approached slowly, hobbling, moving from side to side, rocking and pitching, but it came nearer. the air. The mysterious creature had surrendered its secret, and sense returned with it, and toughness and defiance, as the English waves of infantry surged up behind the devil's chariot."

Some descriptions of their appearance and actions.

The aspect of the tanks was so utterly extraordinary and grotesque that writers, in describing them, used perforce humorous or fantastic terms. They were like "toads of vast size emerging from the primeval slime in the twilight of the world's dawn," "inhuman shapes crawling"; or "gigantic slugs, spitting fire from their

THE TANKS MAKE THEIR APPEARANCE IN THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME

Somehow, in spite of the fact that they were "neither silent nor inconspicuous" the tanks were kept miraculously secret until their début on September 15, 1916. Their fantastic appearance acted as tonic to the British fighters and brought terror to the foe. This is one of the early types of British tanks.

A STRUGGLE IN THE RUINS OF THE SUGAR REFINERY AT COURCELETTE

Not only on the surface of the ground, among the wreckage of buildings and machinery, but in trenches and in underground fortifications as well, the stubborn conflict over the sugar refinery at Courcelette was fought. A tank, the "Crême de Menthe," brought timely aid, and after the position had been won the Canadians pressed on farther. Nowhere in the whole war were the fighting qualities of the Canadians shown to better advantage.

mottled sides." They were spoken of as trudging, strolling, waddling, grunting, "nosing heavily into the soft earth," sitting poised, straddling, or sprawling across trenches, "dipping and plunging like a dismasted Dutch lugger in a storm-tossed sea." One was represented as "heaving itself on jerkily like a dragon with indigestion, but very fierce"; one as acting the part of "a kind of chaperon" for the infantry. Their "uncanny nonchalance" was referred to. Their machinery was characterized as "internal organs."

These latest and only really satisfactory armored cars were officially known as the Machine Gun Corps, Heavy Section. They were a British adaptation of the American caterpillar tractor, provided with armor and armament. As the tank did not depend upon wheels for locomotion, and the wedge-shaped front presented a surface that was not liable to damage, this was a form of armored car far less vulnerable than the earlier ones. By means of the caterpillar constructions on the sides, the machine made its way over trenches and ditches, crawled up the sides of shell-holes, and pushed across the roughest terrain. Walls, wire-entanglements, tree-trunks, and other obstructions were charged and laid low; therefore, the tank was of great service in clearing the way for an infantry attack. Dubbed "His Majesty's Landships," the individual tanks were given names such as are bestowed upon ships of the navy. Collectively, they were called "Willies," "Humming Birds," and other derisive names.

It can be seen that, in spite of their protective paint, in browns and greens and yellows, these giant creatures could not easily be concealed. They were "neither silent nor inconspicuous." Yet, parked in secluded spots back of the lines, they were somehow kept almost an absolute secret until the day of their début.

THE FIRST DAY ON WHICH THE TANKS OPERATED.

A bombardment in which the batteries exhibited great skill and exactness of performance went on from September 12 until 6:20 on the morning of the fifteenth, when the tanks for the first time moved forth upon the fighting field in advance of the charging infantry. We have already seen how the Canadians were given an opportunity by the German rush into their trenches to dispose of a number of the enemy before the hour appointed for the Allied advance. Then, when the time arrived, they went forward promptly and with sweeping force that carried them far along into the enemy front. This was their first real offensive and they were determined that nothing should stop them. First, the trenches around Mouquet Farm were taken. Then the struggle was transferred to the sugar refinery near Courcelette, where trenches and subterranean works were stubbornly defended. Here, as in other places where some of the German trenches were arranged so as to sweep the lines with a flanking fire, the assistance of a tank was effectual in hastening the advance. In this case it was the "Crême de Menthe" which came creeping along, cumbrously, a bit unsteadily, yet surely, surmounting obstacles with a lurch and a swing, and lifting itself athwart the troublesome trench where it quickly controlled the German guns by pouring its own fire into them on the right and the left. When this position had been won and the attack had pushed to the outskirts of Courcelette, the Corps Commander, Sir Julian Byng, did not hesitate to go on and assault the town itself. In this, too, the Canadians were successful. They did not stop to dig themselves in until they had reached a line well to the north of Courcelette. Then they staunchly held what they had taken, repelling a number of counter-attacks. They took, in all, about 1300 prisoners. Men from every part of Canada were included in the 4th, 5th, and 6th Canadian Brigades,—the troops that achieved this glorious success. Among them were many French Canadians who thus had a share in rescuing the land of their ancestors. That they had no laggard spirit for the work is shown by an incident that is told of

THE BATTLE FOR COURCELETTE, SEPTEMBER 15, 1916; A Painting By Captain Louis Weirter, R. B. A. (London Scottish).

While the autumn morning was yet young, the British seized the initiative from the enemy massed before them for attack. The Germans who did get over were disposed of in time to allow the British advance to be made promptly. At Courcelette the Second Bavarian Corps was closely concentrated—too closely for their own safety, in a defensive stand. The Canadians were eager to dash forward to their day's work. Behind a moving screen of fire and shell they made their way over exposed and dangerous ground toward the fortified works which might prove impregnable, as the defenders believed. Though the sugar refinery had been battered shapeless, its chimneys turned to ruins, and its boilers exposed, the very wreck constituted a stronghold. From Mouquet Farm down upon Sugar Trench and the sugar factory moved the men of the Canadian Corps, and among them rolled their latest protector and helper, the tank,—"a new kind of ship on a new kind of sea, whose waves were shell-craters, whose tempests sudden concentrations of shell fire." The "Crême de Menthe" aided in taking the sugar refinery. That and the two strong trenches captured, Sir Julian Byng was informed by aerial Staff messenger that his assigned objective had been completely secured. But he and his intrepid Canadians were not content until they dashed upon the sunken road (indicated in the picture), thick-set with machine guns, then still farther, through and beyond Courcelette itself.

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one of them who leaped forward to haul in a machine gun, calling: "Come on boys! There are lots of these things lying about; let's go and get them." He got the gun over, then fell, shot dead.

SIR JULIAN BYNG

General Sir Julian Byng, who had received command of an army corps during the Dardanelles expedition, led the Canadian Corps in the Battle of the Somme.

THE GREAT WORK OF THE CANADIANS AT THIS TIME.

"Courcelette was to the Second Canadian Division what Ypres was to the First Division. It was a magnificent and brilliant offensive." At this time the First Division was occupied in making numerous subsidiary attacks, involving hard fighting and many casualties,—attacks which counted in helping the greater offensives to reach their objectives.

While this was happening on the left side of the Albert-Bapaume road, to the right at Martinpuich there was stern fighting for the mastery of a maze of trenches, dugouts, and fortified shell-holes. With tanks for protection and support, the Scottish infantry, who had been forced back a little after their first rush, succeeded in driving their way through the village, with a showing of about 700 prisoners as a result of the day's work. One hundred of these had surrendered to a single tank. Courcelette and Martinpuich, although they had not been positively included in the original program for the advance, furnished the most rapid and striking conquests of the day.

THE STURDY BAVARIANS ARE DRIVEN FROM HIGH WOOD.

In the northern end of High Wood, the Germans were still on the highest ground, and in the eastern angle they had a stronghold of unusual resistance. From these two positions machine guns could sweep the whole wood, while barricades of wire and fallen trees blocked all approach to them. The 2nd Bavarian Corps, some of the best fighting material in the German ranks, held these fortresses, until the London and Northumbrian Territorials, on September 15, worked up the sides of the wood, clearing out trenches and shell hole positions,—a task that was "horrible in every foot" and cost grave losses. By the end of the day, the lines which for two months had been confined to the southern end of the wood, were pushed on to a distance of about 1000 yards beyond its northern limits. "There was no finer achievement in the day's advance."

The New Zealanders, co-operating with the division of the New Army on their right in the capture of Flers, had for their objective a strip of high ground to the west of Flers on the top of the plateau. High wood was on their left; the division advancing upon Flers, on their right. After the switch trench lying before them had been rushed and occupied, they made a new start onward against the section of the German third line called "the Flers line." There they were overtaken by two tanks, which flattened down wire and disabled machine guns, opening a way for the troops. The New Zealanders, with one of the tanks to accompany them, proceeded until they formed a salient extending beyond the

divisions on their right and left. They had gone on to a point fully 800 yards beyond the most advanced position they had been expected to reach. It was necessary to straighten their line, so they drew back into a position running directly westward from the northern end of Flers. The counter-attacks which were flung against them failed to move them.

FLERS IS EASY BUT THE QUADRILATERAL IS MORE DIFFICULT.

At Flers, which was taken by a force made up largely of London troops, after they had broken through their portion of the trench-lines stretched before the town, a tank made a pathway of approach through the wire entanglements that had held up the foot soldiers, then "proceeded up the main street amid the cheers of our men, as calmly as an omnibus up Oxford Street." Resistance was not at all stiff at this point, and the British casualties were few. A division of Light Infantry had had a share in the taking of Flers. They started by clearing out "Mystery Corner," on the eastern side of Delville Wood, before the general advance began.

The greatest difficulty and, accordingly, the least progress attended the efforts on the extreme right of General Rawlinson's army. This was owing to the remarkable strength of the fortified point, called the Quadrilateral, 700 yards or more east of Ginchy, where a protected bend of the Morval road, deep in a wooded ravine, was intrenched and well fortified. When the Regulars who were given the work of advancing against this position found it impossible to go forward, the check in their progress affected the work of the forces on their left and their right. The former were the Guards, who were to start from Ginchy and make an attack upon Lesboeufs. The London Territorial Division on the right, beside forming a defensive flank, as we have said, was to work through Bouleaux Wood. The Guards, as was to be expected, advanced boldly and in fine order until it became apparent that their narrow front pushed in between enfilading fires and, lacking support from the sides, could not be sustained.

THE MOST SUCCESSFUL BLOW YET STRUCK BY BRITISH TROOPS.

For the next two days the Quadrilateral was under a strain of gunfire, which damaged the redoubt and helped to cut a way through the wire. In the attack launched on the evening of September 17, the Bavarian troops of the garrison were finally overwhelmed by impetuous fighting with bombs and bayonets. From the redoubt alone 170 unwounded prisoners were taken, beside many wounded. The whole of the V-shaped corner yielded, and by the following morning the British were able to consolidate their line, with the Quadrilateral lying behind them. A dash was made even farther on into the hollow between them and Morval.

In the three days, September 15, 16, and 17, "the most effective blow yet dealt at the enemy by British troops" had been struck. The advance, averaging one mile in depth on a six-mile front, included the three fortified villages of Courcelette, Martinpuich and Flers; over 4000 prisoners, of whom 127 were officers, had been taken, while the casualties had been comparatively few.

The sensational experiment in the introduction of the tanks had proved successful without question. Aside from the immediate effect produced by the surprise of their unexpected appearance, they had shown their permanent value in acting as machine-gun destroyers, a function of primary importance to the Allies, whose greatest losses had been due to close-range or enfilading fire from almost numberless machine guns in the hands of German gunners. With a tank looming among them, acting as a magnet for the bullets or rolling over the gun positions "blanketing the bugbear," the men could move with greater freedom and safety. It has been estimated that perhaps as many as 20,000 British lives were saved in the later stages of the battle of the Somme by the intervention of the tanks. Although some of the machines broke down before reaching the battle-front and one was dis-

abled by the enemy, not one was captured in these first days, while hundreds of prisoners had surrendered to the tanks and their crews. Moreover, in their first hour of action, they had accomplished more damage to the enemy than the Zeppelins had done in two years, and this without danger or injury to non-combatants. As to the number engaged, twenty-four went over into the German lines. Of those, seventeen performed excellent service. One went on a "lonely tour" as far as Gueudecourt. When it had to be abandoned, the crew wrecked it, leaving it as a memento of their visit.

CANADIAN ARTILLERY IN ACTION

This picture, painted by Captain Kenneth K. Forbes, presents with startling force a scene of vivid action in the neighborhood of Thiepval before the capture of the town. It shows a 6-inch Howitzer Battery which underwent severe shelling, with many casualties. The survivors who were not too badly wounded, with splendid fortitude and indomitable will, kept the guns in action through the whole attack. © Canadian War Records

THE FRENCH LIKEWISE ADVANCE IN THEIR SECTION.

After a signal victory, on September 13, when, with the seizure of Bouchavesnes, the army of General Fayolle had taken a step over onto the east side of the Péronne-Bapaume road, securing more than 2000 prisoners at the same time, these French forces continued to carry forward their part of the envelopment of Combles. Le Priez Farm, one of the principal protective works of the Germans on the east side of Combles, fell into their hands, together with trenches there and on the south side of the town. Meanwhile, south of the Somme, between Barleux and Vermandovillers, General Micheler's Army was securing German positions, over a long front. Vermandovillers fell on September 17. The capture of Deniécourt and its famous fortified park, on the eighteenth, completed their conquest of the plateau on which it was situated. The official register stated that in the attack of these three mid-September days the British and French together had added 7059 prisoners to their account.

For nearly a week, while thick, rainy weather prevented a continuance of the larger operations, local fighting at many points served to straighten out the front. It was on Sunday, September 24, that a renewal of bombardment gave warning that a new charge was about to be made. Morval, Lesboeufs, Gueudecourt, and a strip of land beyond Flers, stretching around in the direction of Martinpuich, were destined to feel the force of the Fourth Army's attack, in an endeavor to drive the enemy back into his fourth line of

defense. The seizure of Thiepval by the right wing of the Fifth Army, and the completion of the capture of Combles by the combined work of General Rawlinson's and General Fayolle's forces were hoped for. The actual advance yielded results of unusual success, leaving little unattained that had been planned.

GIRD TRENCH TAKEN WITH THE AID OF A TANK AND AN AEROPLANE.

At 12:35 P. M. on the twenty-fifth, the forward rush started. At last the difficulties surrounding Morval were conquered, and the town was entered. Lesboeufs in spite of its complicated barriers of fortified sunken roads and ravines, was carried by the Guards in a short time. Gueudecourt, its approach "a veritable porcupine, with prickles in all directions," did not yield so soon. The vigorous resistance of Gird Trench and Gird Support, double fortified lines lying south and west of the place; artillery fire that prevented the approach of supporting troops; and flanking machine-gun fire from another trench, postponed the victory of the British there until the following day.

Early in the morning of that day a tank and an aeroplane took part in subduing Gird Trench. The one rolled along down the trench, while the other flew over it. Both used machine guns with such effect that numbers of the enemy were killed, and the remainder waved white handkerchiefs in surrender so that when the trench was cleared, the total number of prisoners amounted to 370, eight of whom were officers. The tank, after going through the village with the victorious infantry, made a trip into the midst of the enemy farther on. Temporarily disabled by some trouble in its machinery, it came to a stop and very soon was surrounded by Germans, who swarmed over it "like the Lilliputs on Gulliver" until the infantry arrived to drive them off and the mechanism was put into working order again.

COMBLES, A MAZE OF UNDERGROUND FORTIFICATIONS.

On the afternoon of the twenty-fifth the French had secured Rancourt; during the night they had passed on to Frégicourt, taken that, and obtained a hold upon the fringes of Combles. The Germans in the town had been left but one outlet, a ravine running out to the northeast. From the south side of the railway the French, and from the north side the British, worked in, meeting no resistance once they had reached the town. In the dimness of early dawn, on the twenty-sixth, they came together at the railway in the centre of Combles. The mightily-fortified mass of cellars and underground galleries, which had provided extensive shelter for troops and material (in fact, a German arsenal) had passed into the possession of the Allies, yielding large quantities of ammunition and other stores, although the greater part had been removed before the town was entered. It was rather because of its use as a large distributing centre than because of its strategic value that the reduction of Combles was desirable. It was, too, the first canton capital to be recovered from the Germans since October, 1914.

At last the time had come for the downfall of Thiepval overlooking the valley of the Ancre and lying in a nest of almost invincible fortifications. On the spurs of high land around the town forming, as they did, the western extremity of the long ridge now so nearly won, there had been prepared such strongholds as Leipzic Redoubt, the southernmost stronghold; the *Wunderwerk;* the Zollern Redoubt; Stufen (or Stuff) Redoubt, to the northeast; and Schwaben Redoubt, on the highest land of all, 1000 yards north of the village. "The whole area, with a southern frontage of about 2500 yards, was practically one fortress, a veritable Gibraltar with cellars and subterranean galleries, and the defenses inside as nearly perfect as two years of labor could make them."

MORE UNDERGROUND WORKS IN AND AROUND THIEPVAL.

In the opening attack of July 1, a foot had been set upon Leipzic Redoubt. By the end of August, the Fifth Army was less than a mile from Thiepval. In the brilliant charge of

September 14, the *Wunderwerk* had been seized. But Thiepval was over the edge of an intervening ridge, with its original garrison of veteran troops, the 180th Wurtembergers, who were serenely confident of the impregnability of their underground works, although the constructions on the surface had been pounded into powder by long and terrible artillery fire. A spot of crushed red brick identified the site of the Château, which before the war had been owned by a German. He is supposed to have made preparations for hostilities, for the cellars and passages under the building were so cavernous and strong as to form the heart of a maze of dugouts, shelters, and tunnels that were of most formidable proportions and strength. Connecting with them and passing from the village to the fortified cemetery on the north, a sunken road with burrows and machine-gun positions along its length made another unit in the complicated system.

Men of the Suffolks, of Essex and Middlesex, leaped out to rush the Thiepval area, in an attack timed for a half-hour after noon on September 26. In a few hours they had gained the Château. Where machine guns were too insistent and devastating for the infantry alone, tanks came to the rescue. One of them for a while acted as a stationary fort. Two battles simultaneously stormed through the ruins,—one in the open, and one in the dim, subterranean depths. The enemy had been taken unawares and could hardly realize his danger, so sure had been his confidence in his impregnable walls. Communication with his rear seems to have been cut off for some time, since the action of his artillery was delayed until evening, when it came too late to save the town.

A GERMAN DUGOUT AS THE BRITISH FOUND IT

This picture gives a definite impression of the extent, equipment and finish of some of the German dugouts. Note the stairway, the smoothly boarded walls and ceiling, the electric fixtures, the wire-spring berths, and the bell to give alarm of gas attacks. The clutter of canteens, helmets, boots and bottles offers a sad comment.

CANADIANS TAKE MOUQUET FARM, ZOLLERN REDOUBT AND HESSIAN TRENCH.

Simultaneously with the attack of the men from Britain upon Thiepval, the Canadians on the right wing of the Fifth Army advanced toward the town from their position on the east, where Mouquet Farm and Zollern Redoubt, the key to the whole system of redoubts east and north of Thiepval, presented a stiff resistance. An intense bombardment was followed by desperate hand-to-hand encounters, as

a result of which the Canadians had the satisfaction of securing the Farm, Zollern Redoubt and Hessian Trench. At the Farm, a working party of Pioneers had taken a hand in the fight, when a machine gun appeared aboveground to attack the rear of the infantry who had just passed. Dropping their tools, the Pioneers attacked the gun position and, when joined by others, dashed into the recesses under the Farm and fought through them until they had been cleared.

In order to make sure of the hold upon the western end of the ridge, it was essential to get control of the Cemetery, the Stuff and Schwaben Redoubts, and the difficult Regina Trench. Accordingly, the next progress was northward. The tide of advance, on the twenty-seventh, rolled on through the Cemetery and up to the southern end of the Schwaben Redoubt, which was broken into and held. The British at this stage had reached a point from which they could look down upon the valley of the Ancre to the west, while on the other side Bapaume was but three miles away. Since the middle of September they had captured seven villages in an advance to an average depth of two or three miles. They had taken some 10,000 prisoners and great stores of supplies. The machine was moving, slowly, to be sure, but apparently with irresistible force. It was a moment of encouragement and expectation.

MUD HINDERS AND THEN ARRESTS THE ADVANCE.

But inexorable Nature turned her hand against them. The October rains, drenching the newly taken acres all churned and pitted and furrowed, transformed them into quagmires and sloughs of mud where men and horses must struggle for every step forward. The chalky subsoil, viscid when soaked, clung tenaciously to whatever had sunk into it. Men left their boots and their socks imbedded when they drew forth their feet. One officer is reported to have been forced to abandon his breeches, and Highlanders found themselves parted from their kilts. In shell-holes and mine-craters were horrible pools of water, wherein men and horses sometimes fell and were drowned. Months afterward the pools were still there, and Masefield walked among them. "Sometimes," he writes, "the pressure of the water bursts the mud banks of one of these pools and a rush of water comes, and the pools below it overflow, and a noise of water rises in that solitude which is like the mud and water of the beginning of the world before any green thing appeared."

The earth, dry and receptive when the storms began, could absorb the rain of the first week of October; but when, for the greater part of five weeks, the heavens poured down torrents, the point of saturation was passed, and the surface of the battle-razed fields became fluid. What had been described as porridge turned into gruel.

THE BOTTOM FALLS OUT OF THE ROADS SUPPLYING THE LINES.

The only excellent roads that crossed the area of the battle were the Albert-Bapaume and the Péronne-Bapaume highways, and even these had been rutted and worn rough by the heavy traffic of passing armies. The other roads, of lighter construction, could hardly be considered roads at all. While the work of repairing and of making new roads was pressed with all urgency, it was beset with extraordinary difficulties. The soil, poor originally, had been shattered and powdered and crushed until it had lost whatever virtue it had ever possessed for making road-beds. Wood and stone and other materials had to be brought from a distance. Yet the armies had to be provisioned from beyond that strange new No Man's Land behind the existing lines. And here was "such a traffic as the world had scarcely seen before. Not the biggest mining camp or the vastest engineering undertaking had ever produced one tithe of the activity which existed behind each section of the battle line."

In addition to putting obstacles in the way of communication with supply-bases, the stormy weather introduced

another great impediment to progress by interrupting the work of aviation. In the occasional intervals furnished by clear days, when visibility was possible, there was great activity on the part of the airmen. On the one day, October 20, for instance, there were more than 80 combats in the air; and on November 9 a great battle was fought northeast of Bapaume, at a height of 5000 feet. But the enemy had more opportunity, during the days of storm, to bring up reserves unobserved and make adjustments in his line, thus strengthening his resistance; consequently, his counter-attacks increased in force and effectiveness.

After Morval had been secured, it was passed over to General Fayolle, to facilitate his advance toward Sailly-Saillisel. Thus the point of junction between French and English had been moved again and now lay to the east of Lesboeufs. From Morval and Rancourt the French pushed nearer to their objective, while the British on their left were moving northward in the direction of Bapaume.

FOOT BY FOOT THE ADVANCE WAS CARRIED ON.

Through heavy rain an attack was launched on October 1, which resulted in the capture of Eaucourt l'Abbaye and an advance toward Le Sars. Eaucourtl'Abbaye, a settlement grouped about an old religious establishment, had been leveled with the ground by artillery action, like all the hamlets and villages of the neighborhood, but it was prepared in the usual way with heavy fortification of its cellars and ruins. Fighting for possession of the position continued until the morning of the fourth, when the British were left in control. A break in the stormy weather, on the sixth, presented a favorable moment for pushing the attack upon Le Sars, the last village of importance on the Albert-Bapaume road. It was rushed and taken the following day, making the number of villages captured thus far, twenty-two.

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION IN THE WAKE OF BATTLE

When lakes and seas of thick clinging chalk-soil mud, acres wide, deeply sown and interpenetrated with unnamable débris, stretched between the armies and their bases, with deluges of rain from a heavy sky, who can calculate the persistent, straining effort that kept supplies in motion and still pushed on? The imagination staggers in an attempt to reconcile such a picture with one of flowery stretches of pastoral peace and beauty.

The whole front of attack on the seventh extended from Lesboeufs westward to beyond Le Sars. Of this the most difficult portion was between Eaucourt and Le Sars, where a gully running through was raked by gunfire from the northern end near the Butte of Warlencourt (a high mound of land). While the British held points at the southern end, from which they could command a sweep of the gully, they did not try to keep their line united across the rain-sodden hollow but held firmly the high ground on both sides. West of Le Sars, east of the Butte of Warlencourt and beyond Gueudecourt the attack proved successful. Altogether, the operations of the day resulted in the capture of almost 1000 prisoners and took considerable toll from the enemy in dead and wounded.

DIFFICULTIES OF LIFE IN THE NEW TRENCHES.

In the trenches, newly constructed on the far front, conditions were increasingly bad. Hastily prepared for occupation and defense, the trenches were without shelters or board flooring. At first, in fact, shell holes were utilized for the front line. In all alike the water stood knee-high at least. And, while the enemy now had his back at the very edge of open country where no battle had torn and mutilated the land, the British were separated by almost impassable and indescribable acres of mire and water from every necessity or comfort of life. "It required physical fitness merely to live in the trenches. To stay and hold them under fire was heroism. To attack from them almost impossible. In such operations as did take place, the men helped each other out of the waist-high water, over the parapets of mud, and attacked across a 'ground' which at its solidest was quagmire, and for half of its surface standing water."

Subsequent movements of the Allied armies in the region between the Ancre and the Somme can be better understood if we consider here Sir Douglas Haig's view of the situation as it existed in early October. Of the Thiepval area on the northwestern end of the ridge, he says: "During this period our gains in the neighborhood of Stuff and Schwaben Redoubts were gradually increased and secured in readiness for future operations; and I was quite confident of the ability of our troops, not only to repulse the enemy's attacks, but to clear him entirely from his last positions on the ridge whenever it should suit my plans to do so. I was, therefore, well content with the situation on this flank."

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

Regarding the centre of the line from Gueudecourt to west of Le Sars he felt that, "Pending developments elsewhere all that was necessary or indeed desirable was to carry on local operations to improve our positions and to keep the enemy fully employed." "On the eastern flank, on the other hand," he continues, "it was important to gain ground." There, the enemy's "last completed system of defense before Le Transloy, was flanked to the south by the enemy's positions at Sailly-Saillisel, and screened to the west by the spur lying between Le Transloy and Lesboeufs. A necessary preliminary, therefore, to an assault upon it was to secure the spur and the Sailly-Saillisel heights. Possession of the high ground at this latter village would at once give a far better command over the ground to the north and northwest, secure the flank of our operations towards Le Transloy, and deprive the enemy of observation over the Allied communications in the Combles Valley. In view of the enemy's efforts to construct new systems of defense behind the Le Transloy line, it was desirable to lose no time in dealing with the situation."

The unfortunate circumstance of the interruption by bad weather during October and early November prevented the accomplishment of these plans to the extent desired but the progress made was remarkable, considering the obstacles to be overcome. In a general attack on October 10, the chief success fell to General Micheler's Tenth Army, south of the Somme, in action on a front of three miles. Over

1200 prisoners were seized and the French line pushed farther to the east. At the hamlet of Bovent, which was included in the area gained, the Germans had constructed in an orchard an observation tower of reinforced concrete. As soon as its shelter of leaves had been thinned, either by autumnal changes or by artillery shots, the tower became a target for the French guns. After it had been badly battered, gas shells were discharged upon it. Then, a huge shell falling about ten yards to the left of the tower burst there and tore out a hole fifteen feet deep. When the French soldiers had taken the position, they found that the explosion had blocked with masses of concrete the entrances to the German shelters around the tower. In those deep, strong chambers, which had been provided with many concealed exits, lay thirty Germans with gas masks on, unwounded but dead. Among them were two colonels, who had been seeking information.

PREPARATION FOR A CHARGE; FIXING BAYONETS

These determined Canadian soldiers are making ready for whatever may happen when they go over the top for a charge across No Man's Land. It is a grim moment, that of fixing bayonets. Whatever may happen, whether they have to penetrate into machine-gun lairs in woodland tangles or battle through dark underground mazes or follow a tank on a trench-taking jaunt, the faces of these men are set forward unflinchingly.

THE FOURTH CANADIAN DIVISION TAKES REGINA TRENCH.

On the night of October 15-16, General Fayolle's forces attacked the twin village of Sailly-Saillisel, which was built on both sides of the Péronne-Bapaume road. The approach was made simultaneously from three sides,—north, west and south. A hold was secured in the château and the church on the western edge of Sailly, from which the struggle was carried on through underground trenches and ruins of houses to the central cross-roads. In spite of vigorous counter-attacks, Sailly was cleared of the enemy, on the eighteenth. Saillisel remained in the hands of the Germans.

Taking advantage of the promise offered by clearing, frosty, drying weather, on October 20, the Germans prepared to strike with especial force at the Schwaben Redoubt, where they had since the end of September made no fewer than eleven counter-attacks against the British position. The

stroke, delivered on the twenty-first, was promptly met and repulsed, then answered by an attack which drove along the Regina and Stuff Trenches. In this attack the Fourth Canadian Division gained about two-thirds of the length of Regina Trench, thus crowning with success the long series of struggles for its possession which had cost so dearly in lives. Advanced posts were established by the British Trench, at the eastern end, was taken on the night of November 10-11. The British were now in a dominating position overlooking the Ancre Valley, and pushing close to the strong German first line across the stream. An attack upon the Ancre was the next action for which Sir Douglas Haig was planning, and by the second week of November the weather changed, giving him his opportunity.

SCHWABEN REDOUBT, THE THEATRE OF MANY STRUGGLES

Schwaben Redoubt, though reached by an Ulster Division on the first day of the battle, was not secured until late in October. Barrage and bombardment, attack and counter-attack rolled across its slopes for days and weeks. Wreathed in fire and smoke it stood before Thiepval, a guardian dragon resisting to the death. Here the British infantry are seen storming the mound, in the face of heavy barrage and rain of shells.

well on to the north and northeast of Schwaben Redoubt and their line pushed out in the direction of the Ancre. The casualties were under 1200, and the number of prisoners taken, somewhat over 1000.

Then heavy weather settled down again, making it impossible to enter upon any large undertaking. Fighting continued, however, around Chaulnes Wood, St. Pierre Vaast Wood, Sailly-Saillisel, the Butte of Warlencourt, le Sars and Schwaben Redoubt. Counter attacks were met, and positions rounded out. The last bit of Regina

MASEFIELD'S DESCRIPTION OF THE SCHWABEN REDOUBT.

Schwaben Redoubt, which had been first reached on July 1 by the Ulster Division but had not been won until October, was a good example of the German fortified positions. As John Masefield found it, the year after the battle, it was still impressive, though desolate and solitary. "Clambering over the heaps of earth which were once the parapets one enters the Schwaben, where so much life was spent. As in so many places on this old battlefield, the first thought is:

'Why, they were in an eyrie here; our fellows had no chance at all.' There is no wonder, then, that the approach is strewn with graves. The line stands at the top of a smooth, open slope, commanding our old position and the Ancre Valley. There is no cover of any kind upon the slope except the rims of the shell-holes, which make rings of mud among the grass. Just outside the highest point of the front line there is a little clump of our graves. Just inside there is a still unshattered concrete fortlet, built for the machine gun by which those men were killed.

"All along that front trench of the Schwaben, lying on a parapet half buried in the mud, are the belts of machine guns, still full of cartridges. There were many machine guns on that earthen wall last year. When our men scrambled over the tumbled chalky line of old sandbags, so plain just down the hill, and came into view on the slope, running and stumbling in the hour of attack, the machine gunners in the fortress felt indeed that they were in an eyrie."

APPROPRIATING THE ENEMY'S ROOF AND THRESHOLD

Secure for the moment in a trench that recently sheltered the Boches, these Tommies are using a temporary pause in activities, as Nature suggests. One has fallen into sound sleep after who knows what hours of driving exertion. The other has lost himself in writing and is, perhaps, far away in fancy, among different scenes.

THE ATTACK IS TRANSFERRED TO THE ANCRE FRONT.

The last blow delivered by the Allies before settling into winter conditions fell upon the Ancre front at the spot where the initial drive of July 1 had been blocked. Little by little, since that time, Sir Hubert Gough's forces had moved up nearer and nearer to the vast and solid fortress wherein the enemy had put his confidence. "The position was immensely strong, and its holders—not without reason—believed it to be impregnable. All the slopes were tunneled deep with old catacombs, many of them made originally as hiding-places in the Wars of Religion." Stretching across the Ancre these fortified works extended for nearly five miles, from Serre to where the British now stood upon the Schwaben Redoubt. South of the Ancre, and under direct observation from the redoubt, St. Pierre Divion

presented a formidable defensive position, which was serving as a "ganglion of German communications at the mouth of the valley." From well sheltered entrances on the river valley level, a tunnel ran back into the hill for 300 yards, then branched in a T shape, with the ends of the cross gallery opening through stairways and passages into trenches on the edge of Thiepval ridge, west of Schwaben Redoubt. In the galleries were great storehouses and chambers, some used for dressing stations, some for officers' quarters, some as shelters for the men.

On the northern side of the Ancre, Beaucourt, somewhat back from the German front line and situated in a hollow, formed, with its deep dugouts under the ruins of its buildings, a station for masses of reserves. Beyond, farther northwest, stood Beaumont Hamel, "a tumbled heap of ruins," seated in a fold of the slope and backed by a strongly organized plateau reaching north as far as Serre. So wide and deep were the successive tiers of wire entanglements guarding the trenches before Beaumont Hamel that, in their rusted condition, they gave the appearance of a broad brown belt of ploughed land. Prepared at the beginning of the war as an impregnable barrier commanding the valley, which at this point had a width of about 500 feet, the caves of the position were "subterranean barracks impervious to shell fire."

The difficulty of taking the Y ravine.

But between Beaumont Hamel and the point where the battle line crossed the Ancre, a gorge, known because of its shape as the Y Ravine, furnished the most difficult problem for attack. With the branches, or prongs, of the Y opening upon the German front line trench and the end of the stem resting upon the road connecting Beaumont Hamel with the Ancre, the ravine had a length of 800 yards or more. At the western entrances the precipitous sides, at places even overhanging, were perhaps more than thirty feet deep, furnishing abundant opportunity for hidden burrows and lairs. Some of the caves were able to accommodate a battalion and a half of soldiers each, and provide them with perfect shelter. A tunnel dug from the forward end of the ravine back to the German 4th line made it possible for reinforcements to be poured into the hollow while it was being besieged from outside.

Of the whole 8000 yards of front to be attacked, 5000 yards lay north of the Ancre, and 3000 on the south side. With the British upon the Thiepval ridge, this part of the German line had become a salient, which could be attacked from the south and west at the same time. A preliminary bombardment, starting at 5 A. M. on November 11 and lasting until the hour for the advance, just before six on the morning of November 13, crushed and obliterated barbed wire and other surface obstacles, leveling the way for the infantry. Fog and darkness shrouded the lines in their forward rush, which seems to have taken the enemy by surprise. For the first few hours the fighting was so confused that results could not be reported with certainty until a day or two afterward. Then the gains were found to be even greater than had been supposed, including St. Pierre Divion, Beaucourt, and Beaumont Hamel with their environs.

How these different hamlets were taken one by one.

For the attack on the area south of the Ancre two divisions of the New Army were responsible. Rapidly securing their objectives east of St. Pierre Divion, they had its garrison shut in between themselves and the river. For a while the prisoners outnumbered the attacking force. With the aid of a tank, the hamlet was completely occupied, its caverns and tunnels cleared. The new ground won on the southern side of the Ancre was a wedge-shaped piece whose base along the river measured about 1500 yards and whose apex was an acute angle resting upon Regina Trench. One division alone had taken 1400 prisoners, suffering in the action a loss of not more than 600 casualties.

On the other bank of the Ancre, progress was not so smooth and rapid at all points, especially at the entrances to the Y Ravine. A Naval Division between the end of the ravine and the river were flanked on the left by a Highland Territorial Division lying before Beaumont Hamel and the ravine. While the extreme right of the Naval Division swept along on the level of the valley bottom and the extreme left moved along the highest ground, the centre, attacking diagonally on the slope, was held up by a strong redoubt between the German first and second lines. Right and left extended their lines and joined hands along the Beaucourt-Beaumont Hamel road, holding their position all night until the redoubt had fallen. A tank, arriving at three o'clock in the morning, hastened the surrender of the garrison of 360 unwounded men. Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. Freyberg, who was the leader and inspiration of the Naval Division in their valiant action, had already gained a reputation for bravery at Gallipoli. Wounded in crossing No Man's Land on the morning of November 13, and twice more in the next twenty-four hours, he did not lay down his command until his men had pushed on, taken Beaucourt, and established posts beyond it. A fourth and severe wound was received in the charge upon Beaucourt on the morning of the fourteenth.

MISERY, AS THE INVADERS LEFT IT

The village of Misery, situated about six miles southwest of Péronne, suffered wreck at the hands of the Germans before they evacuated it. There was no military reason or excuse for its destruction. The object was to appal the minds of the civil population in France in the hope of hastening a negotiated peace.

THE HIGHLANDERS HAVE A SHARE OF THE FIGHTING.

While the Naval Division had been thus engaged, there had been stubborn and savage fighting by the Highlanders around the ravine. It was entered from north and south just behind the fork of the Y and from the western end. Then fierce and bloody hand-to-hand encounters with bombs and bayonets drove the Germans from their subterranean lairs. The Scots there and at Beaumont Hamel took 1400 prisoners. In Beaumont Hamel, which was entered before midday on

the thirteenth, the fighting was not done in units. It was "a true soldier's fight—each man 'on his own' " through the underground hiding-places. There is a story of a Signal Corps man who, while carrying forward a telephone line, was hit and fell at the mouth of a dugout. When the Germans started to come out, they were halted by the signaler, who kept them prisoners until help came in response to his call over the telephone which he had just installed. And there is another account of a Scottish Lieutenant who was alternately captor, prisoner, and captor again of a German Battalion commander and his staff.

By the night of the second day, November 14, the "total of prisoners on the five-mile front of battle was well over 5000—the largest captures yet made in the time by any army in the West since the campaign began." With the German first line system for a half-mile beyond Beaumont Hamel in their hands, the British were in command of the Ancre on both banks where it entered the enemy's lines. Only the attack in the direction of Serre had had to be abandoned because of the soaked condition of the ground. Everywhere else the assault had been successful.

Freezing weather allows certain small advances.

The weather remained clear and frosty for several days, freezing the water in the puddles and leaving the roads "ringing hard." Fighting continued, with the result that the front was straightened and extended and more prisoners taken. Then, on the morning of the eighteenth, a further advance was made. South of the Ancre a gain of about 500 yards on a two and a half mile front carried the lines to the outskirts of Grandcourt; while north of the river they were pushed three-quarters of a mile northeast of Beaucourt. The total number of prisoners taken in the Ancre battle of six days' duration amounted to over 7000.

Before nightfall, on the night of the eighteenth, however, a thaw had begun with a renewal of rain, slush, mud, and raw heavy fog. In the alternating frosts and storms during the remaining weeks of the year, the attack died away in the mud. No definite engagements took place but the guns were busy somewhere all the time, frequent trench raids were made, and on clear days there was much aerial fighting.

A review of the objectives and accomplishments.

In order to get a just estimate of any battle, particularly a great modern battle like that of the Somme in 1916, one must consider many other matters beside the mere seizure of a certain amount of territory. It can not be measured in square miles alone. First in importance we may regard the aims of the attacking armies. In planning the offensive on the Somme, the Allies had as their first intention the holding of as many German troops as possible on that part of the Western Front in order to furnish relief for the French at Verdun and to keep reinforcements from the Austrians in their efforts against the Russians and Italians. Another object in view was to break down as rapidly and extensively as might be the man strength and resources of the enemy and reduce his morale by dislodging him from positions built up with skill and labor during twenty months of war and looked upon as impregnable.

It has been reckoned that up to the end of November the Germans had used in the Somme area the equivalent of nearly 140 infantry divisions. Of individual divisions the actual number fighting is said to have been 97, out of which some had been put in twice and some three times. As the total number of divisions in the German Army organization was 200, this would mean that "the equivalent of rather over two-thirds of all the German Armies on all the fronts" were engaged upon the Somme battlefield. The pressure on other fronts had been lightened by this concentration in the west. Moreover, many of the divisions had suffered a loss of more than half their fighting strength and the average loss is believed to have been almost 45 per cent, in all perhaps 500,000 men. The

A GIANT CAPTURED FROM THE GERMANS

This periscope would furnish an eye with a wide scope of vision, peering over trees and hills. It could conveniently telescope together into comparatively small compass for transportation on its wheeled support.

British alone had taken 38,000 prisoners between July 1 and the middle of November; they and the French armies together had taken about 80,000. Their losses however were largest, even greater than those of the Germans. The increasing tendency of the German soldiers to surrender in "batches" when they were discovered in dugouts and tunnels and had to face hand-to-hand fighting, indicated a shaken condition of morale among them after their strongholds were shattered and torn and their nerves battered by incessant bombardments. Another cause of discouragement and depression among the enemy was the undoubted superiority of the Allied airmen over their own.

FOR THE FIRST TIME FRENCH AND BRITISH HAVE SHELLS ENOUGH.

In the battle of the Somme, for the first time since the war began, the French and British had had at their command supplies that were adequate for effectual operations. And since "war had become largely a question of material," this factor was of foremost importance. With factories and railroads and supply bases at work in unceasing activity behind the Armies, with rapid-firing implements of the highest efficiency in their hands, the men could do battle day after day except when the weather gave them pause. Of the enemy's weapons, the British had taken over as booty, 29 heavy guns, 96 field guns and field howitzers, 136 trench mortars, and 514 machine guns, beside large quantities of stores of all kinds. The temper and quality of the Allied troops had been well proven by the long strain of the half-year in the trenches and on the hill slopes, in heat and cold and mud and under constant fire. The New Army had shown no lack of spirit or efficiency, but had gone to its task with cheerful determination and indifference to danger. In fact this was the universal attitude throughout the armies, so that a correspondent of *The Times* announced: "Almost every Battalion—every Brigade—every Division—was the best in the Army. I know it, because the officers have told me."

Even a clergyman of Germany blindly paid tribute when he said: "Many wounded men are coming back to our Church from the dreadful Western Front. They have been fighting the British, and they find that so ignorant are the British of warfare that the British soldiers on the Somme refuse to surrender, not knowing that they are really beaten, with the result that terrible losses are inflicted upon our brave troops."

Gueudecourt, Lesboeufs, and Morval, with the final reduction of Combles and Thiepval. October added Eaucourt l'Abbaye and Le Sars, leading up to the final brilliant record of November when Beaumont Hamel, Beaucourt, and St. Pierre Divion yielded up their strength before the last bold assault of the year.

These are the fortified villages through which the advancing British lines were pushed. We have seen how

KING GEORGE WITH SIR DOUGLAS HAIG AND SIR HENRY RAWLINSON

In August the King spent a week among the armies in France, visiting not only headquarters but the fighting front as well. He exchanged courtesies with the French commanders, discussed the situation fully with Sir Douglas Haig and made tours through captured German trenches, inspecting much of the ground of recent conflict.

A SUMMARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE BATTLE.

Let us look back across the months of conflict among the hills and woods of Picardy. In the first week of July the first line of the German rampart was broken through, and Mametz, Montauban, Fricourt, Contalmaison and La Boisselle were reduced. Mid-July brought the second crashing stroke, that yielded Longueval, the two Bazentins, Ovillers-la-Boisselle, and Pozières. Through August there was steady, hard, up-hill fighting under burning heat to gain the top of the ridge. This was followed in September by the seizure of Guillemont, Ginchy, Flers, Martinpuich, Courcelette, numbers of separate contests were fought over many a farm and woodland, fortified valley and sunken road, a windmill, a redoubt, a trench, a cemetery. So this battle which was in truth more than fifty battles, each of which would have been counted as an important engagement judged by the standards of warfare in earlier days, had altered the lines on the Western Front. For the first time since settling there, the Germans had lost the initiative. It had been taken over into the hands of the Allies. At one point the strong wall of defense had been battered through and laid in ruin—a thing of shattered, splintered, crumbling fragments.

FRENCH TROOPS MARCHING ON MONASTIR

In this picture French soldiers brigaded with the Serbian contingent are ascending the steep Selechka Mountains. This force advanced through the most difficult country, for the Serbians knew the mountains, and the tactics which led finally to the recapture of Monastir were manœuvre and pressure all along the Moglena and Selechka ridges with the object of piercing the enemy line at one point, thus outflanking his position.

Bridge on the Railway to Monastir Guarded by Zouaves

Chapter XXXIV

The First Operations Around Saloniki

BRITISH, FRENCH, SERBIANS, ITALIANS AND RUSSIANS ATTACK IN THE BALKANS

DURING the late summer of 1915, it became clear that the Central Powers were preparing for a thrust southwards in the Balkans to gain control of the Morava-Maritza valleys and the Orient railway which would give them through communication with Constantinople, and further imperil the Allied position at Gallipoli. Serbia barred the way and in encompassing her destruction, the Central Powers planned to seize the Vardar valley, the sole avenue of supplies from the south. Teuton diplomacy therefore devoted itself to Bulgaria in order that she might, from her point of vantage, attack the Vardar trench, and to that end concessions were promised that would give her a coveted egress to the sea. To guard against this menace to Serbia the idea of a Balkan campaign began to take shape in Paris, and General Sarrail was asked to make a report on the possibilities of an undertaking in the peninsula.

Saloniki might be important to the Germans.

The project most in favor was a landing at Saloniki, because of its harbor, the three railways that led upcountry from the city, its proximity to Gallipoli, and because the Venizelist Government then in power in Greece was strongly pro-Ally, and there was reason to believe that the co-operation of the Greek Army might shortly be counted upon to help to defend the Vardar trench. While yet decision was impending, the rapid march of events in the Balkans brought a dramatic close to all hesitation. Bulgaria under a thin disguise of neutrality began to mobilize, Greece followed suit, and on September 21, M. Venizelos asked the Allies for an army of 150,000 men to supply the place of the troops which Serbia by her treaty of alliance with Greece, June 3, 1913, was pledged to put on her southern frontier, and which, because of the Austrian invasion, she could not spare.

The Allies land troops to forestall Teuton occupation.

The Cabinets of Paris and London came to a decision, and the necessary steps were taken, as the Allies then believed that Greece would recognize her treaty obligations and support Serbia. King Constantine did nothing, but skillfully avoided all responsibility, and October 2 a purely formal protest to protect Greece's neutrality was handed to M. Guillemin who had notified the government of the prospective arrival of the French troops. The German-Austrian menace to Serbia upon Save and Danube was so serious that speed was essential, and General Bailloud's French division from Cape Helles, and the 10th British Division

under General Sir Bryan Mahon from Suvla were hurried from the Dardanelles and the first detachments landed at Saloniki October 5. That was an eventful day. In the morning King Constantine informed Venizelos that he had gone beyond his rights and demanded his resignation, which was given just two hours before the French troops began to disembark.

KING CONSTANTINE BEGINS TO QUIBBLE.

By this act the king gave the plainest possible avowal of sympathy with Germany, and the Saloniki expedition from the outset was doomed not only to Greek hostility, but laid open also to the charge of violating Greek neutrality, for the king quickly proceeded to repudiate the treaty with Serbia on the ground that it held good in case of Bulgarian aggression alone. "Come over into Macedonia and help us" is a cry repeated down the ages, but the helpers when they came were no more welcome in this latter day than in earlier times. Nevertheless the Allies stayed, and strove, by avoiding occasion of strife, to make Constantine forget that the neutrality of Greece no longer existed save in theory.

General Sarrail left for Saloniki October 7, and arrived on the twelfth. So hurried was the whole undertaking, that his orders were changed twice on the way and once again within forty-eight hours of his arrival, when the French Government gave orders to move up the Vardar in a desperate effort to join hands with the Serbian army. In those few days much had happened. On the seventh of the month, von Mackensen had forced the line of the Save and Danube; on the ninth, Belgrade had fallen, and on the eleventh the Bulgars had crossed the Serbian marches. Soon 200,000 Austro-Germans under von Mackensen were pushing south from Save and Danube against the Serbian front, while 250,000 Bulgars were moving east against the Serbian right flank. Far to the south a small Franco-British force was preparing to go against the Bulgarian left, fearing that already it was too late to succor Serbia or hold up the retreat. The Serbian story of the fighting is told in Chapter XXII.

THE SERBIAN HOPE OF ALLIED ASSISTANCE.

The Serbians had hoped that the Allies, using the railway from Saloniki, would rush up to Nish, and houses were decorated with flags in their honor, and crowds waited for them at the station. But General Sarrail had decided against this plan. Nish was 200 miles from Saloniki and connected only by a single railway line. If troops were sent it would mean that they would be flung into the battle unit by unit as they arrived, that they would pass under the Serbian High Command and cease to exist as a separate force, and that they must share in the inevitable Serbian retreat. Moreover, the Greeks by this time were showing themselves so hostile that Sarrail judged it unwise to expose himself to being cut off in the rear. Accordingly, he decided to protect the Vardar valley with the forces at his disposal, and thereby secure for the Serbians one line of retreat to the sea. The French troops were hurried to secure the railway and join hands if possible with the Serbians before the Bulgar thrust had cut communications. The British force was to hold Saloniki, and protect the communications.

The advance began on October 14, and in five days General Bailloud had established headquarters at Strumnitza station, and started to drive back the Bulgars in the hilly region on the east of the line towards their own frontier. The position on the crest of these hills was secured and taken over by the British division which began to arrive on the 26th. Meanwhile the French left and more mobile wing had pushed further north and captured the Demir Kapu gorge, a point of special danger where river and railway are penned up for ten miles in a ravine, whose entrance is a gap so narrow that only the river can force a passage between its high walls and where the railway has to burrow into the rock itself. This defile was seized only just in time, for the Bulgars were advancing from the east.

BULGARS SUCCEED IN SEPARATING FRENCH AND SERBIANS.

Sarrail's first French brigade had reached Krivolak on October 20. His intention had been to push up to Veles where the Serbian Colonel Vasitch was still holding out, though almost surrounded. If Veles could have been reached there would have been no journey across Albania for the weary Serbians, but the Allies were too late in landing. Uskub fell on the 22nd and Veles on the 28th of the month. The Bulgarian invasion had accomplished its first great purpose; it had driven a wedge between retreating Serb and advancing Frenchman. Was it possible to cut through this wedge by fighting? Two attempts were made, both of them doomed to failure. The first was the so-called "manœuvre of Katshanik" in which from November 4–8 the Serbians took the offensive in the hope of cutting through to Uskub. But they were tired out and short of guns and so after five hard days the attack was called off, and in its place on the twelfth the tragic signal for retreat sounded. It was the beginning of the end.

Meanwhile, in the south covering Monastir, for over a month 5,000 Serbians with few guns and little food were holding in the Babuna pass a Bulgarian force fully four times as great. Here a second effort to effect a junction was made, this time by the French. Krivolak had been captured, the line was strengthened down to Strumnitza station, and at Krivolak the Kara Hodjali mountain commanding the railway was taken by the French who called it Kara Rosalie in token of the bloody bayonet fighting around its slopes. In order to begin the attack, the swollen Vardar had to be crossed and re-crossed many hundreds of times in an old Turkish punt and the height was secured only just in time, for two days later the Bulgarians realizing its importance attacked in force and were only beaten off in a fierce close fight (November 4 and 5), and still remained intrenched over against the French on the flat crest of the mountain.

ALLIED OPERATIONS FROM SALONIKI

The Allies had three routes by which they might debouch from Saloniki; by the Struma or Vardar valleys, or by road and railway to Monastir. In August 1916, the Bulgarians captured the Struma valley, Drama, Seres, and Kavalla so that Sarrail could not advance to help Rumania. In September he pushed east as far as Monastir.

FRENCH AND SERBIANS ARE KEPT APART.

By road Babuna is twenty-five miles due west of Krivolak—as the crow flies it is a brief ten—but the country between is a tangled mass of mountains and the sole road a mere track. At Vozartzi the Tcherna, deep and unfordable, is crossed by a long wooden bridge. The French, already far from their base, pushed on deeper into the rugged mountains and finally flung themselves against the slopes of Mount Archangel where the Bulgars lay entrenched, in a final furious effort to reach the Serbians whose rifle shots re-echoed faintly and despairingly among the lonely valleys to the west. But, in spite of hard fighting on the part of the French, the limit of Serbian endurance was reached on November 16, and they retreated up the pass and left the French left exposed, while all hope of effecting a junction was now over.

"A single track railway a hundred miles long, threatened by open enemies on the greater part of its length and exposed to secret enemies on the rest, followed by 18 or 20 miles of a bad road which included two wooden bridges across formidable rivers. Such was their sole line of supply and their sole line of retreat." So General Sarrail fell back to the Vardar and took up a position between that river and the Tcherna in the so-called triangle of Kavadar. "A dreary place was this Kavadar triangle" writes the correspondent quoted above, "almost treeless; the once fertile fields deserted; the rare villages in ruins, burnt by the Comitadji bands which used to ravage the Balkans in the interests of conflicting national propaganda. The wretched population was the usual mixture of Bulgarian, Serb and Mussulman but with each section accustomed to change their racial and religious labels under the application of terrorism. Order was kept among them with a strong hand by an ex-Comitadji named Babounski, who made short work of doubtful characters, hanging them or 'sending them down to Saloniki' as he euphemistically termed it, which meant a summary execution on the banks of the Vardar after which the body was thrown into the stream. Mud, filth, half-wild dogs were the most conspicuous features of the countryside. No supplies of any kind could be drawn from a region whose resources even in the way of fuel were limited to cakes of bullock-dung dried by being stuck on to the decaying walls."

SARRAIL FORCED TO RETIRE ON SALONIKI.

Sarrail's main purpose had failed; his attack had broken against the Bulgar intrenchments on the slopes of Mount Archangel. Winter was coming on, and the commander determined to retire on Saloniki. He knew that it was only a matter of time till Todorov's Southern Army, having disposed of the fleeing Serbians, would turn upon him. Indeed, Bulgar attacks upon the British in the Lake Doiran sector and upon the French on the Vardar had already begun in early December. The attitude of the Greek Government was in no way reassuring. Troops had been mustered in the northwest corner and reports of opposition, covert but unmistakable, came daily to increase his anxiety. Therefore retreat was ordered and carried out by stages; while an appearance of activity was kept up at the front a series of strong entrenched positions was prepared down the Vardar to guard the rear of the retiring army. Besides the one-track railway, there were but two or three rough tracks possible only for men on foot and pack-animals. All the carts, motor lorries and other heavy material had to go down by rail, and, of course, congested traffic enormously. It was bitterly cold and the snow lay thick. The Bulgars were hard upon their heels, but the intrenched positions served as break-waters to delay the fury of their assault. Nevertheless the Allies experienced something of the misery of the Serbians among the Albanian wilderness in those dreary days of December, 1915.

"As they fell steadily back, the conditions of their retreat desperately bad as they were already rendered by the deep snow, the bitter cold, the fog, and

ON THE SERBIAN BORDER

In the southwest of Serbia lie her best and most luxuriant pastures where cattle, sheep and swine are raised extensively, and oxen are used freely as work animals. The population is almost entirely agricultural, although the mineral resources are varied and valuable. There is little mining from lack of capital and of roads.

ON THE GRECO-BULGARIAN BORDER

Bulgaria is agricultural and pastoral with exports of grain, animals, fruit and tobacco. The Bulgars are mostly peasant proprietors working their own land. Trade was in the hands of Greeks, Austrians, Rumanians, and Jews. The importance of Bulgaria is due chiefly to the fact that railways connecting Europe and Asia must pass through Bulgaria if they are to follow the shortest route.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

the unspeakable mud and slush, became more difficult in proportion as the numbers of the retiring force were augmented through its being withdrawn upon itself. So bad were the conditions that the 57th Division took a whole day to cover 4 miles. The men, sinking ankle-deep in mud at every step, were dead tired, staggering under the weight of their packs, wet to the skin, starved with cold and hunger; they had been marching and fighting for days in the snow over rough, steep paths high up the rocky side of the

BRITISH BAND PLAYING THE RUSSIANS ASHORE AT SALONIKI

During the early months of 1916 the French and British in Saloniki were on the defensive, strengthening lines and communications. In February their numbers were increased by the Serbians refitted in Corfu, and a little later Italian and Russian contingents arrived. Sarrail then passed to a successful offensive against Monastir in November, which was intended to relieve pressure upon Rumania.

Vardar gorge where a slip often meant death, often sleeping such sleep as they could get shelterless in the open. For a fortnight they had not had their boots off or washed even their faces."

BULGARS PURSUE TO THE GREEK FRONTIER.

When they finally arrived within the Greek frontiers their troubles were not lessened by the fact that the only two railroads to Saloniki were run by Greek officials. The 156th Division of the French on the left bank of the Vardar meanwhile had fallen back by a parallel route, and the 10th British Division, attacked by a strong force of Bulgars from the first week in December, retired upon Saloniki followed by the foe who stopped just short of the Greek frontier stone outside Doiran. That they did not pursue the Allies any farther caused some surprise at the time but the Bulgars had their own reasons for delay. It is possible that they had a secret agreement with the Greeks about the frontier, or on the other hand, wished not to involve King Constantine at that date. But the Allies were falling back upon strong positions where they could be reinforced from the sea, and the Bulgars were exhausted by a pursuit that had been even more arduous than the retreat, for the French had destroyed tunnels and bridges as they came down the valley, and their pursuers had only the rough tracks from village to village.

By the time that all the British and French forces had arrived at Saloniki the Allied High Commands had decided that although the primary object of the Balkan expedition, the rescue of Serbia, had failed, yet Saloniki must still be held. This decision resulted from a general survey of the entire situation in the Near East. It was acknowledged that Gallipoli must be evacuated, and the enterprise at Saloniki would then be the only remaining menace to Mittel-Europa which was a constant threat to Egypt and India. The presence of the Allied armies, it was thought, might keep King Constantine from throwing in his lot with

the Germans, who could then create a submarine base at Saloniki and further threaten communications in the Eastern Mediterranean. While the expeditionary force was spending itself in vain efforts to help the Serbians, the royal dictatorship had extended itself over all Greece. Concessions as to liberty of movement for the Allied troops and the use of necessary ways

ON THE QUAYS AT SALONIKI

In spite of Austro-German submarines which everywhere infested the Mediterranean, French transports, convoyed by destroyers, accomplished their voyage safely and the troops are seen disembarking on the quays at Saloniki. Some of the infantry units came from Africa where their training camps were situated. The 1915 contingent was at once hurried up the Vardar to protect the southward route for the retreating Serbs.

and means of transport were wrung from the government, one of whose members even goes as far as to acknowledge that, "The matter has been happily arranged, thanks to the broad views of Germany, who has kindly consented not to place any obstacles in the way of our benevolent neutrality toward the Entente."

THE OLD CITY OF SALONIKI ITSELF.

It is well at this point to consider some of the characteristic features of Saloniki, which for so many months to come was to form general headquarters for the Army of the Orient. From the water-front Saloniki climbs up-hill, and on the hill is the city wall and citadel built by the Turks in the fifteenth century. This is medieval in character but the rest is modern and Turkish. In the narrow, crooked, ill-paved streets, where the second stories often overhang the first, and where everywhere the skyline is cut by the minarets of many mosques, throngs a crowd of many different races and tongues. Saloniki in normal times had a population of about 150,000 of which 56 per cent. were Jewish and the remainder Greek, Turk, Armenian, Bulgarian, Egyptian, French and Italian. At first from the sea one is only conscious of the innumerable mosques; later you discover that the town contains many Christian churches of great age, later still you find that synagogues of the Spanish Jews are around every corner. That Saloniki seems over-populated is due partly to the fact that everyone lives in the streets, the window sill forms a shop-counter, the

pavement a lounge. One is afflicted by abominable smells and deafened by the crash and clatter of iron tires across the primitive paving of the roads. When General Sarrail brought in all his forces, by this time 60,000 British soldiers and sailors, and 110,000 French—added them to the 110,000 Greek soldiers stationed in Saloniki and the ever-inflowing stream of thousands of Serbian soldiers and refugees, the population was quadrupled, the traffic increased in the ratio of three motor-cars to one small donkey, and the babel of tongues in the streets was augmented by fully a half-dozen others.

SALONIKI FROM THE NORTH

This picture of Saloniki taken from an elevation behind the city reveals only the beauty of its site. Pierced by tall fingers of the minarets, with trees breaking the monotony of its flat roofs it surges like white sea-foam against the green slopes of the hills which rise to the north. From afar the narrowness and noise of the streets, the abominable smells and over-crowding population are not apparent. N. Y. Times

DEFENSES OF THE CITY ARE DRAWN.

From an open city the French commander changed Saloniki into one of the principal fortresses of the world. The first four months of 1916 were devoted to this work; nowhere were the lines drawn nearer to the city than ten miles. The first act of war against Saloniki was committed December 30 by an aeroplane which dropped bombs over the city. Sarrail was not ignorant of the fact that spies were everywhere about him. Bulgars, Austrians, Greeks, Turks, Germans lined the wharves and counted each new unit as it arrived, or hob-nobbed with the Tommies, selling them tobacco and sweetmeats and learning whence they had come. It was bitterly cold and the scarcity of firewood such that men were rowing out into the bay to pick up the packing cases dropped overboard from the Allied warships. There were many among the boatmen who had no interest in fuel, but who noted each new mooring in the bay or wrote down the signals wig-wagged from ship to ship. In the restaurants the consuls of the Central Powers rubbed elbows with Allied officers, and daily over the wires messages flashed in code, and the train which ran to Sofia bore letters full of matters of moment. Sarrail was waiting for the overt act and he found it in the coming of the aero-

WITH THE BRITISH CONTINGENT AT SALONIKI

Camp of an English Bicycle Corps in the Lake Doiran region where British contingents occupied a sector of the front near the city of Seres. In the summer heat, mosquitoes and flies made the plain unbearable. The Allies and their foes were compelled to go to the hills and fighting was at a standstill.

ALLIED ARTILLERY ON THE GRECO-SERBIAN FRONTIER

One of the French guns is being laboriously dragged up into the Serbian mountains to participate in the bombardment of the Bulgar-German trenches before Monastir. Most of the artillery units which went into the French contingent were especially formed for the Saloniki expedition. Mountain trails and heavy rains and snow-storms imposed the severest possible strain on the motor transport.

planes. That afternoon he collected the representatives of the Central Powers with all their *personnel* and placed them upon a French warship. At their quarters he found abundant justification for his act, in particular at the Austrian office where there were, in addition to incriminating documents, guns and ammunition.

NATURE HELPED TO CREATE DEFENSES FOR THE CITY.

Seen in the light of later events, it would seem that Sarrail need not have fortified Saloniki so strongly, for the Bulgars did not attack then or afterwards. Probably the impregnability of its lines held off the enemy. At any rate, Sarrail meant to take no risks. Saloniki stands at the head of a long gulf and to guard against a flank attack, it was necessary to draw a longer line and find suitable places upon which to rest his defense. West of the city, salt marshes stretch to the unfordable Vardar, a suitable starting point. To the north there is a treeless plain rising to ranges of hills which extend some miles up the Vardar but to the east sink into flats and form a trough wherein lie two great lakes Langaza and Bestick. The trough continues in a wooded valley to Orfano, an excellent point for the right end of the line. The intrenchments from Vardar mouth to Orfano gulf stretched for over 60 miles, and northwards to where the ridges of hills began to rise from the plain.

Outside this line there is an even stronger natural barrier of defense—for some 45 miles up-stream the Vardar runs in a network of channels between changing sandbanks. "The northern slope of the hills, towards the enemy, is steep and forbidding; the gentle back slope towards Saloniki is easily ascended so that the defending forces could manœuvre to advantage." There was plenty of labor, and the lines were virtually drawn by Christmas Day, 1915. General de Castelnau paid a visit of inspection on the 20th of December and expressed himself well content with what he saw. The French held the line from the Vardar to east of the Dedeagatch railway, and the British, holding some parallel lines of hills and the trough of the lakes, carried the strong defenses on the right down to the gulf.

THE SERBIANS ARRIVE AT SALONIKI

In all, contingents from seven different nations made up the Army of the Orient. These troops might be mistaken for French soldiers rather than Serbian, as their uniforms of horizon blue and their equipment were furnished by the French commission at Corfu. Whatever uniform they wore all fought with but one desire—to revenge themselves upon those who had ruined their country.

MACEDONIA A COUNTRY WITHOUT ROADS OR BRIDGES.

In making Saloniki into an intrenched camp and afterwards, through March and April, 1916, moving up the lines to the outer barrier and then to the Greek frontier, the question of transport was one which had to receive first attention. War in Macedonia meant a war against nature; the country was without roads or bridges, and the most innocent trickle of a stream has a way of swirling up into a great river in the course of an afternoon. A modern army cannot be content with the mere tracks that serve for mules and oxen. Its heavy cumbersome things such as great guns, ammunition, immense stores of rations and forage, and material for repairing must be close up to the men and instantly available. Somehow or other, roads in Macedonia had to be made, improvised or improved, as the defense pushed forward. No army could live on what it found in the country, for beyond such trifles as melons, eggs, tomatoes and occasional fowls there was nothing.

The following description from an officer in the British Saloniki Force well describes the barrenness of the land: "Hundreds of square miles that might be so busy growing food for man and beast, and they grow nothing but thistles. The hillsides might be rich with vineyards and they are desolate with evergreen oak. There is water everywhere and it is allowed to serve a little space and then to wander aimlessly to the sea. There might be great herds of cattle and mighty flocks of sheep, but all you shall find is a few tiny cows, a few attenuated goats, and a few scraggy, fleshless sheep. Each wretched village worries along as best it may, a self-contained community, having little traffic with the outer world. And between the villages there sweep the miles of the wasted land. Wasted because here is no security of tenure,

CORFU, THE MOST NORTHERLY OF THE IONIAN ISLES

Corfu has a mixed population: from the days of mythology to the present, it has been invaded successively by Phoenicians, Athenians, Romans, Venetians and Greeks. A French mission during the winter of 1915-16 was in charge of the reorganization of the survivors of the Serbian army collected there, and by spring an army of 100,000 men was ready to take the field. Picture, Henry Ruschin

no consecutive rule, no assurance that he who sows shall also reap. Wasted because it is a country where you may find the bones of the dead on the tops of little hills." Yet in the zone of the Allied lines within a few months could be found a network of roads and railways ramifying like a spider web, bridges, artesian wells pumping water by the thousand gallons an hour, supply dumps with their mountains of yellow packing-cases, buildings in corrugated iron of every sort. When the Allies first came no lighters could reach the shore except at the quay, yet within a few months they had built twelve piers where their supplies could be unloaded.

THE REORGANIZED SERBIAN ARMY ARRIVES FROM CORFU.

Except for intrenchment and road-making there was a deadlock at Saloniki from December, 1915, to April, 1916, for General Sarrail was not ready to advance, nor the Bulgars eager to attack. An arrangement was reached with the Greeks about moving troops, as military needs required, into the region between Saloniki and the frontier, and thereby daily watch was kept upon the Bulgars and Germans by Lake Doiran and eastward along the line. At the end of January the French Commander occupied the forts of Kuri Burnu on the east side of the Gulf of Orfano in order to protect the Allied fleet, and the incident passed off without more than a protest from the government. But Greek hostility was everywhere in the air, prevalent and insidious as the malaria of Macedonia. In spite of the announced "benevolent neutrality" of the Skouloudis Cabinet, the Serbian refugee and retreating soldier met such ill-will, that in January the Allies seized the island of Corfu and there a French Commission began to care for and refit the dispirited host. By the middle of April the Serbians were ready to rejoin their allies at Saloniki. The Greek Government refused them passage over its soil, (perhaps it was only asked as a blind to guard against submarines) and they were brought round by sea with successful evasion of attack. The addition of 100,000 Serbians to the Army of the Orient seems to have alarmed the Bulgars who in May, with the connivance of the Greek government (which just at that time negotiated a loan with Germany for $15,000,000) occupied Fort Rupel. This was a bar against Allied advance by way of the Struma, and here the Bulgars waited until they were ready for a simultaneous push on the other flank before carrying their occupation down to Kavalla, where their line enclosed the Allied positions in a great arc.

PRESSURE IS PUT UPON KING CONSTANTINE.

Sarrail acted immediately by proclaiming martial law at Saloniki and throughout the zone of the Allied armies, and military occupation of the public buildings of the town together with the control of services of communication and the police force. In June public manifestations against France and England took place in Athens. Then a partial embargo of her coasts was laid upon Greece and resulted in some pseudo-concessions being wrung from the Royalist Government, which are related in the chapter upon Greece as their character is political rather than military, except the demand which called for the immediate demobilization of the Greek army.

When the French and British fell back upon the sea (December, 1915) 110,000 soldiers of the Greek army had been in Saloniki; these troops had been withdrawn within a few days but all through the late months of 1915 the Greek army on a war footing lay between the Allies and their enemies and formed a tight cordon round Saloniki. Although this cordon was somewhat relaxed in the early months of 1916, as the fortified zone extended toward the frontier, yet the Greeks had been in occupation of Demir Hissar and Rupel Fort and yielded them to the Bulgars in May, apparently by agreement. When the king submitted to the Allied ultimatum of June 21 and agreed to demobilize his army, he proceeded to form leagues of reservists

GERMAN BAGGAGE COLUMN IN MACEDONIA

Bulgarian troops lining the muddy street of a Macedonian village to watch a German baggage column en route to the front lines. This method of transportation was most common in a land whose wretched villages were connected with each other and the outside world by narrow mule tracks, well-nigh impassable in winter.

BULGARIAN SOLDIERS RESTING

The Bulgar, like other inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula, is a veteran fighter accustomed to the hardships of war. Except when in Serbia, from which nation he is divided by ancient feud, he is said to have fought fairly and to have treated his prisoners humanely. Taciturn and dogged he grew by degrees to hate his German masters.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

who as bands of irregular troops in the rear threatened as definitely as the army had done.

SARRAIL'S ATTACK IS ANTICIPATED BY THE BULGARS.

During May most of the German troops were withdrawn from the Balkans to aid in the attack on Verdun. Sarrail intended to make an advance up the Vardar in August. He hoped the results of his offensive might both successfully influence the coming elections in Greece in favor of the Venizelists, and favorably impress wavering Rumanian opinion, and he chose the Vardar avenue of attack as seemingly most practicable and because it gave Monastir as an objective to the Serbian contingent. At the end of July the Crown Prince Alexander took over the command of his countrymen, who held a position west of the Vardar and on the left of the French. On the extreme left of the line, an Italian contingent based on Avlona prepared to strike through Albania to cover the Serbian flank. The British as before held the right. The movement was timed for the second week in August. A Russian contingent was now in line and all the forces were under General Sarrail, while General Cordonnier took over the French command.

Just as the attack started the enemy himself took the offensive. It is possible that King Constantine, fearing the results of the elections, resolved to postpone them indefinitely by contriving the invasion of eastern and western Macedonia by the Germano-Bulgarians. Moreover, it is probable that King Ferdinand was preparing a counter-bluff to impress Rumania and delay her entry into war. Descending the valley of the Struma, the Bulgarians seized all the forts of the valley and the cities of Drama, Seres and Kavalla. They carried away the garrisons and transported them to Germany. They obtained possession of war materials consisting of 200 cannon of the latest model, 50,000 rifles, a great store of ammunition and different kinds of equipment. On the left, Florina was occupied, the Serbians were driven back as far as Ostrovo and their position crumpled up although the French and British held fast in the centre and on the right. Instead of an advance upon Monastir that would cloak Rumania's entry into war, the Allied position at Saloniki was now threatened from east, north and west.

THE BULGARS GAIN STRENGTH BY THESE OPERATIONS.

The Bulgarians by this movement were able to bring reinforcements and supplies from Eastern Bulgaria, or from Turkey even, all the way by train. When Rumania finally entered the war Sarrail failed to advance to help her—not from lack of good-will but from sheer lack of strength. Nevertheless the Bulgarian invasion of Macedonia accomplished something for the Entente. It cut the Greek army in two, materially and morally. The soldiers who had escaped from Macedonia and almost all of the garrison of Saloniki formed themselves into an army for national defense and put themselves at Sarrail's disposal to resist the Bulgarians. Thus, for the first time, the French Commander's authority was supreme in Saloniki. Further, instead of hindering revolution, Constantine had promoted it. Greek national feeling was outraged by the spectacle of their hereditary enemies upon their soil, and through September the forces of revolution grew and in October open division occurred and under Venizelos a separate provisional government was established in Saloniki, which acted as a rallying centre for the Forces of National Defense. Venizelos between October 1916 and April 1917 succeeded in equipping three entire divisions, that of Seres, that of Crete and that of the Archipelago, and these joined the Allied Army. (For a fuller account of the revolution see chapter entitled "Greece and the Venizelist Revolt.")

THE ATTACK UPON MONASTIR IS PLANNED.

By August 22 the Bulgar attack upon the Serbian positions at Lake Ostrovo had been successfully stayed, and on September 7 a counter-assault was ordered. Though Sarrail could

not advance to join with the Rumanian General Averescu he now ordered the attack upon Monastir to go forward in order to make a diversion on Rumania's behalf. A re-disposition of the Allied forces, preparatory to the advance, took place. In the new arrangement, east of the Vardar none save British troops were to be found; their task was to hold the enemy so that the second Bulgarian Army would not go east to Monastir. West of both Moglena and Selechka Mountains a flat green plain leads corridor-wise to Monastir, its edges bounded again on the west by mountains stretching towards Lake Prespa. In this plain the Bulgars had three lines of intrenchments, the first running through Florina to Verbeni, behind that the Kenali line whose left flank reached to the Tcherna, last of all and only four

ALLIED ARMY OPERATIONS AGAINST MONASTIR

The lines of Bulgarian entrenchments defending Monastir are shown upon this map: the first running through Florina to Verbeni, behind that the Kenali line whose left flank reached to the Cerna, last of all and only four miles from Monastir itself, the Bistritza trenches. The city stands at the head of the only level approach in the region, and the Bulgarian outworks were therefore strongly made.

to aid Todorov, who was barring the way to Monastir.

It is impossible to follow the campaign fought for and in defense of Monastir without some preliminary survey of the terrain. The city stands at the outlet of a gorge opening towards the south. From it run south and then east the road and railway to Saloniki. To the east of Monastir the river Tcherna runs south and then north enclosing in its wide bend the Selechka Mountains. North of Lake Ostrovo the Moglena Mountains rise to a height of 8,000 feet and Mt. Kaymakchalan at their western end commands the approach by rail or road from the south-

miles south of Monastir the Bistritza line, most hastily prepared of all. The two mountain groups on the east of the plain and forming its wall, because they commanded road and railway, were really the strength of the Bulgar position.

THE SERBIAN ARMY HAS THE POST OF HONOR.

The Serbians had in line the whole of their First and Third Armies under Voivode Mishitch and General Vasitch. Their Second Army remained where it had been since before the Ostrovo battle, further round on the right facing the Bulgars on the steep scrub-covered slopes of the Moglena Moun-

tains. The French and Russians in the centre and on the left advanced by way of the plain, while the Serbians stormed the mountain crests. The counter-offensive started on September 7, and by the 18th the Franco-Russian Army had pushed forward to within a few miles of Florina. The Serbs took thirteen miles in three days, storming the enemy trenches on the slopes in fierce close fighting. The centre and right wing were directed against Mt. Kaymakchalan and the task of keeping both supplied with ammunition and food was a heavy strain on the motor transport over those mountain roads. Mr. G. Ward Price, Official War Correspondent with the Allied forces in the Balkans who witnessed the attack on Monastir, wrote:

THE LAND OVER WHICH THE SERBIANS FOUGHT.

"There is a belt of splendid beech forest half way up Kaymakchalan, but beyond that the bare mountain side stretches nakedly on to its cap of almost perennial snow and right on the top stand the white boundary frontier stones which mark the boundary of Serbia. It was on this vantage-ground above the clouds, with the country they were fighting to win laid out before their eyes, that the Serbs fought their fiercest battles with the Bulgars. Little intrenching was possible on the stone-bound mountain-side. In clefts and gullies, behind outcrops of rocks or under shelter of individual heaps of stones collected under cover of the dark, the soldiers of these two Balkan armies fought each other with savage and bitter hatred, under the fiercest weather conditions of cold and exposure. The wind there was so strong that the Serbs said they 'almost feared that the trench mortar projectiles would be blown back on to them.'

"There could be little artillery at that point to keep the battle-lines apart. Mortar, bomb and bayonet were the weapons that worked the slaughter on Kaymakchalan, and so fiercely were they used that Serbs would reach the ambulances with broken-off pieces of knives and bayonets in their wounds. You came upon the piles of dead in every gully; behind each clump of rocks you found them, not half-buried in mud or partly covered by the ruins of a blown-in trench or shattered dug-out, but lying like men asleep on the clean hard stones. The fish-tail of an aerial torpedo usually furnished evidence of the nature of their death. Not for days

GENERAL SARRAIL

General Sarrail became Commander-in-Chief of the Allied "Armée d'Orient" at Saloniki in 1915. During his two years of command Saloniki was transformed into an intrenched camp, and Monastir recaptured.
N. Y. Times

only but for weeks after dead Bulgars lay there, preserved in the semblance of life by the cold mountain air, looking with calm unseeing eyes across the battle-ground that had once been the scene of savage and concentrated passion and activity, and then lapsed back into its native loneliness, where the eagle is the only thing that moves."

THE SERBIANS STORM MOUNT KAYMAKCHALAN.

On September 20, the Russian troops after a stern battle carried Florina by assault, the same day that the Serbians stormed the summit of Kaymakchalan, the key of the Bulgar-

ian first line. The enemy made desperate attempts to retrieve his loss but the Serbians held fast and nine days later Mishitch by a further advance outflanked him and drove him back to the Kenali line, only 12 miles from Monastir. The Kenali position rested on the Tcherna where, entering a rocky valley, it begins to turn north enclosing a ridge within the loop. It was the task of Mishitch to cross the Tcherna and win the ridge. On a rocky corner on the south of the river the commander of the Serbian Morava division had his observation post.

Meanwhile the French were making frontal attacks on the Kenali position in the plain, and the Russians doing rough fighting among the mountains to the west. The Kenali intrenchments were too strong for frontal attacks for they were made with the skill and thoroughness of lines on the Western Front, and when it became apparent that the artillery was not heavy enough to smash them, General Sarrail based his hopes on Serbian outflanking and strengthened their army with French and Russian troops from the plain. Unfortunately, at the end of October the weather broke and the trenches in the Kenali plain were flooded out, and amid the wet and fog the fighting among the hills slowed down also. On November 14, a general offensive from Kenali to Tcherna was ordered, and amid rain the Franco-Russians captured the line and forced the enemy back to the Bistritza river intrenchments. On the 17th and 18th the Serbs carried the last heights of the Tcherna loop which commanded the Prilep road north of Monastir. Without further pressure von Winckler retreated a dozen miles to Prilep but was not pursued, as snow now barred the way and the Allied force was insufficient.

THE GREEK MENACE IN THE REAR.

After December (when street fighting occurred in Athens), the Greek menace in the rear became very serious. It was a real danger, too, for the only communication with Monastir was a single line of railway a hundred miles long, and at Verria the line makes a loop southwards towards Old Greece and was there exposed to being cut by Royalist troops who moved north in a threatening manner and caused Sarrail to recall the French detachments to meet the peril. Once again Constantine had served his German masters by distracting Allied attention from their real object, the Bulgars, and causing them to resume the defensive once again. Their offensive had succeeded in part measure only; it had not relieved Rumania but it had given back Monastir to the Serbs as an earnest of better things to come.

During the first three months of the next year mud and rain imposed immobility upon campaigning in the Balkans. It was a deadlock only in so far as fighting was concerned. The Bulgars used the time in strengthening their positions, making new roads, bringing up fresh drafts and ammunition against the spring offensive. The Allies found themselves with their hands full with complications resulting from the Greek revolution of October, 1916. To avoid conflict a "neutral zone" between the spheres of influence of the Royalists and Venizelists had been established, and it had to be occupied by Allied troops. To the rear of the Saloniki position the Chacidice Peninsula stretches its three-pronged head into the sea, and armed reservists and other Royalist agitators began to make disturbances there which the Venizelists strove to repress. Constantine and his ministers grew all the while more openly antagonistic, but it was the policy of the Entente to keep Greece quiescent and avoid having to fight a campaign in Thessaly or Attica as well as in Macedonia. Therefore we have the apparently futile, wholly undignified, negotiations between king and Allies, wherein the latter played a trimming game to keep Greece out of war.

It will be remembered that in September, 1916, the British Saloniki Force was given the task of holding the line from Vardar to Struma, a distance of 90 miles and of engaging the Bul-

garian Second Army so that it did not interfere with the advance upon Monastir. General Milne had performed the task, had even pushed his line forward and extended communications, but the wet and cold winter had tired his men who so far had had no part in a brilliant offensive. At the beginning of April, 1917, the British Commander determined, as part of the general spring offensive ordered all along the line, to attack the enemy positions around Lake Doiran, which were exceptionally strong in natural defense. April 2 the first attack was delivered on the Doiran fortress and for a month heavy fighting in that sector of the front continued, with little result save that the British occupied the enemy's first trenches. Simultaneously all along the line were going on similar Allied offensive movements "on the right bank of the Vardar by the French and Greeks, among the Moglena mountains by the Serbs, on the right bank of the Tcherna by the Serbs and Russians, in the loop of the Tcherna by French, Russians and Italians, and especially on that semi-circle of hills west and north of Monastir where the French were faced by a strong concentration of Germans, Austrians, and Bulgarians. Local improvements of the line were made at several points but nowhere was it found possible to drive a wedge into the Bulgar front."

SOLDIERS OF THE FRENCH ARMY OF THE ORIENT

Camping in Macedonia was cheerless work. The climate was treacherous. Up in the mountains the winter was intensely cold with heavy snowfall; in the plains the temperature ranged from an average of 81° Fahrenheit in midsummer to a minimum of 14° in winter and canvas tents formed but little protection against summer heat or penetrating damp. Insect pests were an ever-present torment.

May 29 the offensive was called off; the brief spring was over and it was time to make dispositions for the unhealthful summer during which it was impossible to stay among the malarial river valleys. The Bulgar was as well aware of the unhealthfulness of the lowlands as were the Allies. He put out placards, "We know you are going back to the hills; so are we," and soon he, too, had only a strong outpost line on the plain.

Italian Artillery on the Austro-Italian Front

Chapter XXXV

The First Italian Campaigns

ITALY FIGHTS FOR THE UNREDEEMED LANDS AGAINST FEARFUL ODDS

THERE is a picture where the foreground shows only a solitary battle-flag, rent and pierced, yet waving out from its staff with something of ineffable dignity and freedom, high above a landscape of rough mountainside and deep river valley—far and dim as seen from this lonely height. The flag is the flag of Italy. The river is the Isonzo flowing between the bitterly-contested hills that formed the eastern barrier of the Austro-Italian front, a barrier "formidable even beyond the dreams of its makers." There is symbolic suggestion in the dauntless folds of the flag with its tatters and scars, in the grimness and grandeur of the whole scene. It conveys a sense of stern, determined struggle in the midst of a region where "in spite of the utmost efforts of two great armies, nature was still big enough to be lord and master."

The Work of the Italian Engineers.

The work of the Italian engineers in meeting colossal difficulties was a magnificent achievement. We have seen in an earlier chapter that upon Italy's entering the war, her armies had taken positions upon the ridges and summits of the border. It was not many weeks before they were feeling the support of the engineering forces, "whose technical skill was equal to their audacity," and who, more and more, as the war proceeded, met the needs of the fighting men. Where first there were rough roads or no roads at all, there came to be miles of good highway, built with gradual incline and rolled smooth. Light railways were constructed for communication with the forces in the field. Drinking-water, lacking in many of the rocky posts, was carried by mules or lorries in some cases; but, as soon as possible, pipe-lines and reservoirs furnished a more satisfactory supply. Perhaps the most interesting engineering contrivance employed was the *teleferica*, or aerial cable railway, which made a direct connection between the fighters on their mountain-peaks and shelves and the sources of supply below, and was capable of raising a load of nearly a half ton. Systems of trenches and underground galleries became a necessity as soon as it was proven that the conflict would be one of siege rather than a rush through the enemy's lines.

The Italian Plan of Campaign.

Let us take a look at the situation along the frontier immediately after the declaration of war against Austria, on May 23. It will be recalled that General Cadorna's plan was to secure the northern line and hold it, while driving insistently against the eastern barrier in the hope of breaking a way across into Austria, and, if possible,

seizing Trieste. The Commander's intimate knowledge of that difficult frontier was invaluable in preparing plans for the armies which had sprung into place in the Trentino, among the Carnic Alps, and on the Isonzo, to close the entrances that pierce the mountain rampart along the four hundred eighty miles from the Stelvio Pass to the Adriatic Sea.

The last week in May saw the Austrians falling back from their foremost stations in the mountains and the Italians taking their places, tearing out, as they moved forward, the yellow and black poles that bore the Austrian eagle. The enemy wasted no great effort in trying to retain positions that were too difficult to defend. As the main strength of the Austro-Hungarian army was needed in Galicia for the time, the object of the Archduke Eugene, in command on the Italian front, was to hold his line with as little risk as possible until more and better troops could be spared. In a general way, the fortified line may be described as following the crest of the passes along the Trentino, and the Carnic Alps and running down the east bank of the Isonzo, except where Monte Sabotino and the ridge of Podgora had been kept as protection for bridgeheads west of Gorizia. Santa Lucia was to serve the same purpose for Tolmino.

Naturally the attention of both sides was concentrated in the neighborhood of points where railways ran through gaps between the mountains; near Trent, where the road from Verona runs up the Adige Valley; Tarvis, opposite the Pontebba Pass, on the road to Laibach; and Gorizia, the key to Trieste and the Austrian front.

The Advance on the Isonzo Line.

The Italian advance on the Isonzo line was planned in three divisions. On the north, the left wing had for its objectives Tolmino and Monte Nero, "the southernmost Alpine giant." With these in their control, the Italians could break off communication between Vienna and the Isonzo forces. The Italian centre was placed over against Gorizia, with the Austrian strongholds on Podgora as an immediate focus for attack. The right wing was entrusted with the taking of Monfalcone and an advance upon the Carso plateau, on each side of which stretched lines of railway making a double connection between Gorizia and Trieste.

In most of the early fighting, before heavy guns could be employed in large numbers, light troops were engaged. In the mountains the Alpini naturally took the lead. These sturdy Alpine climbers, with their supporting batteries of mountain artillery were the special northern frontier troops. And faithful guardians they showed themselves through three long winters of war. Where quick action was required, the Bersaglieri were relied upon. Each army corps had its regiment of four Bersaglieri battalions, of which one was composed of cyclists—the swift "ciclisti." On Alpini and Bersaglieri rested the heaviest part of the "long-drawn weight of the war."

Monfalcone Taken by the Bersaglieri.

Monfalcone is a seaport at the foot of the Carso Plateau. During the last days of May and the first week in June it had been under bombardment by the Italian fleet in the Adriatic. On June 8, an attack of Bersaglieri, with their cyclist corps, and grenadiers was launched from the Isonzo side. Their swift running fight brought them into Monfalcone in a few hours. On the ninth the town fell, and so one loop of the Trieste-Gorizia railway was severed.

An attempt to strike across the northern part of the Carso by establishing a bridge-head at Sagrado, the very point of the Carso salient, met with far greater obstructions. June was almost over before Sagrado was won. The floods in the Isonzo, a natural impediment, were augmented by the Austrians' destroying the bank of a canal and locking up the dam, so flooding almost all the land from Sagrado to Monfalcone. After persistent efforts the Italians succeeded in blowing up the dam and gaining a crossing, in small detachments, in the face of enfilading fire from the Austrian guns. A full month had been consumed in this

THE VALLEY OF THE ISONZO AND THE CARSO PLATEAU

With the topography of the Italian eastern frontier clearly in mind, one can understand why the Austrian soldiers were given the memorandum: "We have to retain possession of a terrain fortified by Nature. In front of us a great watercourse; behind us a ridge from which we can shoot as from a ten-story building." The glacial trough of the Isonzo above Gorizia lies between the southern mounds and ridges of the Julian Alps. Monte Nero stands guard north of Tolmino; a long spur runs southward west of the river as far as Podgora. Between Tolmino and Gorizia stretches the irregular plateau of the Bainsizza with rocky heights rising above it. South of Gorizia, that strange broken region, the Carso plateau, rears a seemingly insurmountable barrier before Trieste,—a flat-topped mountain, whose sides are precipitous walls three hundred to a thousand feet high, and whose broad top is a hot, dry, hole-pitted desert. The Vallone, a long, deep, natural trench, breaking off the Doberdo plateau from the rest of the Carso, is one more vast obstacle for an advancing army. All the natural fortifications had been utilized and improved by the Austrians. Railways to Trieste run on both sides of the Carso, the southern one near the Gulf, the other following the Vipacco (Wippach) Valley.

undertaking. Through July and August they fought on, gaining by slow degrees a hold upon the north-western edge of the plateau. With Monte San Michele and Monte Sei Busi theirs, beside almost 20,000 prisoners, they had not fought in vain.

THE ATTACK ON HILL 383.

Meanwhile, a few miles to the north of Gorizia, at Plava, another hard-won

MONTE NERO, A GIANT ON GUARD

Overlooking Tolmino and Caporetto at the bend of the Isonzo, Monte Nero, in the Julian Alps, stood at the head of the valley which reached to its foot almost straight from the Gulf of Trieste. The summit of the mountain (not black as the name would imply, but pearly gray) was so steep and forbidding as to be inaccessible of capture by any but the Alpini, whose mountain craft and intrepid zeal almost surpass belief.

success came to the Italian forces. The attempt to cross the river there was begun on the night of June 8, but the pontoon bridges were demolished by enemy fire the next morning. On the following night, a reconnoitring force of two hundred men crossed by boat and captured the Austrian pickets without having revealed their presence. Bridges were again started and again destroyed, so that rafts were finally resorted to for transportation. In this way two battalions crossed, on the night of June 11—enough to begin attack upon Hill 383, which was strongly fortified with cement trenches and heavy barbed wire. With reinforcements added night by night, the Italians pushed steadily upon the hill until by a strategem they caused confusion among the Austrians and drove them from their stronghold. By the seventeenth of June the line from Gorizia to Villach was definitely cut at Plava.

Although the hill and the bridge-head thus obtained were in range of the guns on Kuk (Monte Cucco) and Monte Santo and there was but one road, and that entirely exposed, leading to the bridge-head on the west bank of the river, this precarious position was held. Two years later, when a new, sheltered road of approach had been built, Hill 383 served as a base for the attacks which conquered Kuk and Bainsizza.

THE MISLEADING NAME OF MONTE NERO.

The capture of Monte Nero (Black Mountain) north of Tolmino, has been acclaimed as "one of the finest feats of the whole European war," "as fine a feat of arms and mountaineering combined as stands on record in history." The final seizure of the sum-

mit, early in June, was accomplished by Alpini, who alone were equal to that task. Caporetto, on the west bank of the Isonzo, had fallen to the Italians on the first day of the war. With slight delays caused by floods and the wrecking of bridges, they proceeded to take the heights beyond the river. One of these was Monte Nero, whose pearly gray summit belies its name. The Slovene term for rocky peak, Kru, was sometimes confused with another word, Cru, meaning black, and so the mountain has become familiar as Monte Nero.

The peak seems impossible of attack, and so it looked to Lord Kitchener when he visited the site in the following autumn; but the Alpini were not daunted. After they, with the Bersaglieri and infantry of the line had established themselves on the hillsides, they alone completed the conquest of the peak. Two cracks in the precipitous northern face gave footing to a picked company, while a larger column approached by the steeply-sloping rocky side on the southwest. Their feet bound with rags for greater noiselessness, the climbers roped themselves together in groups. They were not discovered by the enemy until they had nearly reached the crest. Then while the Austrians gave attention to dislodging them, the main body came up from the other side and closed in.

QUARTERS IN THE FAR MOUNTAINS OF NORTHERN ITALY

The Carnic Alps, a connecting link between the Venetian Alps and the Julian Alps, were the wildest and farthest distant section of the Italian front. There the mountains are most rough, jagged and abrupt. To keep men properly supplied on such far-lying, high-hung ledges as this called for continual vigilance and executive force.

THE APPROACH TO TOLMINO.

From Monte Nero the Italian troops broadened their area of occupation, since the position was important as a point of approach toward Tolmino. That town itself was a military depot of sufficient strength to hold out as yet against all efforts. It was protected to the westward by the two hills, Santa Maria and Santa Lucia, on the right bank of the river. During the summer the Italians pressed in slowly from the northwest and west, and in August, after a vigorous attack, were able to intrench upon Santa Lucia. Trench fighting continued until October, when

another offensive movement secured parts of both hills, and there the situation rested again for a while.

Through the summer the Isonzo valley settled into trench warfare. The Austrian side had been prepared in advance. From the river-banks to the mountain tops overlooking them there were rows of cement structures and excavations, well-guarded by machine-guns and fields of heavy barbed-wire charged with electricity. The whole appeared like "a kind of formidable staircase, which must be conquered step by step with enormous sacrifice." In places the gorge of the river formed a deep natural moat before the fortifications. On Monte Sabotino, opposite Gorizia, the slope toward the Italians was a glacis of limestone across which the Austrians had blasted out a deep trench, known to the Italians as the *trincerone* (the big trench). Besides, there were great shelters prepared for protection in bombardments.

The difficult Italian position.

Over against these previously established lines of defense the Italians scraped out their new trenches, still in disadvantageous positions in spite of all their valiant endeavor. Supplies and reinforcements were brought up by night over narrow muddy roads which by day were exposed to the eye of the enemy. Lorries, mules, ambulances, and columns of troops passed and repassed in the dark on those sharply-curving, difficult roadways, which as yet had not been made adequate by the engineers. By day the ambulances alone traveled back and forth, but even they were not safe from the enemy fire. The red cross upon them and upon the hospital sites was not always respected; for the attitude of the gunners varied in different localities. At Plava the opposing trenches were within a few yards of each other, with room for only one set of barbed wire on their No Man's Land. And in this close proximity, face to face, the combatants remained for nearly two years.

In the mountains there was continual fighting and unremitting heroic achievement, but of such a nature that single engagements can hardly be selected and described. Among the Dolomites far to the north, the Alpini with their supporting troops were gaining new heights, to be held by guns lifted to position through almost superhuman effort. There was much blind bombardment by the Austrian gunners in their search for the new gun-emplacements of the Italian positions. Quiet villages and hospitals often suffered, when the shells fell into the valleys instead of finding their objectives.

The attempt to reduce Trent.

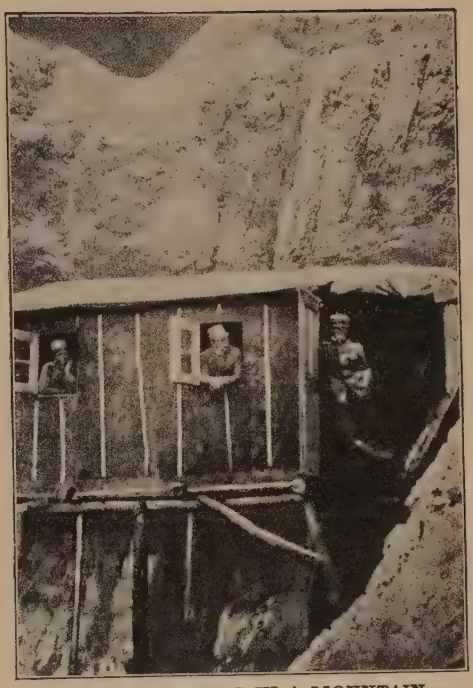
We have seen how the Trentino salient was edged with smaller wedges thrust out into northern Italy. Five out of the six conspicuous points thus formed had been occupied at once by the Italian armies in their first forward movement. Only the Lavarone plateau had successfully resisted them. Through the Giudicaria Valley, the Lake of Garda, the Adige Valley and the Val Sugana the first steps had been taken on lines that converged upon Trent. Then came a pause while the new lines were fortified—a pause, utilized by the Austrians in making stronger their defenses. Consequently, later progress was by slow and small degrees. Artillery duels had to take the place of infantry attacks, and the lines showed little change from week to week. By the end of the year, the Italian positions in the southern Trentino stretched from near Condino on the Giudicaria across to the Adige and Vall'Arsa just south of Rovereto, around the Lavarone plateau, and north to Borgo in the Val Sugana.

On the northwestern border of the Trentino, the Stelvio and Tonale Passes were sufficiently fortified, but there was no great activity in that region. On the northeastern border, however, a long, rigorous conflict was in progress for the possession of Col di Lana, an ordinary round-topped Alp set among the sharp points of the Dolomites, west of the Cortina Pass. It commanded an extensive view down the valleys into Italy. "The Italians had already shut the doors of their house, but until Col di Lana was taken there was a window still

open for a prying eye." It was needed, too, to complete the crescent described by the Italian fortified line. From three sides Italian guns assailed the mountain, and Alpini repeatedly undertook to gain its slopes.

COL DI LANA IS FINALLY TAKEN.

But Col di Lana was a fortress of extraordinary strength, prepared by Austrian engineers. A spiral system of trenches, beginning at the base on the eastern side, wound to the top. The Italians, who had seized the western slope in their first rush, were baffled in many efforts to charge up the sides; for avalanches of rock, dynamited from the ledges above their heads, were hurled upon them as they strove to take higher positions, and machine-guns rained down fire. A charge, under Colonel Peppino Garibaldi, one of the grandsons of the great Liberator, finally got possession of the summit, in November. Since the crest itself was too exposed to use, the Italians retired into



HEADQUARTERS IN A MOUNTAIN CLEFT

The Italian engineers were not daunted by the most unpromising sites. Here in a cleft they built a shelter as headquarters for an Alpine outpost.

positions on the side of the mountain and there took up their work of defense against the violent counter-attacks of the weeks that followed. There they remained masters of the situation.

Two mountain ridges in the Carnic Alps comprised the only bit of Italian soil which the Austrians had occupied since the fighting began. Until the end of August they were not shaken from their hold. Then, two columns of Italian troops attacked them from east and west, and drove them back upon their own ground. At Pontebba, the principal gap in the Carnic Alps, long artillery bombardments were exchanged, in the course of which the Italian guns battered the Malborghetto fortifications into ruins, although they did not remove the Austrians from their positions.

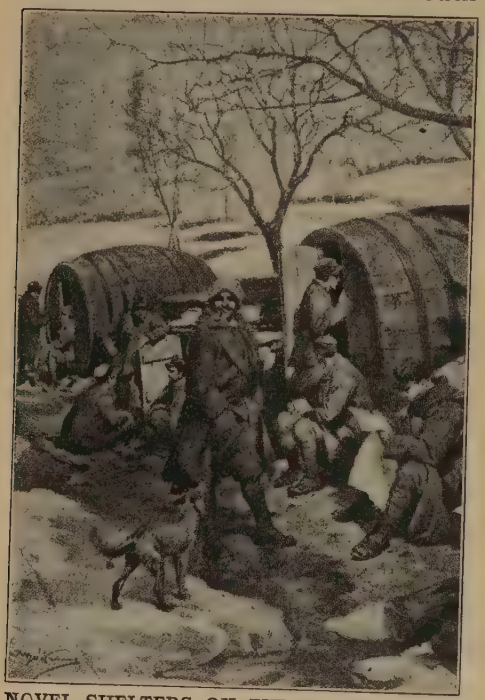
A STAIRWAY FOR THE INITIATED ONLY

By this rope ladder, the lofty cliff-side shelter was reached. Only those of mountain training and experience might safely venture to ascend it.

THE ITALIANS GAIN INCH BY INCH.

The comparative quiet of the front during the summer was balanced by energetic production of munitions and

active preparation for a new offensive. In October the fresh outburst began with general bombardment in the lower Isonzo region. Three centres of action had been indicated. At Plava the bridgehead was to be enlarged so as to lead to an attack upon Monte Santo. From Plava the river bends away to the southeast for about five miles and then makes another turn to the south-



NOVEL SHELTERS ON THE ISONZO FRONT

Officers' quarters are sometimes found in strange and unexpected settings. These Italian officers have taken up their abode in enormous hogsheads fitted with substantial doors.

west. At the second bend, Monte Santo occupies the east bank and Monte Sabotino, the west. Less than five miles farther down the river lies Gorizia, protected by the Podgora ridge across the stream. The second objective of the autumn offensive was the high land occupied by the Austrian lines, from Monte Sabotino to below Podgora. Lastly, invasion of the Carso was to be urged with great vigor.

A MISTAKE LOSES A SUCCESS.

Opposite Gorizia, attack and counter-attack went on for weeks, with some small gains for the Italian contestants. On November 20, the village of Oslavia was taken. Monte Sabotino was theirs for a short time, when with intense effort a brigade had secured it. But, through some mistake, reserves failed to arrive. The exhausted victors had to retreat; their heroic feat had been in vain. Results in the Carso were not much more satisfactory. A slight advance on the northern slopes around Monte San Michele and San Martino, and some gain on the southwestern ridge near Doberdo, carried the Italian lines a trifle nearer to Trieste.

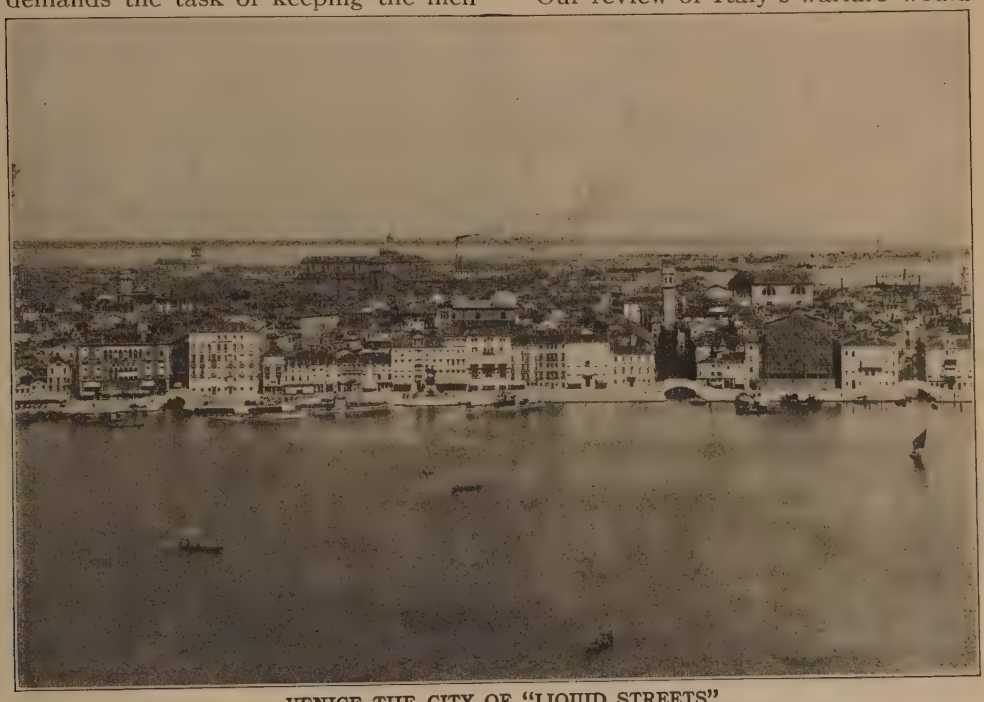
On the Italian front the Austrians had massed numbers of Hungarians, Tyrolese, and Slavs, who fought fiercely and doggedly, yielding nothing that they could hold. Yet, when winter closed down upon the trenches, the Italians had climbed to the water-shed on the north, had made some impression on the Isonzo front and had gotten a hold upon the Carso plateau. In addition they had gathered in some 30,000 prisoners and considerable material of war.

INCREDIBLE HARDSHIPS ON THE MOUNTAIN TOPS.

The coming of winter on a battle-front so great a part of which was situated upon mountains brought peculiar problems. For the Alpini, an altitude of a mile or more and a temperature that might fall to 22 degrees below zero was rigorous enough but not unfamiliar. For troops from southern Italy and Sicily such conditions would be insupportable without very particular preparation. By forethought, good organization, and co-operation, satisfactory provision was made for the hundreds of thousands who had to spend the winter in barracks and trenches.

Front-line trenches had a flooring of planks and were provided with coverings of matting. For one army corps alone 300,000 planks were needed. Of these about 100,000 had to be carried to their destinations on mule-back or by men. Shelters were blasted out and behind the lines huts and sheds were built. Heavy winter coats and boots, flannel shirts, chest-protectors, woolen socks and blankets and sleeping bags were distributed for the comfort and

protection of the country's defenders. A few figures will indicate in some degree the efforts that had to be put forth to meet these requirements. For a single army corps there was need of 280,000 blankets, and as many woolen shirts and socks; 80,000 fur coats; 60,000 fur chest-protectors; and 10,000 fur-lined sleeping bags. Add to these demands the task of keeping the men supplied with hot and nourishing food, wherever they might be, and it will be clear that the country had to devote an intensified industrial service to the support of its army during the winter campaign. Furthermore, both winter and summer, the mountain troops, for their exploits among the snowy slopes used skis and were clothed in white garments. Protected by this imitative coloring they could move with greater freedom and assurance in positions under the very eyes of the enemy.



VENICE THE CITY OF "LIQUID STREETS"

Venice, a centre of many interests, was peculiarly exposed to attack by sea and air; therefore, especial precautions were taken for the protection of the city and its treasures. This is a view of the Grand Canal and that part of the city directly east of the familiar Piazza of St. Mark's. Out of the picture, just beyond the buildings shown on the left, lie the prison, the Doge's Palace, and St. Mark's.

SICKNESS INCREASES THE DIFFICULTIES.

Another problem of this first winter arose from an epidemic of cholera acquired from the Austrian trenches. Owing to the extreme difficulty of removing patients from the front to hospitals where they could be cared for, there were many deaths; but by careful quarantine and isolation, coupled with strict surveillance of food, water, houses, and barracks, the disease was controlled in a few months.

Our review of Italy's warfare would be incomplete without some consideration of the air service, which was in active operation over coast and plain and mountain. Pioneer of nations in the use of aeroplanes for war, Italy had had recent helpful experience, during the war for Tripoli, in testing and developing this branch of military art. Her flyers are peculiarly adapted to their occupation, as they are by nature quick and skillful in the use of mechanical devices.

THE ITALIAN FLYERS CONTROL THE SITUATION.

At the very outset of the Austro-Italian war, the air machines of both nations became active around the north-

ern end of the Adriatic. The Italians made bombing attacks upon Trieste and its dockyards; upon Fiume, where there was a torpedo and submarine factory; and upon the harbors of Pola and Monfalcone. A steady "patrol of the skies" was maintained by aerial observers, on the lookout for the enemy. Indeed, the reconnaissance and photographic work of the Flying Corps was of the utmost importance. Along the coast seaplanes kept up a vigilant search for warships and submarines.

Throughout the war, the air forces acted as efficient auxiliaries to the land forces; and the terrain which offered such extraordinary obstacles to the latter, produced almost as great difficulty for the flyers. They could not have accomplished their rapid and successful flights across the irregular mountain areas through fog and storm, without an intimate knowledge of the topography as well as ability to make quick and exact calculations in regulating their altitude and avoiding peaks.

The Art of Venice Under Cover.

While all the towns of northern Lombardy and Venetia, menaced by Austrian aircraft, established warning signals and extinguished or shaded their lights at night, Venice, because of her exposed situation, required especial precaution against damage. A squadron of French seaplanes guarded her shore; and hardly a glimmer of light could be detected after daylight was gone. The famous historic monuments and art treasures of the old city by the sea were protected or hidden away. Between the columns of the Doge's Palace supporting walls of brick were built in. Paris of the façade of St. Mark's Cathedral, where the mosaic decorations were most precious, were banked up with sand bags. Then the whole western façade was sheathed with planks covered with asbestos. Mounds of sand-bags grew up around altars and statues in the interior of the church, and thick padding rendered the columns shapeless masses.

The much-traveled and world-famed bronze horses over the portals had enjoyed a century of rest since their return in 1815 from Paris, where Napoleon's ambition had given them a brief visit. Now they were lifted down again, to be concealed in the arcade of the Palace. Later in the war, when the Austrian menace grew darker, they were carried off to Rome and shut up in Hadrian's Tomb beside the Tiber. At that time, too, the great equestrian statue of Colleone, by Verrochio, which had been a familiar figure in Venice before Columbus turned his prows westward on the unknown sea, was transported to Rome for security. The first step for safe-guarding the horseman and his steed, in the earlier phase of the war, was the erection of a shelter over their heads where they stood, "a titanic armored sentry-box" covered with sand-bags.

Destruction of Artistic Objects.

But not all the treasures could be saved. During a bombardment of Venice late in October, 1915, a ceiling decoration by Tiepolo, counted as his finest work, was destroyed by the explosion of a bomb in the church of the Scalzi, on the Grand Canal. Raids, in November, upon Venice, Ancona, Brescia, and Verona, worked further havoc. And in February, 1916, Ravenna suffered from an attack that badly injured the mosaics in the cathedral of St. Apollinare—rich masterpieces of early Christian art. As on other parts of the Allied front, churches and hospitals seemed particular marks for the enemy's bombardments, and many women and children were innocent victims.

When Italy's fleet had been joined by English and French squadrons in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic operations passed over into its control. In addition to protecting the Italian coast-towns, especially Brindisi, Ancona, and Venice, which were a temptation to enemy raiders, there were other duties. The blockade of the Straits of Otranto continued, now under Italian vigilance; the patrol of the Sea by submarine destroyers was constant; the principal Austro-Hungarian fleet, safely enclosed in the strong naval base at Pola, was held impotent. Other fleets of the ene-

my, at Fiume and Cattaro, sent out frequent raids into the sea and toward the opposite coast. Danger from mines required the frequent services of mine sweepers. There were encounters with submarines, in which some of the older Italian vessels were sunk or damaged, and there were other encounters when the submarine raiders were themselves sent to the bottom. In the northern end of the Sea, wherever it was possible, the fleet co-operated with the land forces in the struggle toward Trieste on the Carso, as when the bombardment from the ships in the gulf helped to reduce Monfalcone.

DURAZZO, ON THE ALBANIAN COAST OF THE ADRIATIC

In order to keep open communication with Montenegro and Serbia and help furnish them with supplies, Italy took possession of Valona on the southern coast of Albania. Durazzo, a little farther up the coast, was occupied, too, for about a month at the beginning of 1916, to secure embarkation for Serbian, Albanian, and Montenegrin troops who were transported to Corfu. The picture shows the town's location on the Adriatic and part of its fortifications.

COMMUNICATIONS ACROSS THE ADRIATIC.

Not least among the tasks assumed by Italy was that of keeping open communication with the distressed countries, Montenegro and Serbia. Succor, in the form of food and ammunition, passed across into Albania in defiance of hostile seaplanes, cruisers, and mines. In December, 1915, the Government at Rome made announcement that Valona had been occupied, for use as a military and naval base to forward the work of transportation. Valona, in Albania, faces the heel of Italy, across the narrowest part of the Adriatic. With Otranto on the west and Valona on the east, the Italians had command of the gateway between the Mediterranean and the Adriatic.

The next step was in the direction of Durazzo, half way between Valona and Cattaro. By the end of January, this port, too, was secured. Meanwhile, over 200,000 men, many animals and great quantities of materials and supplies had been landed upon the Albanian coast. However, the occupation of Durazzo was but temporary, in order to provide a place for the embarkation of the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Albanian troops in Albania, whom the Allied Powers had concluded to withdraw into Corfu, in order the more readily to revictual and supply them. The transport of the 160,000 men, with their

beasts, stores, and baggage, was accomplished without loss. Then, after covering their embarkation and bombarding the roads around Durazzo, the Italian fleet withdrew. Not an Italian gun, nor an undamaged Turkish gun, was left for the enemy, who re-entered the town on February 27.

A POSITION REQUIRING POISE

The terrain of the Austro-Italian frontier furnished full play for the skill and daring of mountain troops. In the picture, Austrian infantry on a surface approaching the vertical, are making use of rope secured to the rock to reach a desired position on the mountain.

MINING OPERATIONS ON COL DI LANA.

Renewed operations of the Italians on the Isonzo, in March, 1916, were somewhat interrupted by the usual spring floods. On the high mountains of the north and west, however, winter conditions still continued. Among deep snows and Arctic cold the mountain troops pursued their almost incredible achievements. On the Col di Lana, where the Italians were still in possession of the southern and western slopes, the enemy held strong positions on the northern side. A great mining enterprise, under the direction of Don Gelasio Caetani, was begun in January, to be triumphantly completed in April. It was a tunnel driven through the mountain in the direction of the Austrian works. When its existence became suspected, a countermine was begun by the enemy, but in a wrong direction. At last, on April 17, the Italian mine was exploded, tearing out a huge crater, 150 feet wide and 50 feet deep. The Italian infantry followed close upon the explosion and so succeeded in routing the Austrians that were left.

At the same time, on the Adamello ridge, south of the Tonale Pass and northwest of Lake Garda, the Alpini on skis and in their white uniforms, were performing feats of extreme boldness. On a glacier, 10,000 feet above the sea, in a wild swirl of wind and snow, a small company of these intrepid mountaineers made an assault upon the Austrians holding the mountain crest. This was on April 11. On the twenty-ninth of the month, a larger body of Alpini followed up the exploit by attacking again, with the support of a battery of 6-inch guns that had been drawn up to the edge of the glacier. The result was that the Italians controlled the whole summit and had taken a new point commanding part of the Austrian lines in the Val Giudicaria. Colonel Giordano, who had been in command of the detachment, was promoted to major-general and transferred to the eastern side of the Trentino. Not long afterward he met his death there.

AUSTRIANS ATTACK IN THE TRENTINO.

It is probable that the Austrian offensive of May and June in the Trentino was intended to forestall an Italian attack which was anticipated in the Isonzo region. By pushing down into the Venetian plains, where lay the lateral railways that furnished communication

A MOUNTAIN BATTERY OF THE AUSTRIANS USED ON THE ISONZO

On the steep, winding, broken ways of the mountain battle-fronts, artillery adjustments of many sorts were necessary. In this mountain battery the sure-footed horses and mules not only furnished the motive power but served as limbers and gun-carriages too. Once in position, the guns had to be "unlimbered" and fitted together.

A LARGE ITALIAN GUN ON THE ISONZO FRONT

In spite of insufficient equipment upon entering the war and serious lack of coal and iron, Italy rose to the demands of the moment. The great Ansaldo works—a ship-building and armament plant near Genoa—rapidly increased its output, making guns in advance of the Government's orders. Late in 1916 the monthly production of cannon is said to have been equal to the usual yearly output.

Photo from Kadel and Herbert

with the troops on the eastern front, it might be possible to interrupt General Cadorna's plans by cutting off the means of reinforcement and supply. Through the winter months concentration of the enemy's men and guns in the Trentino had been going forward. At least 2,000 guns were ready to open fire along a line of about thirty miles. Of the two armies under the Archduke Charles in the Trentino, there were between 350,000 and 400,000 men—fifteen picked first line divisions—prepared to strike in the section between Val Lagarina and Val Sugana. The heir to the Imperial throne in addressing his troops characterized the proposed attack as a "*straf-expedition*," and a propaganda of hate was in circulation among them.

The Italian First Army occupied the lines that had already been won on the edges of the Trentino. Since General Roberto Brusati, who held command there, had neglected to take adequate measures for securing his position, General Cadorna moved his own headquarters to the First Army, in April. As a result of his investigations, General Brusati was removed and General Pecori-Giraldi entrusted with the difficult task of rapid and thorough reorganization. The work of repairing deficiencies could not be completed in the few days before the offensive began and the Italians were taken at a disadvantage, with far too little artillery to resist the storm that burst upon them.

The roads into the Italian plain.

In the threatened area three roads, following three river valleys, gave access from the heights then occupied by the Austrian armies, to the plains of Italy. Three elevations command them. Once they had passed these three heights, the enemy would have gained the plains. At these points they must be stopped, if their advance could not be halted earlier. General Cadorna placed his forces so that the strongest resistance might be made on the flanks, near the Adige and the Brenta. The heaviest drive, however, fell upon the Italian centre, where least preparation had been made. Consequently, the centre fell back, day by day, making the enemy pay heavily for his advance, but unable to stand against him or push him back, unable even to dig themselves in.

From the fourteenth of May, when the great Austrian bombardment began, until the last days of the month, when the next movement would be down-hill, the Italian retirement was not checked. The left centre had reached Pasubio, and the valley of the Posina, the centre proper was drawing back across the Sette Communi. There "the word was still, 'Go back.'—The time had not yet come for the men to die where they stood on the uplands of the Sette Communi." (See the map on page 359.)

Three weeks of hard fighting.

But on the extreme left the time had already come for that last desperate stand. There, against greatly superior guns and several times their own number of men, the 37th Division of the Italian Army, assisted by some other troops, was exerting all its strength to hold Zugna and Pasubio. On May 30, at the Pass of Buole, the struggle reached its height. Austrian infantry charges were flung in vain against the defenders of the Pass. Seven thousand Austrians fell on that day alone. Having failed at Buole, the enemy turned toward Pasubio in a persistent attack; but after three weeks more of fighting there, the effort gradually died away.

In the Austrian Army Order of June 1, announcement was made that only one mountain remained between the Austrian troops and the coveted plain. At that moment, fortunately, General Cadorna was able to bring up his new 5th Army, of little less than 500,000 men, which had been rapidly gathered together from various posts and assembled in the vicinity of Vicenza. Remarkable feats of transport and organization had been achieved in collecting and equipping, within a few days, this reserve army, with its staff, artillery, and medical units, ready for action. Railways, motors, and engineers worked together in a supreme effort accomplishing the result with only

slight interruption of normal traffic. On June 3, General Cadorna declared the offensive to have been stopped along the whole line. By June 4, increased pressure fell upon the Austrian Army, when General Brusilov launched an offensive in Bukovina and Galicia.

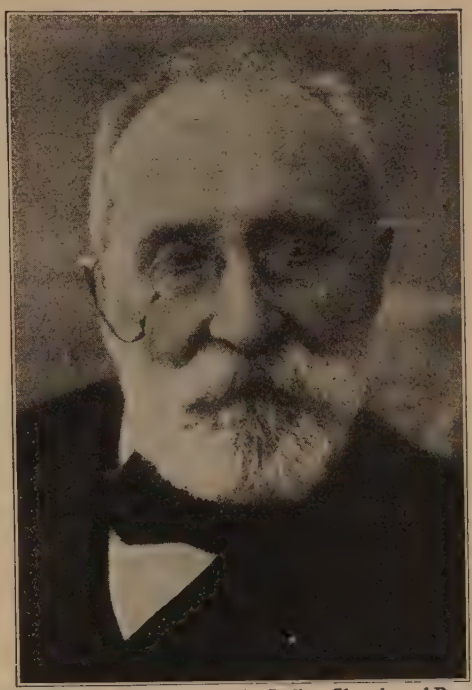
THE AUSTRIANS ARE FORCED TO RETREAT.

The Austrians in the Trentino wedge found themselves at a disadvantage, with their large numbers crowded into too narrow a space on a front where they had not adequate facilities for transport from their bases in the rear. The Italian commander, recognizing their situation, increased the pressure on their flanks while he pushed forward against their centre. Having failed to turn the Italian line at either flank or to break through the centre south of Posina, the Austrian Army started to draw back, shortening its front and trying to extricate some of its divisions, that they might be sent to Galicia. Although the retreat was well conducted, General Cadorna did not allow it to take place as smoothly and as swiftly as had been planned. Nor did he let it stop in the positions chosen. There was fighting at every step.

Soon after the middle of the month, then, the Italians began to climb back up the slopes, in their counter-offensive. On June 26, Asiago was retaken, and, on the next day, Arsiero. "In two days the Austrians lost more than half the ground they had gained in their six weeks' offensive." Yet they did not lose all the territory taken. By the end of June their new line extended a little to the east of Borgo on the Brenta, beyond the northern side of the Sette Communi, across the Val d'Astico and Monte Maggio, north of Col Santo, south nearly as far as Chiese, and then northwest to Zugna Torta. Their losses had amounted, probably, to nearly 150,000.

THE ITALIANS RECUPERATE RAPIDLY.

Although the Italians had paid heavily for success in keeping their plains free from the enemy, the results of the offensive were not so disastrous for them as the Austrian Staff believed. The proof that they had of their own ability to meet the situation, in spite of unpreparedness, was tonic in effect. In spirit they were the more ready for their slightly deferred movement on the Isonzo. If a rapid transfer of troops from that front to the Trentino had been possible, a similar transfer in the opposite direction was equally possible. But the failure immediately to check the offensive, combined with other causes, led to the fall of the Salandra Ministry. Under Signor Boselli a new Coalition Cabinet was formed, in which Baron Sonnino was persuaded to retain his portfolio as Minister of Foreign Affairs.



Signor Boselli, "Father of the Italian Chamber of Deputies," for the sake of reconciling discordant political elements became Premier in June, 1916, succeeding Signor Salandra. Central News Service

By June 29, as soon as they could be spared from the Trentino, troops began to move eastward again; for General Cadorna still declared: "I shall make the big offensive on the lower Isonzo." The work of placing powerful new guns and distributing the men along the front continued until, in the first days of August, all was ready.

Necessity and experience had brought about a number of changes and adjustments in equipment. During the year 1916, for example, helmets had been adopted as the headgear for the whole army, though the Bersaglieri and Alpini preserved as well as they could their picturesque distinguishing features, fastening the feathers upon their helmets. The Bersagliere "trot" had

The rapid-fire guns shown here as operated by Italian soldiers in the region of the Isonzo River, were fitted with sil-ncers which were attached to the muzzles of the guns and ran off into the ground nearby. These men are wearing the infantry *beretto*, later replaced by the helmet. Kadel and Herbert

been set aside for the bicycle or "push-bike." And a new weapon was being produced with great rapidity—the "*bombarda*," a sort of "glorified trench-mortar." Requiring less material and less skill in the making than a gun, the *bombarda* proved useful when carried well to the front. Of 9½-inch calibre, it could hurl big projectiles upon the enemy front, tearing openings through wire entanglements and demolishing fortifications.

THE CAPTURE OF GORIZIA IS PLANNED.

If we recall the previous accounts of movements along the Isonzo, we shall see that the Italians held positions east of the river in three sections—north of Tolmino, east of Plava and on the northwestern butt of the Carso. Gorizia, about halfway between Plava and the Italian stand on the Carso, was guarded, north and south, respectively, by Monte Santo and Monte San Michele, still in the hands of the Austro-Hungarians. General Cadorna's plan called for sharp and sudden attacks on these two buttresses and the seizure of the city itself.

The direction of the offensive was entrusted to the Duke of Aosta, commanding the 3rd Army Corps, on the Carso. His army was to advance across the northern side of the Carso, so as to make secure the southern approach to Gorizia. At the same time, the 6th Army Corps, under General Capello and his Chief of Staff, Colonel Badoglio, was given the task of carrying Monte Sabotino, Oslavia, and Podgora, those heretofore impregnable bastions on the west bank of the river opposite Gorizia. Then they were to capture Gorizia and storm Monte Santo and Monte San Gabriele.

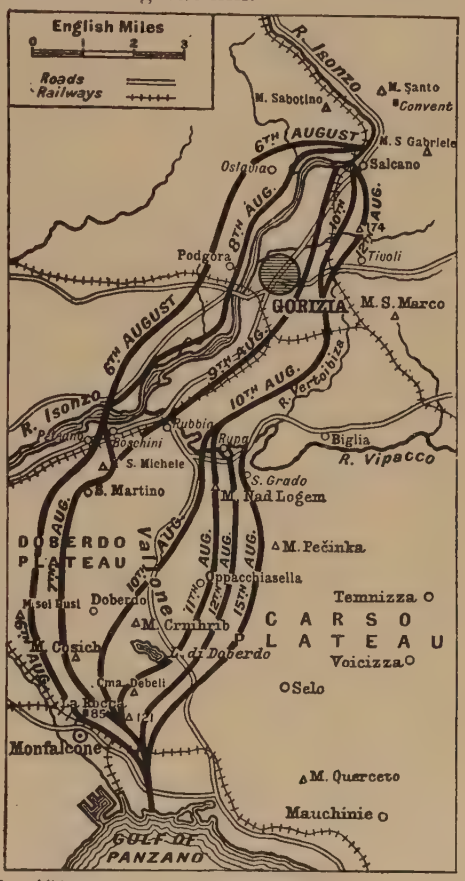
GAS BOMBS AT MONFALCONE.

The violence of the bombardment that shook the whole Isonzo front, on August 1, spoke loudly of the efficiency of the preparation that had been made. After a day or two, the bombarded area was narrowed to the stretch between Monte Sabotino and the Adriatic. The greatest fury centred upon Monfalcone where, in accordance with General Cadorna's stratagem, a misleading feint attack was made on August 4. The Austrians, driven from their trenches, left asphyxiating bombs there, which exploded after the Italians had rushed in. As the Italian gas-masks provided up to this time fitted very closely and were uncomfortable, many of the men had discarded them. Consequently, several thousand were caught defenseless against the poison fumes and many died. In the confusion that followed, an Austrian counter-attack succeeded in taking back the trenches which had been captured. But the feint had accomplished all that General Cadorna desired. The Austrians hastened to reinforce the Monfalcone position, in anticipation of further attack there.

Then the storm broke about Monte Sabotino and San Michele. The former hill had been given most careful study by Colonel Badoglio for several months. Under his direction, the engineers had constructed long tunnels reaching within a distance of less than a hundred feet from the Austrian trenches. The artillery bombardment directed toward Gorizia and Sabotino was aimed at the enemy's "brains and eyes." An exact knowledge of his arrangements made it possible to destroy his headquarters and cut off wire communication between the centre and the outlying posts on the surrounding heights. In this way the bringing up of Austrian reinforcements was greatly impeded.

THE GREAT TRENCH IS TAKEN.

Besides, the bombing of the *trincerone* and its cave-like fastnesses on Sabotino was so terrific that its defenders gathered by thousands in their rock-hewn shelters for refuge. Thus, the Italian infantry, issuing from their tunnels, were able to rush into both ends of the great trench and capture the garrison in large groups. In less than an hour the summit was taken, and the Italians were moving down on the east face of the great hill.



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ITALIAN ADVANCE IN AUGUST, 1916

The three days following were spent in battle for the ridges of Oslavia and Podgora, where scientifically constructed fortifications were held by stubborn contestants. In one case, an Austrian major and forty of his men fought with such fortitude and gallantry that the Italian officer who conquered them ordered his own men to present arms to the prisoners.

GORIZIA IS ENTERED BY THE KING.

At last the long-disputed strongholds on the west bank, Sabotino, Oslavia,

and Podgora, were won. There was still an obstacle to overcome before Gorizia could be entered. The retreating foe had badly damaged the bridges. While the engineers were repairing them with all possible speed, a small force of Italians forded the stream. As soon as the iron bridge could possibly be used, ambulances and supply trains traveled perilously across it, and on the morning of August 9, the main army had reached the east shore. That day, the Duke of Aosta with his royal cousin, King Victor Emmanuel III, rode into Gorizia at the head of the army. The Duke, by his bravery and kindliness, and the king, by his democratic simplicity and his friendly intercourse with his fighting subjects, had early won the admiration and devotion of their soldiers.

The advance on the Carso had been keeping pace with the proceedings farther north before Gorizia. The 3rd Army made a direct assault upon four-crested San Michele, parts of which had already passed back and forth between the contesting forces many times since the Italians had first set foot upon the Carso. On the eighth of August, there was no longer any question about its possession. The southern buttress of the Gorizia bridgehead thus made sure, it was possible to enter the city in security. On the ninth, as we have seen, the entry was made.

THE LEGEND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CARSO.

The barren, arid table-land of the Carso was a battle-field hardly surpassed for difficulty and danger. An old legend accounts for it by narrating that when the Creator, after He had finished making the world, was about to cast into the sea all the stones left over, the Devil overtook Him beside the Isonzo and slit open the bag containing the stones. The result was the Carso plateau. "Its sides facing north and west are partly wooded, but the table-land itself has no vegetation higher than grass and stunted brushwood. The earth is red, the limestone white; in winter these are the two colors of the Carso, but in summer an outcrop of green grass completes the Italian tricolor." Hundreds of *doline*, or huge cup-shaped hollows, made hiding-places where men, huts, and guns were utterly concealed. The plateau became an "ominous ambushed desert." The stone surface itself greatly multiplied the danger from projectiles, when it splintered into thousands of flying fragments under an exploding bomb or shell.

In the limestone surface the Austro-Hungarian belligerents had drilled and blasted their defensive works, even reinforcing them with thick iron plates in some exposed position. Lord Northcliffe was forcibly impressed by the works when he visited them during this very invasion. A French correspondent gives a detailed description of their elaborate completeness. He writes:

THE LUXURY OF THE AUSTRIAN QUARTERS.

"Behind the trenches the troops had as shelters deep caverns which could contain several battalions. Confident that they would never be beaten back, the Austrians had fitted them out luxuriously; the walls were paneled, electricity was installed everywhere, ventilating ducts made it easy to change the air, water mains brought good drinking water. Along the Vallone ridge, every regiment had its numbered cavern. The officers' rooms were sumptuous; beds, chairs, sofas, tables, carpets, nothing was missing in them. The newspapers found there were dated August 3rd, and reported the declarations of Premier Tisza, assuring his auditors that the Austrian Staff had taken all the necessary measures to keep the Italians forever out of Gorizia."

Upon this doubly hostile plateau General Cadorna's forces now turned their faces toward Trieste. San Martino del Carso, the Doberdo plateau, and the heights of Sei Busi and Cosich yielded before their impetuous onslaught. Directly south from Gorizia a straight, dry valley cuts through the Carso upland in a direct line toward the head of the Adriatic. It can plainly be seen that this Vallone afforded a natural road of communication. General Cadorna aimed to control it by occupying the ridges on either side. August

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THE ISONZO FRONT AND THE ADJOINING AUSTRIAN LANDS

12 saw the Italians in entire domination over the whole end of the Carso lying west of the Vallone; and within two more days they had gained a village and some slopes on the east side. As the troops went on they were accompanied by auto-cisterns and reservoirs on mule-carts to furnish the necessary water in that arid district, where heat and thirst were twin torments.

WHAT THE CAPTURE OF GORIZIA MEANT.

Northeast of Gorizia, another village was taken before August 15, when the offensive slackened; but the menacing elevations of Monte Santo and Monte San Gabriele remained, until the summer of 1917, strong enemy posts and Trieste. The fortnight's offensive had brought in 18,758 Austro-Hungarian prisoners, including members of almost every race in the Empire. Of these 393 were officers. 30 heavy guns, 62 pieces of trench artillery, 92 machine-guns, and great quantities of rifles, cartridges, shells, and other supplies, had fallen into the hands of the Italians. An estimate of the total losses in men, for both sides, places them at 30,000.

BROKEN TERRAIN BETWEEN GORIZIA AND TRIESTE

In considering the Italian campaigns we must never lose sight of the immense obstacles to be overcome in the topography of the frontier and the lands behind it. A glance at an ordinary map would hardly reveal any serious reason why the army, well started upon the western end of the Carso and in possession of Monfalcone, should not have pushed directly on to Trieste. But almost every step eastward from the Isonzo, especially on the Carso upland, led to a yet stronger fortress than had already been faced. The Bainsizza Plateau, northeast of Plava; Monte Santo and Monte San Gabriele, north of Gorizia; and Hermada, east of Monfalcone, presented steep and bristling ridges, whose tunneled passages and hidden gun-emplacements might well be considered almost invulnerable. And, until they could be mastered, no real strides were possible.

for observation and attack. Yet the taking of Gorizia had been a decided and important success—the most notable one that had been achieved by Italian arms in the war. The whole west side of the Isonzo south of the Tolmino bridgehead was now swept clear of the enemy, and several strong thrusts had been made into the eastern side. On the Carso, only about a dozen very difficult miles lay between the line

OTHER OPERATIONS ON THE CARSO.

After August, the offensive was renewed intermittently, through the Autumn, as the weather gave opportunity; for thunderstorms, fogs and

GORIZIA, TAKEN BY THE ITALIANS

In the first week of August, 1916, the Italian commanders concentrated their efforts upon Gorizia. Podgora, Monte Sabotino, and the ridges before the town taken by heavy storming and bold attack, there was stern fighting at the bridges and on the river banks for possession of Gorizia itself. Losses on both sides were heavy. The first man to enter the town, a nineteen-year-old sub-lieutenant, Aurelio Baruzzi, raised a small flag in triumph.

violent rains prevented any continuous action. A fresh drive on the Carso began on September 14, north and east of Oppachiacella, which had been taken before the lull in the August advance. Four days of intense fighting yielded no noticeable gain in position, but more than 4,000 prisoners were secured. The next effort, October 10 to 14, made a new line showing a forward move of nearly a mile east of Villanova (Nova Vas). Farther south, Hermada's guns furnished so strong a support for the Austrian left wing that no impression could be made upon it by direct attack.

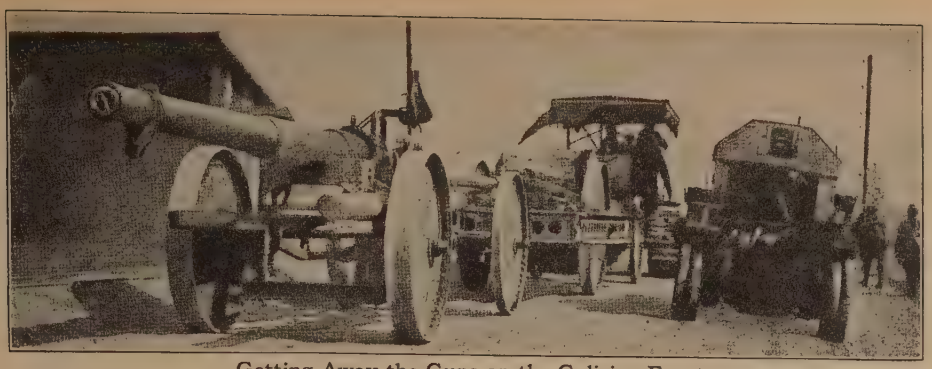
On October 30, a powerful bombardment poured upon the Austrian positions, all day and all the following night. The attack that followed during the first three days of November created a broad Italian salient that extended two miles beyond the previous positions. From the Vippacco River, near its junction with the Vertoibizza, a short distance south of Gorizia, the line now lay along the northern edge of the Carso to Fajti Hrib, "the highest point of the step of the great staircase which runs from the Vippacco to Kostanjevica." The southern side of the almost square salient reached to within a very short distance of the village of Kostanjevica (Castagnevizza) In that part of the front the Austrians had been driven back to their third line. By the early October fighting the Italians added to their account some 5,000 prisoners, and in November over 8,000. The supposedly invincible stronghold was yielding under the steady blows of the determined attack.

WINTER ENDS FURTHER OPERATIONS.

Winter conditions precluded any further activity during 1916. The year had written on the roll of heroic deeds some shining new records. On the Carso alone there were many splendid examples of devotion. One old general, dying of cancer, refused to leave his command until he could say, "the battle is won." At another time and place, when a Bersaglieri Brigade had to spend the night in the open with practically no shelter from the rain of high explosives and shrapnel, a brigadier and two regimental commanders walked up and down all night in the front lines to keep the men's courage from failing. In the morning only one of the three remained unwounded. And always there were the men, no less devoted, who "laid down their lives in little, lonely conflicts that never figured in the official dispatches."

When it was evident that operations would have to be suspended until Spring, attention was again concentrated upon the training of new units and upon the manufacture and distribution of guns and munitions. Italy's lack of coal and metals made it impossible to produce military supplies in the quantities required for the most effective work on her long battle-line. But the production went on as rapidly as was possible. With the successes of the year behind them, the nation might look forward to a future of greater promise. In hopeful anticipation of that future, they continued to plan and to work.

L. MARION LOCKHART



Getting Away the Guns on the Galician Front

Chapter XXXVI

On the Eastern Front During 1916

THE RUSSIAN ARMIES ARE SUCCESSFUL BUT THE AUTOCRACY WEAKENS

THE remarkable recuperative power of Russia was manifested in her ability to strike back vigorously at the Austro-Germans almost immediately after the end of the terrible retreat of the summer of 1915, when Warsaw fell and almost the whole of Russian Poland was overrun by the Teutons. Before the end of the year, as already narrated, General Ivanov was punishing the Austrians severely in Galicia.

The people become suspicious of the government.

But the events of 1915 had nevertheless inflicted wounds on the Russian nation which were not to heal again entirely. Dark suspicion had arisen within the hearts of the Russian people, not only of the common people, but of those classes which hitherto had been most staunch supporters of the autocracy, that the core of that same autocracy was rotten with treason.

Even the Duma, that body of pseudo representatives of the people, chosen according to laws which gave only the reactionary elements suffrage—even the Duma, demanded an investigation of the Government machinery. It was rumored that trainloads of ammunition from Vladivostock had been shunted off on sidings at provincial railroad stations and allowed to stand there for weeks. It was rumored that the Grand Duke Nicholas, whom even the enemy had praised in their reports, had been displaced in his command of the Russian armies at the instigation of those elements which now began to be known as "the dark forces." For the first time loyal Russians recalled the fact that the Tsar himself was seven-eighths German, and that the Tsaritsa had not a drop of Slavic blood in her veins.

Allied ignorance of conditions in Russia.

During the first two years of the war little was known to the general public of the Allied countries of the political situation in Russia itself; the press reports emphasized the fact that most of the political exiles had returned home to give the Government their support in the war against German imperialism. Never had the Russian autocracy had such an opportunity to weld the Russian people together into one loyal unit, and never was an opportunity more wantonly, or more stupidly, thrown aside.

At the outbreak of the war the Premier had been Ivan L. Goremykin, a bureaucrat of bureaucrats, intellectually fossilized in the routine of the autocracy, and now well past three score and ten in years. Unable to adapt himself to new situations, he attempted to rule Russia during war time as she had been ruled for the past

generation. First he initiated an anti-Semitic campaign, at a moment when the most violent anti-Semites would be irritated by such a course. He caused rumors to be spread that the Jews were betraying the cause of Russia, and even caused a number of pogroms to be instigated. When Galicia had been occupied by the Russian armies, he had sent there a number of petty officials who immediately set about "nationalizing" the Polish and Ruthenian inhabitants.

Fortunately these efforts had been partially frustrated by the military authorities. Finally, when the political exiles began arriving in Petrograd, to throw themselves into the struggle against Germany, Goremykin had them imprisoned arbitrarily. His mind worked automatically; these things were to him a matter of routine, to be carried out as a regular course of procedure; his aged mind failed completely to realize that the war had created new conditions.

THE DUMA BEGINS TO ASSERT ITS VIEWS.

Even the reactionaries, who had previously been the main support of the autocracy, became disgusted. This feeling manifested itself most prominently in the Duma, within which was formed the famous Progressive Bloc, including not only the few radical representatives in the body, but all the Constitutional Democrats and a large portion of the extreme right, including such notorious Black Hundreds leaders as the Jew baiter Purishkevitch. The climax to the unrest in the Duma came when the President of that body, Rodzianko, addressed a letter to the Premier, placing the responsibility of Russia's heavy defeats squarely on him. "You are obviously too old," concluded the letter, "to possess the vigor to deal with so difficult a situation. Be man enough to resign and give room to someone younger and more capable." Never had Russian subject before dared address the Premier in such language. But Goremykin resigned. At least he proved himself no worse than incompetent.

But the old man's resignation only brought on a worse situation, for he was immediately succeeded by Boris Stürmer, a younger and a more capable man, to be sure, but one whose capacities were to be turned in an evil direction. Not only was he a reactionary, but he was German of blood and German in his sympathies, as was later to develop.

STÜRMER FAVORS A SEPARATE PEACE WITH GERMANY.

Stürmer hardly took the trouble to hide the fact that he desired to bring about a separate peace with Germany, to desert the cause of the Allies. Russian papers which attempted to stir the patriotic fervor of the Russian people were suppressed by Stürmer's censorship, while others, which denounced Russia's allies and covertly insinuated that Germany was Russia's truest friend, were allowed to pursue their way unmolested. Finally it became known, even among the rank and file of the garrison in Petrograd, that agents had been sent to Switzerland to confer with the Germans. As we shall show later Stürmer betrayed Rumania, hoping to secure peace for Russia.

That the German Premier of Russia did not succeed in his designs of treachery was due to the violent protest which arose from among the loyal Russians. This opposition Stürmer did his best to remove. The Duma would be satisfied with nothing less than a real voice in the government, including the right to dismiss ministers. So indignant were the working classes that a general strike of the munitions workers was threatened—which would have precipitated the final crisis a year before its time, perhaps prematurely.

THE REMOVAL OF SAZONOV CAUSES ALARM IN THE DUMA.

Then came the removal from the Cabinet of Sazonov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the one man in the administration in whom the Russian people had confidence, and the one man in whom the French and British had absolute trust. Like a rock he stood against the black forces within the court. A pure Russian, he championed the cause of the Allies against

FEEDING THE KAISER'S TROOPS

Napoleon's adage that "an army marches on its stomach" is as true in our times as in his. Mechanical transport has rendered the commissariat more dependable, but against this gain must be set the barrier of curtain fire and the long range of modern guns which, directed by aeroplane, can jeopardize an army's communications.

SORTING GERMAN MAIL IN GALICIA

A picture of a temporary German field post-office set up in a village in occupied Galicia. German equipment was complete from the outset and all their invading armies carried with them the wherewithal to keep the troops in communication with their friends. On the other hand though excellent conditions prevailed at a later date in the Allied armies, the system had to be worked up to meet the exigency. Pictures, Henry Ruschin

the Teutons—and now he was displaced. More deeply significant became this removal when it was announced that Stürmer himself would take up the portfolio for Foreign Affairs.

Fortunately for the Allies Stürmer lacked the fine touch of the really clever diplomatic intriguer; he was, in fact, at bottom, a sordid, dishonest thief, and this proved his final undoing. Later in the year, in the fall of 1916, Paul Miliukov, chief of the Constitutional Democrats, denounced Stürmer as a corrupt rogue, proving that he was enriching himself by taking bribes from dishonest food speculators, and so this prominent tool of the dark forces was obliged to retire in shame and disgrace.

THE ARMY LEADERS TRUE TO THE ALLIED CAUSE.

That all these domestic events in the Russian political situation did not bring about the final overthrow of the corrupt and treacherous court party in the beginning of 1916, instead of a year later, was due to the stimulus of the military successes which came to the Russian arms during the spring and summer of the year. At least the military leaders seemed true, nor was there afterwards any cause for judging them otherwise. With the material at their disposal they did indeed perform wonders. Fortunately, during the brief period of comparative quiet which prevailed along the whole Eastern Front after the great retreat had been stopped, enough ammunition reached the firing line to enable the Russian commanders to strike at the enemy with some semblance of equality in equipment. For the first time the Russian gunners were able to rain "curtains of fire" on the rear of the beaten foe and cut off his retreat.

As already narrated in the chapter covering activities along the Eastern Front during 1915, General Ivanov had begun a successful movement against the Austrians down in Galicia in December, and while this offensive was considerably hampered by the severe winter, it broke out again in the spring and eventually, later in the summer, developed against Austria into one of the most wholesale disasters that overtook any of the greater belligerents during the whole war.

THE RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE AT FIRST SUCCESSFUL.

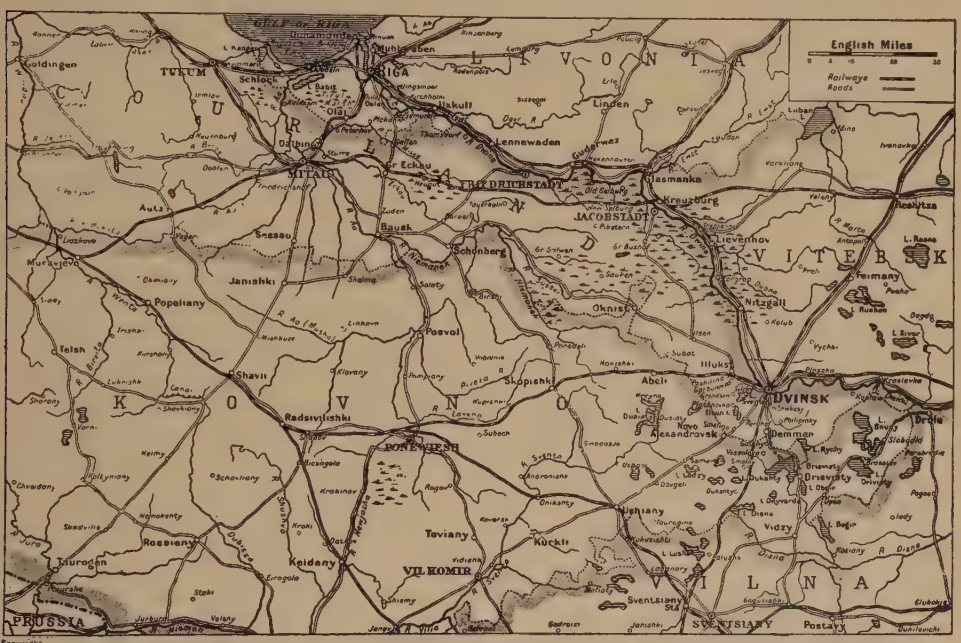
Up in the northern sector of the front the Germans had settled down into trenches, facing Riga and Dvinsk, hoping to spend a comparatively comfortable winter in their underground chambers. Thus they were settled in February and March, when the Russians under General Kuropatkin suddenly swept over the snow-covered marshes and drove the Germans out of their quarters, forcing them to make the best of it on the frozen ground half a mile further back. And now the Germans found themselves facing a Russian artillery fire which was quite equal to their own.

While considerable military activity took place along the whole line during the first five months of the year, sometimes developing into battles of the first magnitude, the relative positions of the opposing armies were not materially changed, though the Russians took large numbers of prisoners from the Austrians and, in general, had the better of the fighting. Obviously there was close co-operation between Russia and Italy, for the big Russian offensive against Austria began on June 3, at a moment when the Italians were being seriously threatened by an Austrian offensive on their front.

THE AUSTRIAN LINE CRUMBLES BEFORE THE ATTACK.

The Russian armies opposing the Austrians were now under the command of General Brusilov, as General Ivanov had retired on account of sickness. Along a front of over three hundred miles the Russians attacked, from the Rumanian frontier up to the Pripet Marshes. And now the Russians were obviously superior in numbers; all during the winter mobilization and concentration of forces had been going on. As the Teutons had done the year before, so now the Russians rolled on in overwhelming numbers, beating up against the Austrian defensive like a flood against a crumbling sandbank.

Within three days the Austrians had lost 25,000 men in prisoners alone. On June 7 the fortress of Lutsk was taken by General Kaledin, whose artillery had literally smashed the earthworks of the stronghold into powder. Here alone 11,000 Austrians fell into the hands of the Russians, together with immense supplies of munitions. By this time the prisoners taken numbered over 60,000. For now the Russians were able to cut off the retreat of the beaten enemy regiments by sweeping their rear with heavy artillery fire. On June 17 General Lechitsky compelled the Austrians to abandon Czernovitz, the capital of Bukovina, after a terrific six days' battle for its possession. Here, however, the Austrians had had time to withdraw and so lost only 1,000 men as prisoners to the Russians.



MAP SHOWING THE RUSSIAN NORTH FRONT LINE FROM RIGA TO DVINSK

The lake district between Riga and Dvinsk is of immense strategic importance, as it covers Petrograd. The country is so spotted with lakes, large and small, that it resembles a piece of lace. The Germans had dug themselves in deeply, but, at the end of March, General Kuropatkin drove them half a mile farther back.

GERMANS FEAR THE COLLAPSE OF THE AUSTRIAN ARMIES.

Meanwhile the Germans were making a strong effort to help their ally, not so much by sending reinforcements directly to their aid, but by beginning energetic operations against the Russian lines in the north. On the day that Czernovitz fell attacks were delivered at many points along the 150-mile line between Dvinsk in the north and Krevo in the south. Some local successes fell to the Germans, but on the whole this attempted diversion was a failure, for the Russians held the Germans back without having to weaken their offensive movement in the south.

The battle which ended with the capture of Czernovitz had completely smashed the Austrian army operating in that sector. On the following day the Russian Cossack cavalry swarmed after the fleeing Austrians and reached the Sereth River. Some of the Austrians made for the Carpathian passes, which were still in their possession, but the bulk of them fled southward, hugging the Rumanian frontier.

THE AUSTRIAN RETREAT TOWARD THE SOUTH.

"The disordered retreat of the enemy," wrote a Russian officer, to a Petrograd newspaper, "was an extraordinary spectacle. As far as we could see from our observation station the country

was alive with infantry, artillery and transport; horsemen in twos and threes, riderless horses rushing about wildly—a whole army in flight. Upon the mass of the fugitives we let loose our cavalry. We could clearly see the panic which followed. The cavalry dashed forward and cut off the way of escape of many thousands of men and vast quantities of stores. Many entire batteries were captured as they were being driven to the rear, in addition to large numbers of guns which were too heavy to be moved from their positions."

By the end of the third week in June the Russian cavalry had occupied Radautz, after which they carried the town of Kimpolung, cutting off all the Austrian fugitives who were hiding in the foothills of the south-eastern corner of Bukovina. A few days later the Russians found their way toward the Borgo and Kirlibaba passes, and so again the door into Hungary was forced open. One or two raids took place, but for the time being it was impossible to begin any real invasion of the land of the Magyars. By this time the Russian reports stated, and the dispatches from Vienna did not deny, that over 300,000 Austrians had fallen alive into Russian hands since the beginning of the offensive in the first week of June.

THE SWIFT RUSSIAN ADVANCE BEGINS TO SLACKEN.

But the end of July saw the high-water mark of the Russian advance. Russian successes continued for another month or two, but the enemy defensive began to stiffen. Yet all the world was impressed by Brusilov's brilliant campaign. His success had been more genuine than if he had merely taken a large area of territory, as the Germans had done the year before, for he had weakened Austrian man power to the extent of about a third of a million men. More important still, Brusilov had finally brought the Rumanians to the point of making a decision in favor of the Allies. Unfortunately they delayed, took time to negotiate. If they had made their decision in June, and had taken immediate action when Czernovitz fell, they might have rushed their armies across the mountains and cut off the retreat of the bulk of the Austrian forces in Bukovina. But they waited.

And while they waited Germany was preparing for a great counter blow which, had it fallen on the Russians alone, might have been disastrous to the Allied cause as a whole. As it was, it fell squarely on Rumania. Yet even as they struck Rumania this vital blow, the Teutons had enough surplus strength to check the Russians along the whole Eastern Front.

LEMBERG AND KOVEL THE NEXT OBJECTIVES.

From June 4 to August 1, 1916, the Russians had conquered some 15,000 square miles in Bukovina, Galicia and Volhynia. Lutzk, Dubno and Czernovitz were only the three most valuable prizes which had fallen to the Tsar's armies. And now, at the beginning of August, the Russians threatened the important railroad centres of Lemberg and Kovel.

The advance toward these two objectives was energetically continued during the late summer, but now the Teutonic defense began holding back the Russian advance, especially along the Stokhod River, which protected Kovel. Here the proportion of German troops was larger and the fighting on the Teutonic side was, consequently, more intelligently conducted. Nor had the Russians further north, where the Germans were more numerous, registered any considerable gains. Nevertheless Stanislau in the south was taken.

THE FINAL ATTEMPT TO BREAK THROUGH THE AUSTRO-GERMAN LINES.

In August the Russians launched a furious attack against the Germans north of the Dniester, and for some days it seemed that Scherbachev would break through. At several points he succeeded in crossing the river and piercing the German lines. Here was fought the most bitterly contested battle of the campaign. Back and forth swayed the fighting line, as first one side, then the other, was reinforced by the continually arriving reserves. It was the culminating effort

AREA OF THE RUSSIAN VICTORIES ON THE STRYPA

General Brusilov's offensive in Volhynia and Galicia began on Sunday, June 4, 1916, and the battle quickly developed along a wide front from the River Pripet to the Rumanian border, particularly heavy fighting taking place between the Pruth and the Styr. Lutsk was entered by the victorious Russians, June 6, and Czernowitz, the capital of Bukovina fell for the fifth time in twenty-one months, June 19. The next day the Cossacks, in pursuit of the Austrians, reached the Sereth River. Some of the fugitives in disordered rout made for the Carpathian Passes, others fled southward hugging the Rumanian frontier. By the end of the third week in June the Russian cavalry had occupied Radantz, after which they carried the town of Kimpolung and cut off the Austrian fugitives in the foothills of Bukovina. A few days later the Russians pierced the Borgo and Kirlibaba passes, so that the way into Hungary was open. They made two or three raids but no serious invasion was possible at the time.

of the whole Russian drive. Finally, in the middle of August, it broke; the point of the Russian dagger was broken against the German stone wall. And then the intensity of the fighting died down.

In the beginning of September the Russians made another determined effort to take Lemberg, and here the fighting was almost as sanguinary as it had been in August. Beginning with an artillery preparation which could hardly be rivaled on the Western Front, the Russian masses were driven solidly up against the strongly held Austro-German positions, in one wave after another. But here, too, the influence of German brains was visible. General von Hindenburg had been placed in command of the whole front and German officers were everywhere.

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN FORCES ARE MINGLED ALONG THE FRONT.

"The most significant observation one makes on coming to this front," wrote Stanley Washburn, correspondent for the London Times, "is the complete reorganization of the Austrian front since the beginning of the Russian offensive in June. It was then held by six Austrian divisions and one German. It is now held with a slightly extended front by fragments of nine German divisions, two Turkish divisions, and three and a half Austrian divisions. Of the Austrian divisions originally here three have been completely destroyed, and two have departed, one for the Rumanian front and another is missing. The composition of the German forces here shows the extraordinary efforts the Germans are making to bolster up the Austrian cause and preserve Lemberg." Many of these German battalions had been brought directly from the Somme.

For weeks the fighting in the Lemberg district raged furiously back and forth, with no other result than that the Germans succeeded in holding the Russians back. And as had happened before, gradually the Russian strength ebbed away and the two sides settled down to comparative quiet, a quiet which was not to be seriously disturbed during the rest of the year. Nor did any important changes of relative position between the opposing forces occur during this period up in the northern half of the Eastern Front, where both sides contented themselves with holding what they had.

THE CENTRAL POWERS PROMISE TO ESTABLISH A POLISH STATE.

The promises of Russia to give autonomy to the Poles was mentioned in an earlier chapter, but no attempt to redeem the pledge was made. The inhabitants of Russian Poland had no more love for the Germans than for the Russians, but as the weary months went on, gradually many Poles came to believe that an Austro-German victory, if not too sweeping, might be for their interest. The Central Powers did all in their power to encourage this sentiment.

When they had occupied Poland a proclamation was issued, November 5, 1916, promising to set up an independent kingdom of Poland with a constitutional government in "intimate relations" with Austria-Hungary and the German Empire. The Poles were disappointed to find, however, that neither the German nor the Austrian Poles were to be included. Russia, thereupon promised to establish an autonomous state containing all the Poles under the sovereignty of the Tsar.

Sharp division among the Poles then followed. The Polish Legion fought bravely with the French, and many Poles continued to support Russia. An important party, however, believing that Russian promises were worthless, raised an army and General Pilsudski, of whom we shall hear again, put himself and his men at the disposal of Austria. They did not, however, give up for a moment the hope of "Greater Poland."

THE RUSSIAN FORCES ATTEMPT TO SAVE RUMANIA.

Down in the Carpathians the Russians under Lechitsky also made a final effort to attain an important success against the Austrians. In the middle of September, obviously to divert the Austrian blow against Rumania, they delivered a general attack along a line extending from Smotrych,

AUSTRIANS IN THE CARPATHIANS

Austrian troops and baggage trains halting for rest in a Carpathian pass. The men are already high up amid the mountains, and rests were brief, for the men could not keep warm unless they were moving. Frequent halts were necessary, however, for the horses had to drag heavy loads over difficult roads. N. Y. Times

RUSSIAN CAPTIVES BEING SENT TO THE REAR

Of the nations engaged in war Russia lost most heavily. Her total deaths in battle amounted to 1,700,000. This figure does not take into account men who died of disease or accident, or those who disappeared and were not accounted for. The Germans captured large numbers of prisoners during the battle of Tannenberg and afterward. Their lot in captivity was a sad one, which many did not survive. Henry Ruschin

southwest of Zabie, to the Golden Bystritza, but without making any noteworthy advances. A few days later the Teutons responded with a violent counter-offensive along the entire Carpathian front, from the Rumanian frontier to the Jablonitza Pass. In the Dorna Watra regions the Russians suffered a severe, though local, reverse, but before the Teutons could follow up their advantage on an extensive scale, severe weather conditions intervened and gradually settled down into winter conditions, rendering serious operations almost impossible.

The truth is that the Russians had worn themselves out in the attack, had expended all their munitions recklessly and were now in little better condition than they had been in 1914. So much energy had been expended in the preliminary attacks that there was not strength enough for the final blow.

With the check suffered by the Russian armies along the entire Eastern Front in the fall of 1916, but above all because of the disaster to the Rumanians, whom the Russians had undertaken to support, there came a renewal of the disturbances in the domestic situation in Petrograd, centering about the Duma, and directed against the reactionary and pro-German Premier, Stürmer.

DOMESTIC DISTURBANCES ARISE AGAIN IN PETROGRAD.

Stürmer, it will be remembered, had been almost openly working for a separate peace with Germany, and in his general effort to clear opposition from the way before him had brought about the dismissal of Sazonov, the pro-Ally Foreign Minister. Of a deeper significance, though this was not obvious at the time, was his appointment of Alexander Protopopov as Minister of the Interior, the most sinister figure in the administration just before the revolution was precipitated in the following year.

PROTOPOPOV, THE INSTRUMENT OF REACTION APPEARS.

Protopopov had been an Octoberist, a moderate Conservative, but had joined the Progressive Bloc with the rest of his party when that political union was formed in the Duma in protest against the dark forces at court and in the administration. In the Duma he had figured as quite a radical. Quite unexpectedly, through the resignation of a vice president of the Duma, Protopopov was elected to fill the vacancy and thus was brought into prominence. During 1916 he had been one of a delegation to visit France and England, and on his return to Petrograd through Stockholm, he there met and held a conversation with a person known to be a German agent. Charges were brought against him later, but he managed to place an innocent complexion on the interview in Stockholm, and apparently the matter was forgotten. According to report, however, the charges against him attracted the notice of Rasputin, the monk under whose influence the court was supposed to be. Rasputin, it was said, was responsible for Protopopov's appointment to the Cabinet. Certainly later events only corroborate this supposition.

At the time of his elevation to this high post, however, Protopopov was still considered a man of comparatively liberal tendencies, and at first it was supposed that his appointment indicated a desire on the part of the Government to placate the opposition. But the new minister soon showed that he was in close harmony with Stürmer. As became known later, he instituted a new set of intrigues, whether hatched in his own brain, or conceived in the mind of Rasputin, is immaterial, save that he set about putting them into execution. His plan was deliberately to bring about the crisis which the Allies feared, to bring about such internal disorders within Russia itself that the Government would have an excellent pretext for entering into a separate peace with Germany. Some students of Russian affairs yet believe, however, in Protopopov's honesty.

THE DUMA BECOMES ALMOST REVOLUTIONARY.

This climax would undoubtedly have been precipitated without any artificial stimulation, had it not been that the

PEASANT WOMEN OF RUTHENIA

The Ruthenians are a Slavic people of the eastern group, forming a branch of the Little Russians. They live chiefly in Galicia where they constitute 40% of the population. There are, besides, some 400,000 in Hungary, and 300,000 in Bukovina. The picture shows women making roads in sections of the country captured by the Germans.

GERMAN TROOPS IN RUSSIAN POLAND

A typical scene on the Polish levels, part of the great European Plain stretching from the Urals to the North Sea. Mile after mile of supply columns went up daily to feed the great armies of the Fatherland. As far as the Polish frontier the Germans were abundantly supplied with strategic railways, but farther east were obliged to depend upon indifferent roads which in winter became at times almost impassable. Pictures, Henry Ruschin

GERMAN TROOPS CARRYING MACHINE GUNS

This picture was taken at nightfall as the Germans were withdrawing to their quarters and carrying with them their machine guns so as to have them at hand if necessary for attack or defense. In no previous war did the machine gun take such a prominent place in the armaments of contending forces. Ruschin

GERMANS IN SNOW-LINED TRENCHES

These soldiers are armed with several varieties of weapons. Some have an early type of grenade with a handle, one has a trench mortar, and others have rifle grenades, which are inserted into the muzzle of a rifle. The bullet goes through a hole in the grenade and the gases which expelled the bullet drive the grenade about 200 yards. Leipziger Presse Bureau, from New York Times

whole nation was waiting the opening of the Duma, on November 14, 1916. It was hoped that this body would save the situation. The Duma did convene on the date set, and then was witnessed the singular spectacle of this conservative legislative body almost unanimously denouncing the Russian autocracy. The few Socialist and Socialist-Revolutionist members suddenly found the whole Duma in complete harmony with them, so far as fiery speeches could indicate, at any rate. It was then that Paul Miliukov, leader of the Kadets, denounced Stürmer, not only as a traitor to Russia, but as a common thief who used his post as a means to corrupt practices.

In alarm Stürmer immediately took steps to have the Duma dissolved, but the Tsar, whose signature was needed for such a purpose, was at the front, and for the time being Stürmer was unable to accomplish his object. During this interval the Minister of War, General Shuvaviev, and the Minister of Marine, Admiral Grigorovitch, appeared before the Duma and proclaimed themselves for the opposition. This strengthened the hand of the Duma so decidedly that when Stürmer arrived at the front, he did indeed obtain the Tsar's signature, not to an ukase dissolving the Duma, but to his own dismissal.

THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION MAKES WAR IMPOSSIBLE.

For the time being the liberal and pro-Ally elements believed they had won a victory, but it required only a brief period to bring them to a realization that they were mistaken. For now, with a brazen courage that deserves a measure of admiration, Protopopov stepped forward, and by action, if not quite in words, said: "I am the man you must fight. I am for Germany. I defy you all." Which, in effect, he did.

Protopopov now began open warfare against all the leaders of the opposition, as though they were the veriest anarchists. Almost openly he disrupted the transportation service so that great stores of food supplies accumulated in the provinces, while in the cities the people stood in food lines, waiting for their meagre rations of the commonest necessities. The social organizations, the Co-operative Unions, the Zemstvo Unions, the federation of municipalities and towns, all of which had been active in supplying the armies and the civil population with food and clothing, he attempted to disrupt by forbidding them to hold conferences. Then he endeavored to have Paul Miliukov assassinated, and would have been successful had not the hired assassin repented at the last moment and made a public confession. All Russia was against him, and he was against all Russia, save for those sinister figures in the background of which the Tsaritsa and the monk Rasputin only were distinguishable. Even Purishkevitch, that notorious reactionary, the leader of the Black Hundreds, denounced him as a traitor, as an enemy of the people.

THE DARK FORCES CONTROL THE ACTS OF THE TSAR.

To their credit be it said that the majority of the Imperial family sided strongly with the loyal Russians, including the Grand Dukes and the mother of the Tsar herself. She had warned that feeble minded monarch that danger threatened, told him plainly where the danger lay, and he had only twirled his thumbs and smiled. In December, 1916, Grand Duke Nicholas Michailovitch had held a long interview with the Tsar, in which he had denounced the Tsaritsa and Rasputin in such strong terms that when he finished, realizing he had spoken in tones not suited to Imperial ears, he added:

"You may now call in your guards and have them kill me and bury me in the garden, but at any rate I have done my duty." Whereupon the Tsar had smiled again and offered the Grand Duke a light for the cigarette which he held unlighted in his nervous fingers.

ALBERT SONNICHSEN.

A STREET IN CONSTANZA

A view of one of the streets in the Rumanian sea-port. Constanza was taken by the Germans, October 22, 1916, and the capture of the town involved the loss of much grain and oil, and also the cutting of a short line of communication between Bucharest and Odessa by the Black Sea.

RUMANIAN PEASANTS OFF TO MARKET

Rumania declared war against Austria chiefly because she wanted to conquer Transylvania, the south-eastern part of Hungary, which has a large Rumanian population. Disregarding the advice of her Allies she made an incursion into Transylvania but her plans were thrown out of gear by the enemy's capture of Turtukai, and she was forced to withdraw and in turn suffer invasion.

Pictures, Henry Ruschin

Constanza, the Chief Port of the Rumanians

Chapter XXXVII

The Sacrifice of Rumania

THE FORCES OF RUMANIA SUFFER A SWIFT AND CRUSHING DEFEAT

WHEN the Great War came in 1914 Rumania was in a position almost parallel to that of Italy in her political relations to the Central Powers. A small state situated between two powerful neighbors is practically compelled to ally itself with one or the other, if it would escape being ground between the two millstones. With Austria-Hungary on the one side and Russia on the other, in their march toward the Aegean Sea and Asia Minor, Rumania's situation was delicate.

Rumania's attitude toward all her neighbors.

Her people were bound to neither through racial ties, as has been shown in Chapter IV. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 Rumania had assisted Russia against the Turks with the full force of her military power. In return Russia had appropriated a part of Bessarabia, with its Rumanian population. Five years later, in 1883, following the example of Italy, Rumania unofficially entered into the political-military convention which bound together Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and herself. Thus it was that the course Italy pursued after August, 1914, was watched very closely by the Rumanian statesmen.

But again like Italy, Rumania had a strong grievance against one of her allies—Austria-Hungary. As was the case in the Balkans, the boundaries of the state did not include all the population. In the case of the Rumanians, Austria-Hungary had been the chief aggressor. The Dual Empire included the former principality of Transylvania, in which a majority of the population is Rumanian, in language, customs, and, above all, in sentiment. The latest official statistics giving the population of Hungary show a Rumanian population of nearly 3,000,000. About half of these were concentrated in Transylvania, where they formed, according to the test of language, more than half of the total population. In the Banat of Temesvar were many thousands more.

Hungary oppresses Rumanian subjects in Transylvania.

Being bound to Austria-Hungary by the Convention of 1883, Rumania was not able to carry on a national propaganda among her kindred across the frontiers, as did Serbia. Yet Austria-Hungary, or more particularly Hungary, to which Transylvania was attached, carried on the same campaign of nationalization in Transylvania as was carried on in Bosnia and Herzegovina. First of all, Rumanian language schools were hampered, and the attempt to forbid any language except Magyar was constant. Rumanians were unable to fill public offices, unless

they spoke Hungarian perfectly, and any activity on an official's part in favor of a national spirit was the cause of immediate dismissal.

In the same way the press was muzzled; the editor who dared publish any matter in favor of Rumanian nationality, even in a cultural sense, ran the risk of having his paper suppressed and faced a term in prison as well. On the other hand, the Magyar press devoted much space toward fanning up the natural race prejudice of the Magyars against their Rumanian neighbors.

The political rights of the Rumanian population in Hungary existed largely in theory. Legally the Rumanians had the right to vote, but at all the elections the government employed terroristic measures to insure the election of the Hungarian deputies. As a concrete instance, out of 413 deputies in the National Chamber, the Rumanians, in proportion to their numbers, should have had something like 75 deputies, but actually they had only one. This same injustice affected all the non-Magyar populations, to such an extent that for a long period the Croats and the Serbs refrained entirely from voting, as a mark of silent protest.

Suffering of the Rumanian population of Bessarabia.

On the other hand, somewhat the same situation existed in Bessarabia, where over a million Rumanians forming nearly half the population, lived under the government of Petrograd. Here, too, their condition was bad, but at least in their sufferings, they were on more or less of an equality with the native Little Russian population. The government was bad, but not especially so for the Rumanians. Yet the fact remained that Russia, too, stood as a barrier against the ambition of the Rumanian Government to bring all Rumanians together into a single, national unit.

We must not forget that nearly 300,000 Rumanians were included in Bukovina, over a third of the population, but Austria proper was not so harsh with her subject peoples as Hungary. The Rumanians in Bukovina, like the Austrian Poles, had less cause for complaint than any other of their subject brethren.

Rumania's economic dependence upon Germany.

Another very important element in Rumania's situation during the early part of the European war was her economic dependence upon Germany. For many years German commercial firms had been encouraged by the German Government to capture the Rumanian market for goods of German manufacture. Long term credit was offered the Rumanian merchants, whose notes were discounted by the German banks. These German banks established branches in Rumania and encouraged Rumanian industries by liberal investments. Like all countries with agricultural populations, Rumania had not the capital with which to develop national industries, and was, therefore, compelled to secure it from outside on the best terms possible.

Several years before the war the Rumanian Minister of Finance, Marghiloman, went to Paris to negotiate a loan. The French bankers, receiving no encouragement from their Government, refused to advance the money. Marghiloman thereupon went to Germany, was immediately successful in procuring his loan, and the same French bankers who had refused to assist him in Paris were among the subscribers to the loan raised in Germany, but the transaction maintained its German complexion. When the war broke out, Rumanian industries, especially those concerned with the oil production, were largely in the hands of German capitalists. Consequently there was a pro-German party in Rumania whose interests were bound up with those of the German investors.

The king of Rumania a Hohenzollern prince.

This pro-German sentiment, or interest, was strongly represented in the government and the Council of the King during the period in which Rumania debated her policy toward the two groups of belligerent powers. King Carol (Charles), himself of German origin and bound to the

House of Hohenzollern by ties of blood, and being also responsible for the covenant with Austria-Hungary, was naturally in personal sympathy with the cause of the Central Empires.

Early in the month of August, after hostilities had begun, the King called together a council, consisting of the members of the cabinet, the chief party leaders, and the presidents and ex-presidents of the legislative bodies. The King, apparently realizing his own prejudices, refused to assume the responsibility of acting on his own initiative in this important crisis. The pro-Germans, represented by a former Premier, Carp, were strongly in favor of immediately joining hands with the Central Empires. The Premier, Bratiano, was for neutrality, for the time, at least. Then the King arose and made a fervent speech upholding the treaty with Austria-Hungary, citing Italy's situation and her determination to remain true to her allies.

THE EFFECT OF ITALY'S DECISION TO REMAIN NEUTRAL.

"But will she?" demanded one of those present.

Before the King could reply, an attendant announced that Baron Fasciotti, Italian Minister to Rumania, wished to be received on a matter of great urgency. Silence fell upon the assembly. Without a word the King left the room. A few minutes later he returned and announced that he had been informed by the Italian Minister that Italy had decided to remain neutral. There was no further discussion. Rumania, too, would remain neutral, for the time being, at least.

In the following October King Carol died and his nephew Ferdinand became King of Rumania. The new ruler, though also a Hohenzollern by blood, showed no inclination to use his personal influence in diverting the government from its policy of strict neutrality. Among the people the feeling that now was the time to make an effort in behalf of the Rumanians in other lands grew stronger. This feeling was increased by the initial successes of the Russian armies against the Austrians in Galicia, resulting in the capture of Lemberg and Przemysl. In November, 1914, Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Minister at Bucharest, reported to his government that there were only two factions in Rumania; those who did, and those who did not, think the time was opportune for declaring war against Austria-Hungary.

FERDINAND, KING OF RUMANIA

Ferdinand I, King of Rumania, is a nephew of the late King Carol whom he succeeded on October 11, 1914.

THE CENTRAL POWERS MAKE OFFERS TO SECURE AID.

Meanwhile Rumania had received and considered propositions and offers from both sides. In the middle of 1915 the Central Powers offered Bukovina up to the River Sereth in return for a "benevolent" neutrality, which meant that munitions should be permitted passage through the country to Turkey. But as a reward for prompt military aid Rumania would receive Bukovina up to the River Pruth, and an extension of her territory along the Danube up to the Iron Gate.

Russia on the other hand, offered Bessarabia, and Transylvania, when it should be conquered. In the meantime France and England, in trying

to persuade all the Balkan states to make concessions to Bulgaria as compensation for her intervention in their favor, turned to Rumania and attempted to persuade her to surrender all or some of the territory in the Dobrudja, taken from Bulgaria after the Second Balkan War. Rumania asked as her price for this territory and her active intervention all of Transylvania, the Banat of Temesvar, also containing some Rumanian population, and Bukovina. Russia objected to giving up all of Bukovina, which her troops now occupied. Then Rumania insisted on the possession of Czernowitz and the boundary of the Pruth. Russia refused to consider this proposal, until after she lost Lemberg, when she not only agreed to cede Czernowitz and the Pruth boundary, but to internationalize the Dardanelles.

RUMANIA CHEERFULLY TRADES WITH BOTH SIDES.

Ostensibly Rumania would not allow the passage of German munitions to Turkey, but for long periods at a time this traffic was permitted. German agents also bought large quantities of petrol from the Rumanian oil wells. Rumania sold food products to both sides. In January, 1916, Great Britain purchased Rumanian wheat to the extent of $50,000,000, though it could not all be delivered and had to be stored. At about the same time Austria and Germany bought a million tons of corn, 150,000 tons of barley and 100,000 tons of oats. Turkey was supplied with benzol and wheat in exchange for tobacco.

By June, 1916, it was still impossible to say on which side, or when, Rumania would intervene in the war. But now, in June, Brusilov began his tremendous offensive against the Austrians in Galicia and Bukovina and occupied Czernowitz, completely clearing the enemy out of Bukovina, while the Austrians suffered apparently disastrous losses. It seemed that the Austrians could never recover from this blow. The Rumanians were deeply impressed, and the time for a decision seemed to have come. Take Jonescu and Filipescu, both prominent politicians, had been strongly advocating co-operation with the Allies. Another strong influence in favor of the Allies was the fact that Italy had now definitely abandoned her neutrality and entered the war against Austria. Still the King, and the Premier, Bratiano, hesitated.

RUSSIA PUSHES RUMANIA INTO WAR.

Just now came a practical ultimatum from Russia ordering Rumania to enter the war upon pain of losing any racial or territorial unification after the war. The documents published by the Bolsheviki in Russia indicate that the plan to secure a separate peace for Russia by the betrayal of Rumania, was already formed. More will be said of this in the chapters dealing with the Russian Revolution. About this time the members of the Government definitely made their decision. Trainloads of munitions began to arrive from Russia, though it is not yet certain that a final agreement had then been reached between Rumania and the Entente. Austrian and German workers were discharged from the Rumanian munitions factories. Austria's representative in Bucharest, Count Czernin, protested against the unusual concentration of Rumanian troops against the Transylvanian frontier, while the Russian frontier was comparatively denuded. German papers assumed that negotiations were going on between Rumania and the Allies, but that there was a disagreement over the influence that Rumania was to have at the final peace conference.

THE DECISION TO INTERVENE IS MADE AUGUST 27, 1916.

Finally, on August 27, 1916, the King convened another extraordinary Council and then, for the first time, both he and Bratiano declared themselves unequivocally for war on the side of the Allies. Carp, the pro-German, declared himself as fervently as ever in favor of joining the Central Empires, while Marghiloman though favoring Germany, stood out for a continued neutrality.

According to Stanley Washburn,

the London *Times* correspondent, King Ferdinand was told that a Hohenzollern had never been and never could be defeated. "That is not true," replied the King. "I have defeated the Hohenzollern within me." That evening the Rumanian Government, without consulting the legislative body, issued its declaration of war against Austria-Hungary.

RUMANIA'S REASONS FOR WAR WITH THE CENTRAL POWERS.

The reasons for this act, as given in the declaration, were as follows: The alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy had been essentially of a defensive nature, to preserve the peace of Europe. Desiring to harmonize her politics with these peaceful tendencies, Rumania had joined the alliance. The last Balkan wars, by destroying the *status quo*, had imposed on her a new line of conduct. When actual war broke out, Rumania, like Italy, refused to join in the declaration of war. When Italy declared war on Austria-Hungary, the Triple Alliance had ceased to exist. Rumania felt herself no longer bound, for the Central Powers had themselves upset the basis on which the alliance had rested.

Hitherto Rumania had maintained a strict neutrality, because she had been assured by Austria-Hungary that the attack against Serbia had not been undertaken with the object of conquest. This promise had not been kept. Since it was obvious that great territorial transformations were imminent, Rumania felt herself in danger and was compelled to take measures to protect herself.

By adhering, in 1883, to the group of the Central Powers, Rumania had not forgotten the ties of blood uniting the populations of the kingdom with the Rumanian subjects of Austria-Hungary. As for Austria-Hungary, she found in the friendly relations established between herself and Rumania assurances for her tranquility. In spite of these assurances, the Rumanians of Austria-Hungary had been severely oppressed. Two years of war had passed, and Rumania had hoped that internal reforms might be instituted in favor of her kinsmen in Austria-Hungary. These hopes had not been realized. The war, in which almost all of Europe participated, brought out the gravest problems which affected the national development and the very existence of states. Rumania, desiring to contribute toward hastening the end of the conflict, and under the imperative necessity of guarding her racial interests, felt compelled to join the ranks of those who would assure her national unity. For these reasons she considered herself from this moment in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Dated at Bucharest, August 27, 1916, 9 P.M.

WHAT THE ALLIES HAD PROMISED FOR ASSISTANCE.

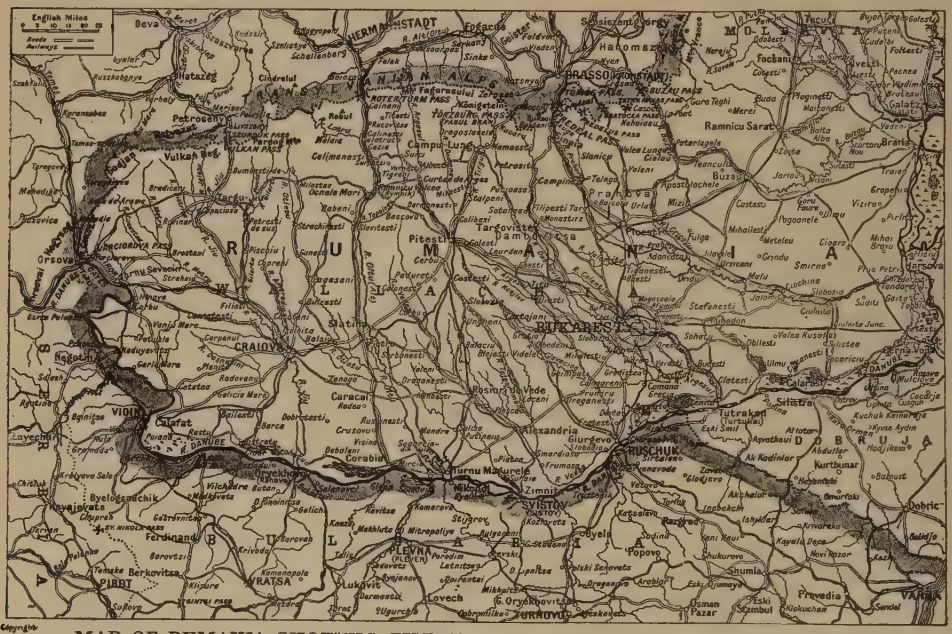
The Allies, France, Italy, Great Britain and Russia, promised Rumania not only the new territorial acquisitions which she claimed, but the integrity of her territory. Military assistance was also promised. A Russian army was to pass the Danube and establish a front against the Germans, Bulgarians and Turks who had for some time been massed in the Dobrudja against the Rumanian frontier. The forces at Saloniki, were to begin an offensive simultaneously with the Rumanian attack on the Austrians. Most important of all, a sufficient supply of munitions was guaranteed.

It was considered at the time that the diplomacy of the Allies had won a great victory in gaining the military support of Rumania, for, although her participation in the Second Balkan War had been no test of the efficiency of her Army, her military organization was still considered one of the best in the Balkans, at least equal in quality to that of Bulgaria and Serbia. With a population of over 7,000,000, Rumania could raise over 700,000 men. The artillery of all classes numbered about 1,500 guns, nearly all of small calibre. In rifles there was a considerable shortage; these numbered about 600,000. In ammunition the shortage was perhaps even more marked, but great quantities were expected from the Allies, largely through Russia, and

some shipments had already arrived before the declaration of war.

THE RUMANIANS FIRST ATTACK IN THE CARPATHIANS.

The first news of actual fighting was given to the outside world by the Austrian Government, which reported, on August 28, that during the preceding night the Rumanians had made a heavy attack on the Austrian forces stationed on the frontier in the Red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Lovech
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Pirlita
Smirna
Slobozia
Sudiu
Fetesti
Oblesti
Valea Rusolui
Calarasi
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sylvania, while the Austrians retired before them. Meanwhile on September 1, 1916, the German Empire declared war against Rumania.

Down in the Dobrudja, as already stated, was a force of mixed Bulgarians, Turks and some Germans, numbering about 180,000 under the command of the famous von Mackensen. Against these the Rumanians had only a few

GENERAL VON MACKENSEN

General von Mackensen broke the Russian line in 1915 with his "Grand Phalanx" tactics. Before Verdun early in 1916, he afterwards directed the fighting against Rumania in the Dobrudja.

divisions. Bulgaria had not remained neutral but had declared war on Rumania on September 1, and invaded the Dobrudja. The fortress of Turtukai was taken, and the garrison at Silistria hastily evacuated the position.

THE DOBRUDJA A HIGHWAY BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA.

The Dobrudja, about which so much has been said, is a plateau bounded on the west and north by the Danube, on the east by the Black Sea, and on the south by Bulgaria. This desolate land, without trees and almost without water, has been the highway between Southern Russia and the Balkan Peninsula for two thousand years. The Roman Emperor Trajan built a wall across it to keep back the barbarians; the Goths and Slavs in their invasion of the Eastern Empire came this way, and Russia followed in her invasions of the Turkish lands.

This sparsely populated region contains representatives of many peoples, Turks, Russians, Tartars, Germans, Rumanians, Serbs, Greeks, Armenians and Bulgarians. In the South the Bulgarians predominated, and the fact that the Southern Dobrudja was taken from Bulgaria and added to Rumania as a result of the Second Balkan War, was one of Bulgaria's chief grievances.

This defeat came to Rumania as a severe shock. Three divisions were immediately withdrawn from the Transylvanian front, (none too strong as it was), to strengthen the southern front. An appeal was sent to Russia for assistance, but the traitor Stürmer was then Premier, and his reply was that only two or three divisions could be sent. Three divisions did arrive from Russia some days later, one of which was composed of Serbian volunteers.

THE DOBRUDJA IS FINALLY OCCUPIED BY VON MACKENSEN.

But von Mackensen, with superior numbers and superior artillery continued his advance, while the Rumanians fought delaying engagements, sometimes driving their opponents back with severe loss. All through September and well into October this struggle continued in the Dobrudja, until the Rumanians had been driven over to the north bank of the Danube, first destroying the famous bridge crossing the river at Czernavoda, the only bridge over the Danube below Belgrade. Constanza, Rumania's one seaport, was taken.

Meanwhile the main Rumanian armies across the Carpathians in Transylvania were also finding themselves in difficulties. With furious determination Germany rushed to the assistance of the Austrians with some 800,000 men, taken from both the eastern and western fronts. The combined forces of the Austrians and Germans, amount-

ing to about a million and a half of men, under the command of General von Falkenhayn, began to drive the Rumanians, who on this front numbered considerably less than half a million, back toward the Carpathians.

Once more in the passes, the Rumanians offered desperate resistance; they had the courage of men defending their homeland from invasion. But the German artillery was far superior to anything the Rumanians possessed, and one by one the mountain passes were cleared and the Teutons began pouring down into the level plains of Rumania, driving King Ferdinand's troops before them. By the middle of November the Allied countries realized that Rumania was in danger. It was a period during which the whole Allied cause seemed in peril, for on none of the fronts could real pressure be applied to relieve the struggling Rumanians. In Macedonia Sarrail indeed began an advance, but beyond capturing the unfortified city of Monastir, he made no material progress. Along the eastern front the Russians were meeting with more resistance than they encountered before the Rumanians entered the war.

THE GERMAN FORCES PRESS TOWARD THE DANUBE.

Toward the end of November it was not only obvious that the Rumanians were being pressed back, but that they were in imminent danger of being destroyed as a fighting organization; that at least a part of the army might be captured. Von Falkenhayn's right wing was moving rapidly toward the Danube; should it reach the north bank, there would be nothing to prevent a junction with von Mackensen's forces on the other side. On the 24th came the announcement from Berlin that von Falkenhayn had captured Turnu-Severin on the Danube. More serious to the Rumanians was the news that von Mackensen's men had crossed the Danube at Zimnitza, opposite Sistovo, and were advancing toward Bucharest, behind the main Rumanian lines. The crossing was made under cover of artillery and with the help of river craft. This, rather than pressure from in front, sent the Rumanians retreating rapidly, for now their rear was threatened.

That Bucharest was in danger is shown by the fact that a few days later the Rumanian Government retired from the capital and established itself at Jassy, about two hundred miles northeastward, near the Russian frontier. By December 1 the Teutons had almost reached the Argesh River, the last wide stream that lay between them and the outer fortifications of Bucharest. Here the Rumanians stayed their flight and fought a hard battle for a whole day, making the last stand that was possible before Bucharest must be abandoned. The treachery of General Sosescu, a naturalized German, lost the battle, according to the Rumanians.

BUCHAREST IS ABANDONED AND OCCUPIED BY THE GERMANS.

The blow which finally decided the fate of Bucharest, however, came from the north. The real danger lay in the German forces coming down from the passes south of Kronstadt—north of Bucharest. From this point the invaders streamed down the Prahova Valley, which begins at the passes and which runs down southeast, behind Bucharest. The Rumanians now had the choice of evacuating their capital, or having it surrounded and besieged. Bucharest was a fortified city, but the Germans carried guns which no man-made fortifications could withstand. The Belgian fortresses had shown that fact. The Rumanian General Staff wisely decided in favor of abandoning Bucharest, first blowing up the arsenal. The Germans entered on December 6, and General von Mackensen occupied the Royal Palace.

One of the picturesque incidents of the retreat of the Rumanians from their capital was the destruction of the oil wells, which was expertly accomplished by the British engineers in charge. All the machinery was destroyed and the wells themselves were clogged with tons of nails and scrap iron. The accumulated oil in the big reservoirs, however, could not be taken along, and this was set afire. From horizon to horizon extended the

rolling clouds of black smoke from the burning tanks, and all this part of Rumania seemed a roaring furnace, the flames shooting up as though emerging from the craters of active volcanoes. Much wheat was also covered with oil and set on fire.

THE SPIRIT OF THE RUMANIAN PEOPLE REMAINS STRONG.

Rumania had lost heavily, perhaps 300,000 men, and two-thirds of her territory had been occupied. This part was the most fertile and the Germans secured some food from it. Later they were able to repair some of the damage done to the oil wells. Meanwhile the Rumanian troops stood firm in the northern part of the country, and the people were undaunted.

After the fall of Bucharest there was a halt in the German-Austrian advance, due to bad weather conditions and disadvantages of terrain which they were now encountering. By this time, too, the belated Russian assistance was beginning to arrive and stiffened the Rumanian retreat. Had this assistance come three months sooner the whole course of events would probably have been different. There was still some hard fighting during the rest of December, but before January 10, 1917, the Rumanian retreat had come to an end. The tremendous energy of the Teuton armies had by this time been spent, and they were compelled to rest on their laurels. The Rumanians, together with the Russians, were holding a line along the Sereth River.

HUNGARIAN VILLAGE ON THE RUMANIAN BORDER

Every Rumanian peasant soldier on entering Transylvania, when greeted in his own tongue by his countrymen from over the border, could grasp the full meaning of the war for liberation and national unity. In the invasion of Transylvania sentimental motives counted for as much as in the original French march into Alsace-Lorraine, August 1914. Ruschin

RUSSIAN TREACHERY IS CHARGED BY RUMANIA.

The conquest of Rumania was undoubtedly one of the most unexpected blows which the Germans were able to deliver against the Allied cause during the war. With the support that had been promised King Ferdinand's armies, it was expected that they would at least be able to hold the frontiers of their kingdom against the Teutons in the north and the Bulgarians and Turks in the south, thus

detaching great forces from both the Western and the Russian fronts. When disaster first began to manifest itself, there arose from Rumania itself a cry of treachery, an accusation of broken promises. These charges seemed to be substantiated when, later, the domestic situation in Russia was revealed. Stürmer was at the time Russian Premier, and of his treachery there is hardly a doubt. It was, and still is, believed that he had a secret agreement with Germany whereby a Rumanian defeat, rather than a Russian defeat, was to be the pretext for a separate peace. The campaign plans of the Rumanian General Staff seemed on every critical occasion to be completely known to the enemy.

Stanley Washburn, the correspondent of the London *Times* on the Eastern Front, who was present at Rumanian headquarters during the retreat, while admitting the treachery of the Russian Premier and the "dark forces" within the Russian Court, places the chief blame on the bad judgment of the Allied chiefs, rather than on bad faith.

A PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATION OF THE DISASTER.

"The greatest mistake," he said, "on the part of the Allies was their estimate of the number of troops that the Germans could send to Rumania during the fall of 1916. As I have said, experts placed this number at from ten to sixteen divisions, but, to the best of my judgment, they sent, between September 1 and January 1, not less than thirty. The German commitments to the Rumanian front came by express, and the Russian supports, because of the paucity of lines of communication, came by freight. The moment it became evident what the Germans could do in the way of sending troops, Rumania was doomed."

On the other hand, Gogu Negulescu, a senator of the Rumanian Parliament, who visited the United States after the war, attributes the defeat entirely to the treachery of the whole Russian Government. He declares that Russia was from the beginning averse to calling in Rumania to help win the war on account of the price demanded by Rumania for her assistance. Having been forced to accept assistance, the Russians determined to utilize Rumania as a shock absorber, allowing the hardest blows to fall on the Rumanian Army, while the Russians sheltered themselves in the rear.

This latter assumption at least is plausible, for again and again Russia

GENERAL ZOTTU

General Zottu was chief of the Rumanian General Staff in 1916. His deputy-chief was General Iliescu, who formerly had been Secretary of the War Office.

had rejected Rumanian terms as exorbitant. Finally, in the summer of 1916, perhaps having knowledge of the vast forces which Germany was drawing from her reserves for a tremendous blow against the Russians on the Eastern Front, Petrograd came to terms with Rumania. Had the armies which smashed Rumania struck Russia alone, undoubtedly her forces would have crumpled under the impact. Russia would have been forced to a separate peace, the Teuton armies on the Eastern Front would have been liberated for service on the Western Front—with results that need only be imagined. The service Rumania rendered the Allied cause was none the less because she suffered so disastrously.

Bullock Transport in Mesopotamia

Chapter XXXVIII

The War in the Near East

THE TURKS TAKE KUT-EL-AMARA, BUT THE RUSSIANS CAPTURE ERZERUM.

Supporters of the theory that the war had to be won upon the Western Front, who characterized the campaigns in the Balkans, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, and in Egypt as "side-shows" irrelevant to the main struggle ignored two important facts. The first was the value of Turkey to the Central Alliance. If Turkey were not attacked in her spheres of influence, they would serve as important reserves of men and material to supplement the Austro-German armies. Secondly, these critics of "side-shows" ignored one of the great causes of the war: Germany's intention to build up an empire of the Levantine countries—a project which not only menaced British rule in India, and Egypt, and Russia's expansion into a warmer sea, but threatened every other power in Europe outside of the Teutonic Alliance.

Some of the effects of the minor operations.

Ill-starred as some of these operations were—against the gun-studded heights of Gallipoli, during the heat and thirst of the first advance upon Bagdad, through the long months of seeming helplessness at Saloniki—there is nevertheless a balance and continuity in all of them which posterity perhaps may perceive. In spite of the collapse of Russia, they ultimately achieved their end in the downfall of the Turk.

During the autumn of 1915 the pressure of the Gallipoli expedition was felt in Armenia and the Caucasus, and when it was abandoned the force in Mesopotamia took up the task of relieving the Russians in the Caucasus. When this in turn got into difficulties and was surrounded by the Turks in Kut, rôles were reversed. Russia, with her strength mobilized for the first time upon the Asiatic front under a brilliant commander, the Grand-Duke Nicholas, was able to assume the offensive in an effort to relieve some of the pressure upon the British on the Tigris. She succeeded in her task—not indeed in time to save Kut—but so that the British preparations for a second advance upon Bagdad went forward all through the summer and were complete by the end of the year.

The attempt to relieve Townshend in Kut-el-Amara.

It will be remembered that in Chapter XXIV, Townshend was left beleaguered in Kut, awaiting relief by reinforcements from overseas. Meanwhile two Indian divisions, the Lahore and Meerut, had set sail from Marseilles. At sea, news came that Kut was invested and instead of landing in Egypt and getting the expedition into shape, everything was sacrificed to

haste. At Marseilles the departure had been so hurried that bombs, rifle grenades, range finders, Verey lights and periscopic rifles had been left in France, and there was from the first a shortage of telephone wire. Sir John Nixon had been forced to resign the chief command on account of ill-health, and his place was taken by Lieutenant-General Sir Percy Lake, Chief of the Indian Staff. It must be remembered that General Aylmer had been told that Kut must be relieved within eight days and that January 15, 1916, was the last day Townshend could hold out. Therefore the Corps Commander gave orders for an advance to be made on the fifth against the first Turkish position. The Third Division was already on the river and if Aylmer could have waited ten days, he would have doubled his striking power.

THE TURKISH LINES BEFORE KUT SKILLFULLY DRAWN.

The Turks had drawn their lines before Kut with considerable ingenuity and strength. Three natural features of the country, the Tigris, the marshes and the flat bare expanse devoid of all cover, determined their character. In general the positions were made on both banks of the river, drawn so as to rest the flanks on marsh or tributary *wadi* (ravine). In addition to the first lines the enemy had prepared trenches in *échelon* which extended far back and rendered—even where the marsh did not—turning movements impossible. Attack then must be delivered frontally and in the open. A reference to the map will show the position of the enemy lines. The first, Sheik Saad, on both sides of the Tigris with its main force on the left, had trenches at right angles to protect its flanks. Against this position Aylmer chose to divide his forces in proportion to those opposed and make a concentrated attack on both banks at the same time. January 6, the columns on both sides came into touch with the enemy, General Kemball's force attacking on the right and General Rice's on the left or north bank. On the seventh amid intense heat the attack was renewed. Kemball had been successful on the right and the Turks feared lest he might turn their flank. The engagements (as in those that followed) were frontal infantry attacks made over open ground under heavy fire against deep and narrow trenches, which had been constructed by adepts in the art, and which further were untouched by artillery fire, for owing to the mirage the artillery did not find the enemy trenches. Instead of a quick rush measured by seconds, the infantry came under rifle fire at 2000 yards, and it was a woefully thin line before its members even saw the head of a Turk. January 9, the enemy fearing for his flanks, fell back on a second position at Orah where on his left he had the protection of the *wadi* descending from the Pushtikuh Hills. The seven miles' advance was dearly bought for the British lost 4,262 officers and men, a casualty list equal to one half of the garrison they were relieving.

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT DEPLORABLE.

The tragic memory of the wounded will forever mark the day. The official Eyewitness with the Relieving Force writes: "Never since the Crimean War can there have been such a collection of maimed and untended humanity in a British camp as were gathered on the Tigris banks on the night of January 7. After fifteen months of the war there was not a hospital ship or barge upon the river. Doctors, ambulances, medical equipment, vital to the scene, were following the Force in leisurely transports from France. The five field ambulances of the 7th Division were on the high seas. While our casualties in the battle were over 4,000 there was barely provision for 250 beds—all was chaos. Three doctors and a hospital assistant! At five o'clock two tents had been put up and the wounded still poured in. More than a thousand came to the ambulance alone before 10 o'clock and they lay like bales in the dark and cold with nobody to tend them. . . . One lent what aid one could but there were neither wraps nor food nor warm drink. . . . Stretchers ran short—there was one to fifty wounded. Shattered limbs were

TROOPS FROM INDIA AT THE MOHAMMEDAN HOUR OF PRAYER

Instead of responding to the Sultan's call to a Holy War, the Mohammedan races of India, for the most part, adhered loyally to their British leaders. In the picture the long row of be-turbanned Moslem soldiers, kneeling on their prayer rugs and with faces turned toward Mecca, are in the attitude of prayer. Picture, Henry Ruschin

BRITISH MONITOR IN ACTION AGAINST THE TURKS ON THE TIGRIS

The vessel which can be adapted to all the vagaries of the Tigris is hard to find. From the end of March to the beginning of July there is flood water, and a steamer has to make head against a 5-knot current. Then in the late summer and autumn the channel is only 5 feet deep. The channel is constantly changing and sharp twists and turns complicate navigation already difficult enough.

laid on the jolting transport carts; many must have died in them who might have been saved. The next day it rained, and still the wounded were gathered in. Hunger and weakness and delay in treatment caused many of the wounds to become septic and gangrene set in. Less serious cases were carried on to the boats, laid in rows on the decks with little shelter from the rain and shipped downstream to the already congested hospital at Amara."

Meanwhile the relieving force had pushed on against the second Turkish position at Orah. Here it was hoped by crossing the *wadi* high up beyond the Turkish left, the force could make a wide encircling movement and reach the Suwaicha Marsh between which and the Tigris lay only a gap of a mile. If the gap could be held then 15,000 Turks would be cut off. But the plan failed. Maps were inaccurate, the rains had begun and under a cold driving wind churned up the mud; the détour described was not wide enough, and the transport in crossing the *wadi* was delayed by the steep high banks. Though the Turks fell back from Orah it was they who held the gap, and in the strongly-entrenched position of Umm-el-Hanna presented yet another obstacle to the relief of the beleaguered garrison. Meanwhile the expedition had more heavy casualties to pay for the frontal attack.

The next three lines of the enemy forbade outflanking for their positions were supported on the left by the great Suwaicha Marsh and on the right by the Tigris. It was believed that Townshend could not possibly hold out much longer, and so, January 21, the relieving force pushed on to another futile tragic attempt in the open under heavy fire against the Umm-El-Hanna lines. Some of the troops got into the front trenches but the supports were late in coming up, and those that were left were driven out again. That night the scandal of Sheikh Saad and the *wadi* was repeated, and the misery of the wounded aggravated still further by the rain and cold.

Then the rains precluded further movement and for over a fortnight the relieving force devoted itself to sapping up to the El Hanna position. News came through that Townshend had found fresh supplies and could hold out until March, and so further advance waited for the arrival of reinforcements.

The success or failure dependent upon transportation.

The whole question, both of the advance to Bagdad and of the relief of Kut, hinged upon transportation. For sure and deliberate progress a railway was essential; without it so many ships and so many tugs and barges and *mahailas* were needed. Yet the carrying capacity of the Tigris fleet at the time of the British advance was not equal to that of a single line of railway with an average supply of rolling stock. To supplement the paddle-steamers, *mahailas*, *bellums*, and *gufars* of the Tigris, the most heterogenous collection of river traffic was gathered in from the inland waters of India. Of these, the Aërial, half-house-boat half-aeroplane, with a hull from the Brahmaputra and fitted with an air-propeller and a 50-horse-power Diesel engine which made more noise than a minor battle was a type, and became the officially recognized hospital ferry plying between field ambulances and hospital camp. Land transport had not quite the same variety: the first and second lines were served by pack-mules, the Army transport carts were drawn by mules and horses, and the heavy guns served by camels and a bullock train.

On the night of March 7, another attempt to reach Kut was made. Townshend sent word that he still could last, but the Staff feared that a week was all they could count upon before being inundated by floods. The enemy's strongest position was the Es Sinn line stretching between Tigris and Shatt-el-Hai, some eight miles only from Kut. In the centre the Dujaila redoubt formed the point of a salient, and it was decided to attempt to outflank the Turk by forcing in the sides of this redoubt. To achieve success, the element of surprise was essential; by thorough organization of

a forced night march this condition was obtained—only to be thrown away at the critical moment by lack of initiative and elasticity in the higher command.

THE LONG, HARD MARCH ACROSS THE DESERT IN THE NIGHT.

On the night of March 8, the troops assembled at the Pools of Siloam and, in the darkness guided by scouts amid a silence broken only by the jingle of harness or creaking of a transport cart, the host of 20,000 men moved like a great machine across the desert. Time after time men in the ranks and officers at the heads of columns reached for a pipe but remembered just in time, and soon in the still air the soldier moved like one asleep over the illimitable level beneath the stars. At dawn the columns diverged, General Keary leading his men against the left face of the redoubt, and General Kemball against the right. It was evident that the Turks were yet unalarmed for the relief force passed silently through the Arab fires in the cold light of the after dawn. Daylight was growing, but instead of attacking the Turkish lines in the early hours, the attack waited for the artillery to advertise its presence by shelling their camp. A flood of infantry came pouring in from all parts to reinforce the redoubt, a streamer of Arab horse spread like a ribbon to the south to hold the bridgehead at Shatt-el-Hai. Every moment added to the enemy's advantage and weakened the chance of victory.

BRITISH TROOPS CROSSING THE RIDGE BETWEEN DELI ABBAS AND KIFRI

The glare and dust and heat of marching in the daytime in Mesopotamia can better be imagined than described. Often where a man's pith helmet ceased its shade, his face was blistered as by fire. In this campaign the services of mule drivers, whose jerky carts were compelled to act as ambulances in the early advance, were heroic.

General Keary had been ordered to wait until General Kemball's force came up. His route was longer and he was two hours after time. By the delay and enforced wait, the element of surprise was lost and the attack foredoomed to failure for Kemball and Keary had no advantage in numbers, the Turk was infinitely better placed, and the relieving force was compelled to seek a rapid decision through the exigencies of desert, waterless country. After marching all night the troops fought on through long sun-baked hours, yet at half-past four no progress had been made, and withdrawal was ordered and effected in good order.

Again the casualties were severe—3,476 officers and men—and nothing had been gained to balance this loss.

THE CASE OF THE KUT GARRISON BECOMING HOPELESS.

The reverse of March 8 made Townshend's case almost hopeless; whatever action was now taken the waters would have to be reckoned with. After failure to break through El Hanna, January 21, trench warfare had begun on the left bank and continued until the capture of the position on the morning of April 5. There was little resistance at this spot but the Turk was playing for time—time to starve out Kut, time to wear the British down as they advanced—and he fell back, three miles beyond the El Hanna lines, on to what was known as the Falahiyeh position. This was rushed at night, and the attackers pushed on straight to Sannaiyat where the enemy held three lines, all with their flanks resting on river and marsh. Six miles behind this again lay his strongest position of all, the Sinn line, which he had been building up for months. Two attacks were delivered on Sannaiyat, but both failed, and at the end the elements themselves enlisted for the Turk, and with the rains the Tigris rose and the marsh spread. On the night of the eleventh a thunder storm of extraordinary violence followed by a water-spout, a hail storm and a hurricane set the spray leaping four feet in the Tigris and the water in the marsh rising visibly.

For a time all movement on the left bank was impossible, and the relieving force put its energies into clearing up the network of trenches and the two difficult lines of Beit Aiessa and Chahela. Though the Turks counter-attacked determinedly with twelve battalions, flinging into the assault the famous 2d Division of Constantinople, veterans of the Balkan War and of Gallipoli, they were repulsed and put out of action with a loss of the best part of two divisions. But the attack had not yet carried the Sannaiyat position, and to go forward with the possibility of the Turk letting in the Tigris upon the rear was not to be thought of and once more, April 22, when the floods had somewhat abated the Mesopotamian Army attacked, with no success.

A FINAL EFFORT TO RELIEVE THE GARRISON IS MADE.

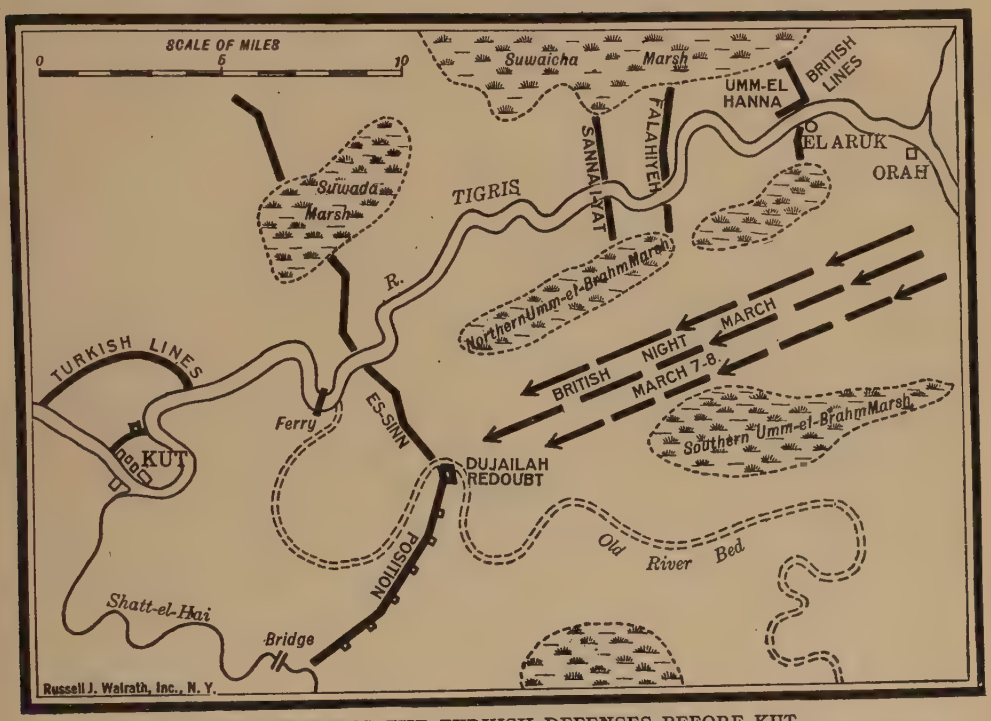
One more effort was made to prolong the struggle. On the night of April 24, the paddle steamer Julnar with a cargo of provisions sufficient to feed the garrison for three weeks attempted to force the blockade. Eyewitness says: "The Julnar started her voyage at nine on a moonlight night. A surprise was, of course, impossible; she awoke the whole camp with her engines and screw; and it was not long before we heard the fusillade she drew from the Turks. She ran a terrific gauntlet of rifle and machine gun fire from both banks as she passed through the enemy's position at Sinn, but she was well plated and sandbagged and steamed through. She was nearing Magasis, within four miles of Kut, when she struck the steel wire hawsers which the Turks had stretched across the stream. Her rudder became entangled and she was held up. . . . With a nice calculation the Turks had laid their trap for their prize at the one point on the river where she would be out of range of the guns both of the Kut garrison and of the relieving force. The next morning an airman sighted her moored to the bank by Magasis fort, intact and floating on her own keel. The Turks drew rations from her the same day, and christened her 'The Gift'."

GENERAL TOWNSHEND IS FINALLY FORCED TO SURRENDER.

The drama of Kut which had cost the relieving force 22,500 lives was played out; only the epilogue remains to be told. On the morning of April 29, Townshend sent a wireless: "Have destroyed my guns and am destroying most of my munitions and have sent out officers to Khalil to say am ready to surrender. Khalil is at Madug. I am unable to hold on any more. I must have some food here. I have told Khalil today, and have sent launch with deputation to bring food from Julnar." Nine thousand fighting men, nearly 3,000 British and 6,000 Indians surrendered at Kut. The Turks were

much impressed by Townshend and allowed him to retain his sword, and made his captivity as little irksome as possible. At the time of surrender the Kut garrison was well treated by the enemy; it was only in the terrible march northwards in June that the desert and inhuman guards took such fearful toll of the survivors.

The happenings in beleaguered Kut tained 6,000 civilians and to this Arab civilian population General Townshend issued the same rations as were given to British soldiers and sepoys. Very little doubt existed as to the certainty of relief. Townshend himself was the chief fount of the optimism and steady courage which characterized the garrison. At the end of January he issued an address that his men might



MAP SHOWING THE TURKISH DEFENSES BEFORE KUT

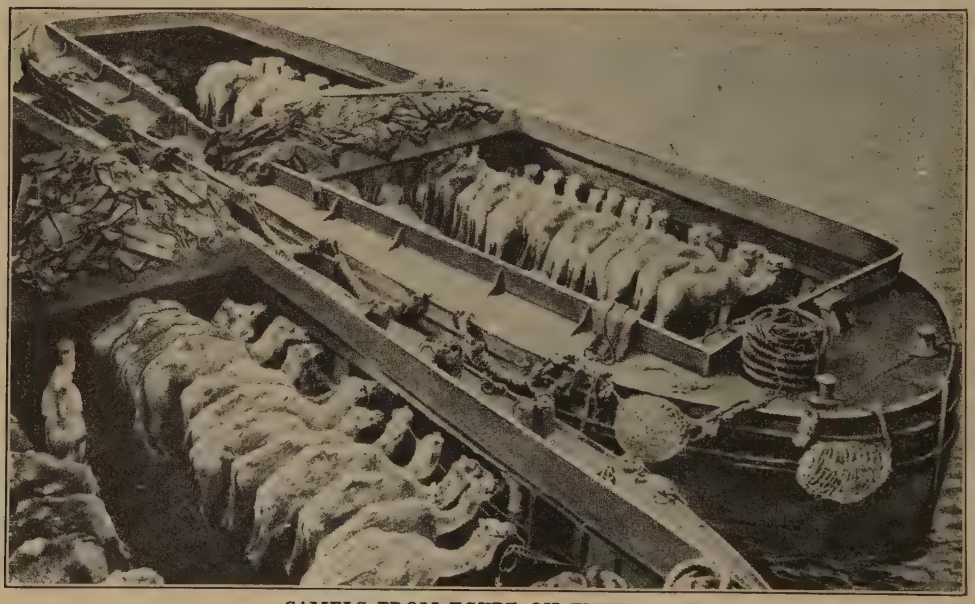
Sheik Saad and Orah were evacuated by the Turks during the first ten days of the British advance. Frontal attack failed against the Umm-El-Hanna lines, but a diversion against the enemy's strongest position at Es-Sinn was almost successful. In the first week in April both Umm-El-Hanna and Falahiyeh fell, but the enemy still held Sannai-Yat and Es-Sinn; floods precluded further advance and Townshend was forced to surrender, April 29.

can be but briefly touched upon. They fall under two phases: first a determined siege, then a protracted investment. For the first month Turkish pressure was very heavy upon the invested city, but with the advance of the relieving force, it relaxed and the question of ammunition was less pressing. Food was the great problem and not until after the costly actions of January 7, 13, and 22 had been fought by insufficient forces were hidden stores found in Kut which gave three months' supplies to the besieged on a gradually reduced scale. Kut conknow how things stood. "I have ample food for eighty-four days," he said, "and that is not counting the 3,000 animals which can be eaten. I expect confidently to be relieved in the first half of the month of February. Our duty stands out clear and simple. It is our duty to our Empire, to our beloved King and country, to stand here and hold up the Turkish advance as we are doing now, and with the help of all, heart and soul together, we will make the defense to be remembered in history as a glorious one . . . We will succeed—mark my words—

but save your ammunition as if it were gold."

FAMINE DEPLETED THE VITALITY OF THE TROOPS.

Scurvy set in in February and a vegetable garden was planted from seeds dropped by aeroplane. Midway through the month a message from King George, and news of the capture of Erzerum cheered the troops though privations were now beginning to be seriously felt. Many of the Indians would not eat the bullocks or oxen, and scurvy took heavy toll of them; in the hospitals, milk gave out, and the patients' diet was confined to cornflour or rice water for the sick, and ordinary rations for the wounded. Early in March it was clear that the vitality of the troops was almost exhausted, the recuperative power of the sick was low, and skin and flesh had lost the power of renovation. The disappointments of the failures of January and March 8 left them weary with exhausted expectancy. Again on the tenth Townshend issued another *communiqué* sympathizing with his men but inviting their co-operation in a further reduction of food. On March 31 a further decrease was necessary, and April 8 the mill stopped working for want of fuel. Two weeks more and the flour ration was again cut down. On April 21 even the 4-ounce ration gave out and the troops subsisted on two days' reserve rations held since January. When after the third battle of Sannaiyat, immediate relief was hopeless, Kut was fed by aeroplane. When the Julnar was captured the garrison was on the verge of starvation, and on the day of surrender the men in the trenches were too weak to carry back their kits. To an heroic defense of five months succeeded two and a half years of captivity with all its hardships and humiliations, and more than half of the rank and file succumbed to the hard conditions of exile. When the armistice was concluded it was found that of 2,680 N. C. O.'s and privates taken at Kut over 65 per cent had perished. Of the 10,486 Indians, combatants and followers, 1,290 died and 1,773 were untraced. Most of the Kut prisoners perished in the terrible crossing of the desert



CAMELS FROM EGYPT ON THEIR WAY

The scope of the Tigris as a line of communication was limited to the number of vessels that could move at one time up and down stream through the narrows. At Basra there was a model like a war game showing the position of every ship on the river with its distinguishing flag, and with this map before him the controller of navigation at the end of the wire regulated the movements of the fleet.

between Samarrah and Aleppo in June. They were separated from their officers and if too weak to march left by callous guards to perish by the wayside, exposed to the depredations of marauding Arabs.

A RENEWED RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE IN ARMENIA BEGINS.

We must now turn to the efforts of the Russians in Armenia to relieve the pressure upon the Tigris. In January, 1916, Townshend was shut up, and on the 9th of the month the evacuation of Gallipoli had been completed. Before the Turkish troops released from this area could be redistributed on the Saloniki Bagdad, and Caucasian fronts, Grand-Duke Nicholas decided to advance, although the difficulties of winter fighting among the plateaux and mountains of Armenia might have deterred a bolder man. In December, 1915, the Russian Caucasian army had been reinforced by 170,000 men, and a new expeditionary force under General Baratov sent to clear Central Persia of Turks.

The latter, little suspecting the possibility of attack at this time, were badly placed. Because of British advance up the Tigris they had held many reinforcements in Bagdad, and German influence in Constantinople had succeeded in retaining a number of men in Thrace and Syria. Not until the Cossacks appeared in the neighborhood of Erzerum were Turkish divisions directed in haste towards Angora, and Sanders Pasha made commander of the Army of Armenia.

CAMEL TRANSPORT IN THE NEAR EAST

During the war the camel has been the steed of the German and the Turks, the Arab and the Indian, the Anzac and the South African. Because the desert is his home, he can bear its glare and dust and sandstorms, and carry heavy burdens for long distances without food or water. He is not swift like motor transport, but he is valuable in that he can penetrate through trackless sandy wastes.

THE NATURAL DEFENSES OF ERZERUM VERY STRONG.

The Turkish line from the Black Sea to the neighborhood of Lake Van extended through a very difficult tangled mass of mountain and ravine. The ranges of Taurus and Anti-Taurus lift the central Armenian country into a tableland, crossed in its turn by many mountain ranges. From the Black Sea the ascent is by a continual chain of latitudinal ridges which rising one behind and higher than the other

lead up like a ladder to the edge of the plateau. On this plateau and in a depression lies Erzerum, the centre of the Turkish defense, fortified by Nature and man in a way that seemed to preclude all possibility of capture. To the south of the city the Palanteken Mountains tower more than 3,000 feet, crowned by advance forts. To the north of this range and forming the only approach to the city from the east lies the Passain Plain. North of this again a tangled mass of mountains guards the northern and eastern flanks of Erzerum, and is only pierced by the ravine of the so-called "Georgian Gates."

The Turkish problem then was to guard the Passain Plain, where they stationed their 9th and part of their 10th Army Corps; and to block the gap in the mountains on the north-east, where their 11th Corps accordingly intrenched.

THE PLAN OF THE RUSSIAN ASSAULT ON ERZERUM.

Duke Nicholas' plan, which he entrusted to the execution of General Yudenitch, was a main attack upon the Turkish centre, along the Passain plain, while the Second Turkestan Army Corps at Olti in the Chorok depression was to divert the Turks in the north, and another column to threaten the flanks of the Turks at Azak Keui and Gey Dag.

According to the Russian calendar the simultaneous attacks on Olti, Tortoum, and Kepri-Keui were delivered at the New Year. They were immediately successful and Abdulla Kerim Pasha, January 16, ordered a general retreat upon the last line of defenses—the forts of Erzerum. "Then followed," writes Mr. Morgan Price, special correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian* who was with the Russian army, "what is frequently met with in Turkish retreats and is very characteristic of that race. The Turk has all the stubbornness and endurance of a highlander and an agriculturist. He does not see at once when he is outmastered; but when he does, the untrained Oriental comes out strong in him; he throws everything away and bolts in a general *sauve qui peut*. In this case he just ran till he reached Erzerum." Thus the Russians reached Kupri-Keui on the 18th, and on the 19th the last Turkish column disappeared behind the Deve-Boyun range. The Cossacks pursued right up to the outer chain of forts under cover of darkness and secured 1000 prisoners. The rout of the centre was complete; and the attack on Erzerum which followed was so rapid that fractions of the Turkish army on the wings could not retreat upon Erzerum, but fell back in the north by the Chorok valley on Baiburt, and in the south upon Mush.

ERZERUM IS TAKEN IN SPITE OF GREAT OBSTACLES.

Yudenitch decided to attack Erzerum at once, for he had intercepted a wireless from the commander of the fortress to Enver Pasha stating, "Condition of the Third Army is serious; reinforcements must be sent at once or else Erzerum cannot be held." He knew, furthermore, that a siege in winter was impossible; that the Caucasus Tiflis-Kars railway only ran to Sari-Kamish and that it would be impossible to bring up siege guns over the snowy mountain roads. Russian papers of the day describe how the soldiers took apart field and mountain guns and toiled with them up the steep slopes covered with snow in a temperature of 25° below zero. Sometimes the drifts lay six feet deep and the men could only save themselves from being buried by spreading their coats before them every three feet of the way. When they came to storm the outer forts of Erzerum they found that the Turkish soldiers had poured water down the slopes and they had to hack their way up over fields of ice.

The garrison defended itself with fury, even making violent counter-attacks. But nothing could stay the Russian advance and after five days and nights of continuous fighting the Cossacks swept through the city and threw themselves upon the booty which the Turks had left, before pursuing the remnants of the Third Army fleeing upon Baiburt and Erzhingian.

Such was the rapidity of the capture that Grand-Duke Nicholas was not up to the front in time for the final triumph.

THE PORT OF TREBIZOND IS ATTACKED FROM LAND AND SEA.

Yudenitch allowed no time for the Turks to reform; his left wing delivered an attack in the neighborhood of Lake Van, capturing Mush and Akhlet, the great Black Sea port, and the sea-gate for Armenia, Kurdistan and Northern Persia. In order to capture it, Russian naval and land forces worked in conjunction. The Russians were almost supreme on the Black Sea by now, though the sporadic appearances of Turkish submarines and the partially-crippled Breslau, which acted as an escort to transports bringing

WITH THE TURKS IN DESERT LANDS

The woman shown in the picture is Dr. Koch, a plucky German woman who ventured far from the Fatherland and risked unknown perils with the Turks in the desert. Because of Mohammedan traditions and conservatism the Turks were for the most part deprived of the ministrations of women in their hospitals.

while the right pursued the Turks in the difficult Chorok valley. The fruits of the victory at Erzerum were not slight: a Turkish fortress of the first rank together with all its stores of arms, munitions, signaling, telegraph and telephonic material. In addition the enemy lost some 12,000 men and the key to the trade route from the port of Trebizond into Persia by way of Erzerum. The Turkish *communiqués* first delayed, then falsified the news of the disaster, announcing that for military reasons the garrison had withdrawn without suffering loss to a position to the west of the city.

Yudenitch's goal now was Trebizond, reinforcements to Trebizond, still constituted a danger. Thoroughly roused by the fall of Erzerum the Turks strained every nerve to save their port, rushing up two army corps for its defense and reconstructing their whole line. By sea the Russians advanced from Batum, and by land across the steep chain of Lazistan, under General Liakhov. They met stiff resistance at the line of Kara Dere but forced its passage in ten days' fighting aided by their fleet. Then all was easy. The ships sailed on to Platana and effected a landing which threatened the Turks in the rear. After this manœuvre Turkish defense collapsed, and by

April 18, their army was streaming along the Gumush-khane road.

THE TURK STRUGGLES TO REGAIN HIS LOST POSITIONS.

Meanwhile in the south, Bitlis, one of the posterns of the Armenian Taurus opening the route into Mesopotamia, had fallen; Mush was occupied and the whole region around Lake Van quickly cleared up. But the Russian line was now extended on its flanks dangerously beyond its centre, and when, April 29, Kut surrendered, its fall made vain all efforts of Yudenitch's left wing and Baratov's Persian army to reach the British. Yudenitch then pursued a slower advance towards the west, endeavoring to straighten his line and gain the cornlands of Sivas in the plain.

In the meantime, the Turk himself assumed the offensive at various points through May, in an effort to regain his hold upon Erzerum. Some of his attacks were upon Bitlis and Mush in an attempt to get in the rear of the Russians and cut their communications. Yudenitch began his advance July 2, and it rolled as irresistibly forward as the attacks upon Trebizond and Erzerum. Baiburt fell and Gumush-khane, the road to Erzhingian lay open, and the city was entered July 26, three weeks after the campaign had opened. In that time the Russian front had advanced seventy miles and added some two to three thousand square miles of territory to its conquests in Armenia.

SOME OF THE CAPTURED POSITIONS ARE REGAINED.

The Turkish force routed in this advance did not, as in the previous retreats, move westward, but turned south-east on the Lake Van country in an endeavor to cut the Russian communications. Railway communication could supply reinforcements from the Levantine coast much more easily around Lake Van than in Anatolia, and from this quarter the Turkish troops were now a constant threat to Mush and Bitlis.

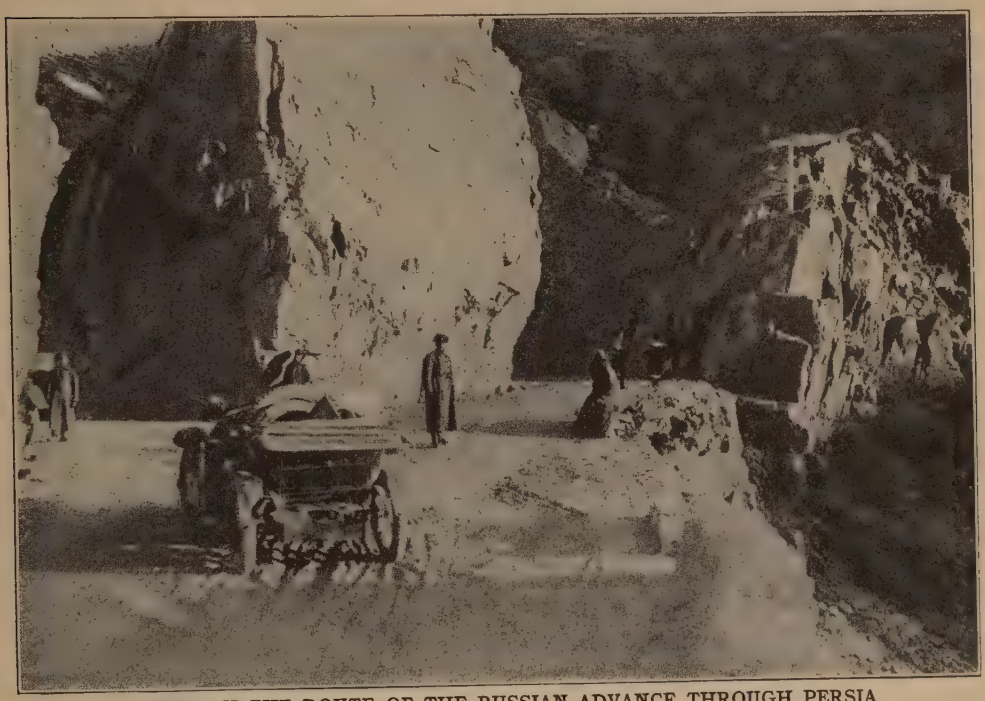
During the last days of July and early August the enemy prepared a powerful counter-stroke to the Russian advance upon Erzhingian. Planned and executed by an able young German officer, Major-General Gresmann, its object was to rupture the Russian centre east of Erzerum by a rapid advance northwards from Mush, recapture the city, hurl back the right wing on the Black Sea and the left on Lake Van. Severe fighting took place and the Turks recaptured Mush and Bitlis. The latter was important for its narrow gorge is the only passage through the difficult country west of Lake Van, and its capture constituted both a threat to Mush and a bar to communication with Bagdad in the event of a British advance upon that city. Reinforcements reached the Russians at the end of the month and they retook Mush in the exhaustion of the Turkish counter-stroke, but Bitlis remained in the enemy's hands throughout the autumn of 1916.

GENERAL BARATOV AND HIS COSSACKS IN PERSIA.

The scope of this chapter forbids more than a brief outline of the fighting in Persia caused by wide-spread German propaganda, set on foot also in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and among the Pathans on the Indian border. Through the activities of Prince Reuss, the German Minister at Teheran, and other agents, anti-Russian and anti-British riots took place throughout the country, and chaotic anarchy became chronic. The government under the youthful Shah and swiftly-changing ministries was helpless. So critical had things become in November, 1915, that a Russian force marched from Kazvin to within a day's march of the capital to protect the Allied legations. After this *coup d'état* the Shah decided to throw the Germans overboard. Northern and Western Persia were cleared as the Russians swept south defeating the irregular bands of tribesmen, Turks and gendarmerie at Kum (December 15), and Hamadan (December 21), finally driving them west through the passes bordering on Mesopotamia back to their own frontier from Kermanshah. Baratov's spirited advance was a demonstration intended to relieve the pressure upon Kut and Yu-

denitch. In January the Turks advanced again and occupied Kermanshah but again Baratov smote them heavily back into the mountain passes.

Meanwhile in the south the British were active. Sir Percy Sykes arrived at Bundar Abbas in March and organized a police force for Southern Persia, to rid the country of German and Turkish bands and rebel gendarmerie. April saw the beginning of the collapse of the revolt in the eastern provinces: the governor of Kerman expelled the Germans from the town, disarmed the gendarmerie and sent them to Shiraz. Then Sirjan was purged and Shiraz and all the gendarmerie placed under arrest and editors of inflammatory leaflets seized.



SCENE ON THE ROUTE OF THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE THROUGH PERSIA

The conformation of Persia is interesting. Most of the country consists of a plateau, with an average height of 4,000 feet above sea-level, surrounded by lofty ranges of mountains. The tableland has a diversified surface; parts are desert, others highlands or lakes of immense size. Transport is difficult even on ancient caravan routes.

THE TURKISH REINFORCEMENTS FORCE BARATOV TO RETIRE.

The surrender of Kut had freed some Turkish divisions, which brought up the Turkish forces opposing Baratov to 23,000. In spite of these reinforcements, however, Baratov with 5,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry continued his march upon Khanikin, twice attacking the Turks and inflicting losses upon them. Then he withdrew to the Persian frontier and engaged the enemy in an eight days' battle in the Taq-i-Garra Pass, before falling back in orderly retreat upon Kerind, Kermanshah and Hamadan. He had effected his purpose and relieved the pressure upon the forces in Armenia and the Tigris. In his retreat he played the same useful rôle, drawing the enemy from the essential theatre of war although he himself suffered some loss of political prestige. Finally he took stand at Sultan Bulagh blocking the Turkish advance on the capital. In the meanwhile a Russian force under Chernobuzov had pushed through from Urumiah and defeated the Turks at Lalgan (August 23), when the whole of the Turkish 11th Division and two battalions of the 10th were captured. The Turks threatened in their rear withdrew, the pressure on Baratov was

relieved, and by September once more the Russians were near Hamadan.

BRITISH OPERATIONS UPON THE TIGRIS AFTER THE FALL OF KUT.

From the fall of Kut until August, operations on the Tigris were of a minor class, and of a defensive nature. Sir Percy Lake was in command and he judged that neither the health of the troops nor their numerical strength admitted of more than regularizing the occupation of the vilayet of Basra and the region of the Lower Euphrates.

In May a little breath of adventure brought a stir into the stagnation of the monotonous campaign. A sotnia of Baratov's Cossacks, 125 strong with 10 pack animals, left Mahidasht, twenty miles south by west of Kermanshah, May 8, with orders to get into touch with Lake at any cost. Riding light, they went south through the Pusht i-Kuh hills, sometimes over passes 8000 feet high, on tracks that were rough and difficult for mules. When they had consumed their three days' rations they lived on the country and kept up their twenty-four miles a day. After halting for a brief interval at the court of the Wali of Pusht i-Kuh, they pushed into the British camp at El-Gharbi, May 15, their guide's neck in a noose for detected treachery. The enterprise was barren of results, but was a demonstration of what could be done in such a country by resource.

GENERAL MAUDE TAKES COMMAND OF THE MESOPOTAMIAN ARMY.

In August the command of the Mesopotamian Army was transferred to Sir Stanley Maude, who had seen service in the Sudan and South Africa, and been severely wounded in the retreat from Mons. On his recovery he had been appointed to command the 13th Division at Gallipoli, and the brilliant service of this force in Mesopotamia had given their leader his command. The hot weather was somewhat abating, and Maude, in a general survey of the situation, estimated that the Turk intended to contain the British on the Tigris, while he expended his force in making Persia into a dependency and perhaps extended his attack on the British further east. He therefore decided to strike at Bagdad, the base of Turkish operations both in Persia and on the Tigris. That this attack should not fail Maude made three and a half months' careful preparation: building up the health and training of the troops, making efficient the long communications both by light railway and by water, getting up reserves, strengthening the Medical Service, equipping each unit properly and tuning up the General Staff. At the end of November the Mesopotamian Army was at the top of its form. The story of the capture of Bagdad will be told elsewhere.

British Nigerian troops in the Cameroons

CHAPTER XXXIX

The Course of the War During 1916

LAVISH EXPENDITURE OF MEN AND MUNITIONS FAILS TO BRING A DECISION

AT the beginning of 1916 the Central Powers were confident of an early and a favorable decision. During 1915 they had had success after success. A minimum of men had held the Western Front while the armies of Russia were being pushed back, or else were conducted to German prison camps. Serbia had been destroyed, the Allied expedition against Gallipoli was obviously a failure, and General Townshend and his men were shut up in Kut-el-Amara, awaiting the relief which never came. A short sharp campaign on all fronts would, so the German High Command believed, bring the contest to a glorious end.

ALLIED HOPES ARE AROUSED DURING THE YEAR.

Before the end of the year, about September 1, the Allied peoples also had their moment of confidence. The German attack upon Verdun had failed, the Austrian attack on Italy had been repulsed, and the Italians had advanced well toward Trieste; Brusilov was still advancing and his offensive seemed destined to succeed; Rumania had just declared war upon Austria-Hungary and had crossed the mountains into Transylvania. On the Somme the great British offensive was pounding the quaking German line. It seemed that the Central Powers must soon yield.

Both German and Allied hopes were disappointed. Verdun did not fall; the German line on the Somme was not broken; the Russian recovery, though brilliant, lacked the final ounce of strength necessary for success; though the Austrians could not drive down into the Italian plain, they were able to prevent the Italians from seizing the key to the Adriatic; Rumania's high hopes of annexing her scattered children were blasted, and the enemy held her capital, her seaport, her granaries, and her oilfields. The great naval battle of Jutland had shown the German sailors to be possessed of greater skill and better guns than had been suspected, but the British fleet, though somewhat battered, continued to hold undisputed command of the seas.

THE SUPPLY OF MUNITIONS AT LAST SUFFICIENT.

The end of the year saw more men in the field than before. Kitchener's New Armies had shown their quality, and the British Parliament had definitely adopted a policy of conscription. Both in France and Great Britain the question of munitions was no longer a nightmare. The supply was ample and continued so until the end of the war. Russia was short toward the end of the year in spite of large shipments from Japan and the United States,

which the government apparently made no real effort to send forward to the fighting line. Russia was, in truth, on the point of collapse though this fact was not realized by her allies.

Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven was the most distinguished student of war in the German Empire. He was Quartermaster General under von Falkenhayn and later Deputy Chief of the General Staff.

The Western Front was the scene of the heaviest fighting yet seen on both the French and the British fronts. During January there were small operations, some of them bloody, but nothing approaching a general engagement. In February, however, came the German attempt to break through at Verdun. This was neither a single battle, nor a siege, but a whole series of operations continuing through many months. It was marked by great bravery and grim determination on the part of the German forces, and by bravery no less remarkable and by unbelievable endurance on the part of the French.

VERDUN A SOURCE OF DANGER TO THE GERMAN LINE.

From the beginning of the war Verdun and its ring of nearly forty forts had projected as a salient into the German lines. Situated on both banks of the Meuse it was feared by the Germans as a possible base from which an attack might be launched upon Metz and upon their communications. The French valued it highly, not only as one of their major defenses, but also as a symbol of French invincibility.

The Allies were hoping to break through during 1916. To forestall them, by paralyzing the French offensive, on February 21 after two days of preliminary bombardment, a perfect hail of steel descended upon a small section of the French defenses. A thousand pieces of artillery were engaged, some of them the great Krupp and Skoda howitzers which had so easily destroyed the Belgian forts. The French lines were pulverized, but the French withdrew, to new positions, always selling the ground they left at a high price. During the first week great German gains were made and the German people were informed that the fortress was on the point of capture; but the French held on, regaining occasionally a bit of the lost ground.

THE LATER ASPECTS OF THE VERDUN BATTLES.

These crushing attacks continued until April 9, about which time they were brought to a standstill. Then followed a period in which the German attacks were intended not so much to take the fortress, as to prevent the French from reinforcing the British armies on the Somme. About the middle of July the French regained the offensive, and for five months the Germans struggled to hold what they had already taken, only to lose in a few days in October, and again in December, what they had gained so painfully in weeks and months. The casualties on both sides were enormous, but the whole campaign was a French victory, for they held fast. General von Falkenhayn, the Chief of the German General Staff, paid the penalty for failure, and was relieved by General von Hindenburg at the end of August.

During 1915 great British armies had been in process of formation. English youth from the most exalted to the

TESTING BOMBS FOR TRENCH MORTARS

The trench mortar is an effective weapon at close quarters. A small charge of powder throws a bomb into the enemy trenches where it explodes either by contact or by a time fuse. The fish tail is attached to steady the projectile in its flight, and prevent it from turning over. This is a French factory.

THE LIGHT RAILWAY CARRYING SUPPLIES TO THE FRONT

Motor and horse transport both had their uses for which nothing else answered; but the light railway was also extensively used, and tracks were laid everywhere behind the lines. No great attempt was made to make the road-way smooth, but nevertheless the engines and cars generally stayed on the track. When the road had served its purpose the rails were taken up and relaid somewhere else. Rails which were the principal means of transport in one region today might be serving the same purpose a dozen or more miles away a fortnight later.

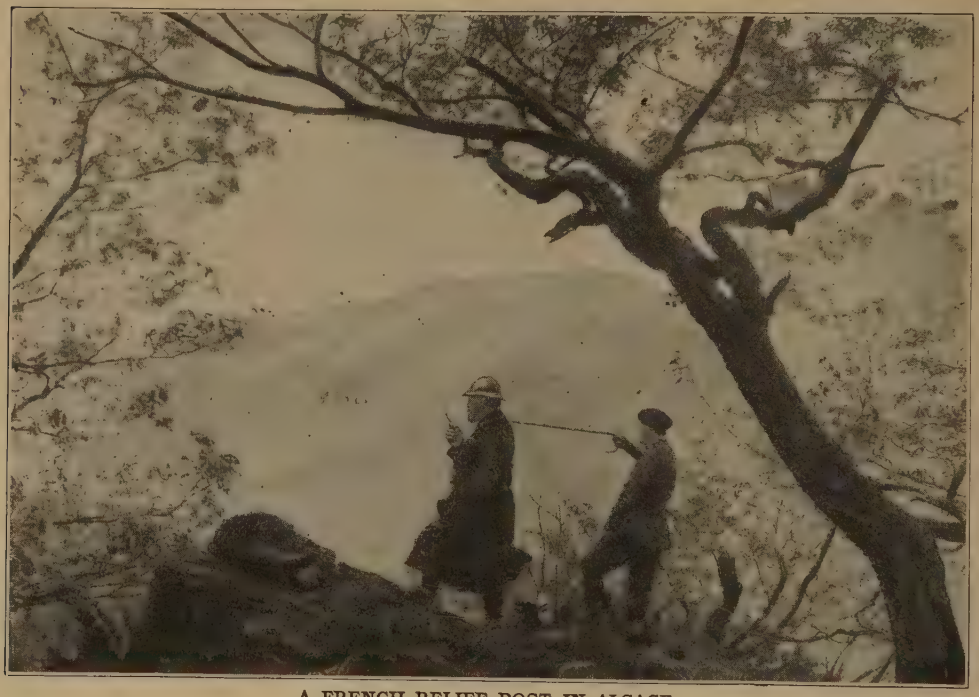
Picture, British Official

humblest was in the ranks learning a new trade. In the spring of 1916, division upon division had been landed in France. There were heavy guns enough, and the gunners could not complain of scarcity of ammunition. Where was this new force to be tested?

THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME.

The point chosen was the western side of the salient which the Germans had pushed past Noyon. Here, on both sides of the Somme River, the British and the French were to push forward. The sanguine had hoped that they might break through and cause a general German retreat. At least they would relieve the pressure on Verdun. Before the end of the five months Verdun was no longer in danger, and the contest had settled into a war of attrition, an attempt to reduce Germany's man-power as she had attempted to bleed France.

The attack was hastened a little on account of the situation at Verdun but not unduly. The battle, or series of battles, began with a grand artillery bombardment on June 24, followed on July 1, by an assault by the British on a front of twenty miles, and half as much by the French. On the British left little or no gain was made, but on the right about seven miles of the German first line trenches were taken. The French had been more successful. The losses were appalling and the hope of an immediate break in the German lines soon died.



A FRENCH RELIEF POST IN ALSACE

GENERAL HAIG DETERMINES TO CONTINUE THE FIGHTING.

General Haig determined to continue the fighting and for two weeks he slowly blasted his way toward the German second line, breaking through it on a narrow front, on July 14. For more than a month more he struggled to widen the breach in the first and second lines and to clear the country between. This was the first open fighting in the West since trench warfare began. The French likewise moved forward and were approaching Combles at the middle of August. Combined British and French attacks followed and during September the Germans

A GERMAN ARTILLERY REGIMENT ON THE MARCH

A German artillery regiment is here shown on its leisurely way to the front early in the war before there was any shortage of horses. Later horses became fewer and less able to work on account of the scarcity of fodder, and the men were compelled to march instead of riding at their ease. Picture, Henry Ruschin

GENERAL VON HEERINGEN AND STAFF AT GREAT HEADQUARTERS

General von Heeringen was a good soldier though he proved unequal to the task laid upon him. Here he is seen with his staff upon the steps of Great Headquarters saluting the troops marching by, and calling for a "Hoch" for the Kaiser and the Fatherland. This picture was issued by authority of the General Staff and was widely circulated in Germany. N. Y. Times Photo Service

were driven from their third line into the low ground beyond. Martinpuich, Courcelette, Delville Wood, Combles and the rest were taken, and Bapaume and Péronne were threatened.

Just when the Allied forces, having broken through the supposedly impregnable German defenses, were ready to press their advantage, Nature intervened. Five weeks of almost continuous rain turned the pitted, tortured ground into almost bottomless quagmire through which progress was impossible. Tanks, first used in the engagements earlier in the autumn, were now useless, artillery could not be advanced, and supplies were brought forward with great difficulty. The great offensive was smothered in the mud, an ignominious end to perhaps the greatest battle History records.

It is believed that the Germans lost 500,000 men, the British at least as many, and the French half as many, a terrible price to pay for a few square miles of shell-torn ground. The advantage remained, however, with the Allies, and incidentally these gains forced the German retreat in 1917.

RUSSIA'S GREAT OFFENSIVE BEFORE REVOLUTION AND DISSOLUTION.

The Central Powers boasted that the Russian disasters of 1915 including the fall of Warsaw, had destroyed Russian military effectiveness. They were mistaken, for before the end of that year, the Austrians were being driven headlong in Bukovina. In the beginning of 1916, the Russians showed wonderful recuperative power. Alexiev, the real commander under Tsar Nicholas, had brought order out of military chaos and from the fragments of armies had welded a powerful force. Striking early in June on a long line from the Pripet Marshes to the Rumanian border he destroyed two Austrian armies and weakened the force the Central Powers might have brought against the Italian and the Western Fronts; but his blows could not be driven home and the Russian advance gradually slowed down and then stopped, never to revive in force.

The Russian generals had shown ability, and the Russian soldier fought magnificently, but treason had begun to show itself in the government and even in the court itself. The Premier, Stürmer, was openly in favor of a peace with the Central Powers, and the Tsaritsa, herself, influenced by the monk Rasputin, seconded his efforts. With her and others of the autocracy the motive was not, perhaps, so much pro-Germanism as a realization that, with the downfall of the German Empire, autocracy in the adjoining states was likely to perish also. Whatever may have been the motives the result was the same. The army was purposely hampered and the offensive of 1916 was the last expiring flare of Russian resolution.

RUMANIA COMES INTO THE WAR AND IS OVERWHELMED.

The decision of Rumania to join the Entente was hailed with delight, and the invasion of Hungary on August 27 was expected to be of material assistance. The invasion failed, and German, Austrian, and Bulgarian troops swarmed into Rumania, and before the end of the year, two-thirds of the country was in enemy hands. Some supplies, chiefly oil and wheat, which the Rumanians were unable to destroy, went to aid the Central Powers, which needed them sorely. We now know that the country was pushed into the war by Stürmer, and then abandoned, with the hope that by the sacrifice calamity might be averted from Russia. Four small nations, in turn, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, had been sacrificed to the God of War, and the end seemed little nearer.

During the year the British fleet tightened the blockade of Germany. All the resources of German science and invention were mobilized to provide substitutes for the many articles no longer procurable, but for food, particularly fats, no substitute could be found, and the pinch of hunger, or rather malnutrition, began to be felt.

THE BRITISH FLEET AND THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND.

The British battle fleet kept guard in the North Sea, though smaller units were everywhere, combating sub-

marines, sweeping for mines, convoying transports, protecting merchant vessels. The Italian and the French fleets were occupied in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, but no important engagement occurred during the year. A Russian fleet in the Gulf of Riga helped to repulse a German assault upon that port, and another in the Black Sea aided in the capture of Trebizond.

WOUNDED CANADIAN SOLDIER CARRIED BY GERMAN PRISONERS

German prisoners are here being used to carry to the rear a stretcher improvised from a blanket and a pole in which is a wounded Canadian soldier. The Germans have been furnished with tobacco and are apparently glad to be where they are, and their patient is bearing up under misfortune as well as could be expected.

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On the afternoon of May 31, Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty, with a fleet of cruisers, supported by a squadron of four battleships, fell in with a squadron of German cruisers under Vice-Admiral Hipper. A running fight ensued during which the Indefatigable and the Queen Mary were sunk, as the German gunnery was excellent. The fight carried Beatty into the neighborhood of the main German fleet, under Vice-Admiral Scheer, whereupon Beatty naturally turned northward hoping to lure the German fleet toward the main British fleet under Admiral Jellicoe. The Germans followed fast, but when the British Grand Fleet loomed up in the mist, attempted to flee in turn. In the early hours of the night the greatest battle in marine history occurred. The night was dark, the seas swarming with German submarines and other torpedo craft, and Admiral Jellicoe after he had succeeded in getting between the German fleets and their base did not press his advantage home. The morning light showed that the German fleet had escaped during the night.

THE COURSE AND THE RESULTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT.

This then was the course of the engagement. Beatty with his cruisers while engaged in a reconnaissance fell in with an inferior force of German cruisers under Hipper similarly engaged. Hipper fled fighting, hoping to lure Beatty within reach of the main German fleet. He was successful, whereupon Beatty turned toward the

main British fleet with the same hope. When the main German fleet met the main British fleet, it in turn sought to escape and was successful.

The British Admiralty frankly acknowledged its losses, three battle cruisers, three armored cruisers, eight destroyers, 114,000 tons in all, and 5,613 officers and men. The German losses as first announced were much smaller. Later additional losses were grudgingly acknowledged, but the final total announced, was only 63,000 tons and 3,966 officers and men. The British claim that the German losses were much larger, but, be that as it may, the German fleet did not again risk an engagement during the war and the British fleet remained in command of the seas.

THE DETERMINATION TO RENEW RUTHLESS SUBMARINE WARFARE.

Submarine warfare was marked by vacillation upon the part of the Germans. They were anxious to use the weapon to the fullest extent, but they hesitated to defy the United States. On September 1, 1915, the United States government had been assured that no more passenger ships would be torpedoed without warning, and for several months the promise was kept, with some exceptions, but soon the discussion over armed merchantmen arose. An unsuccessful attempt was made in the Congress of the United States to pass a resolution warning American citizens not to travel on armed ships. In spite of the supposed restrictions on the freedom of action of the submarine commanders, about a thousand British ships were sunk during 1916.

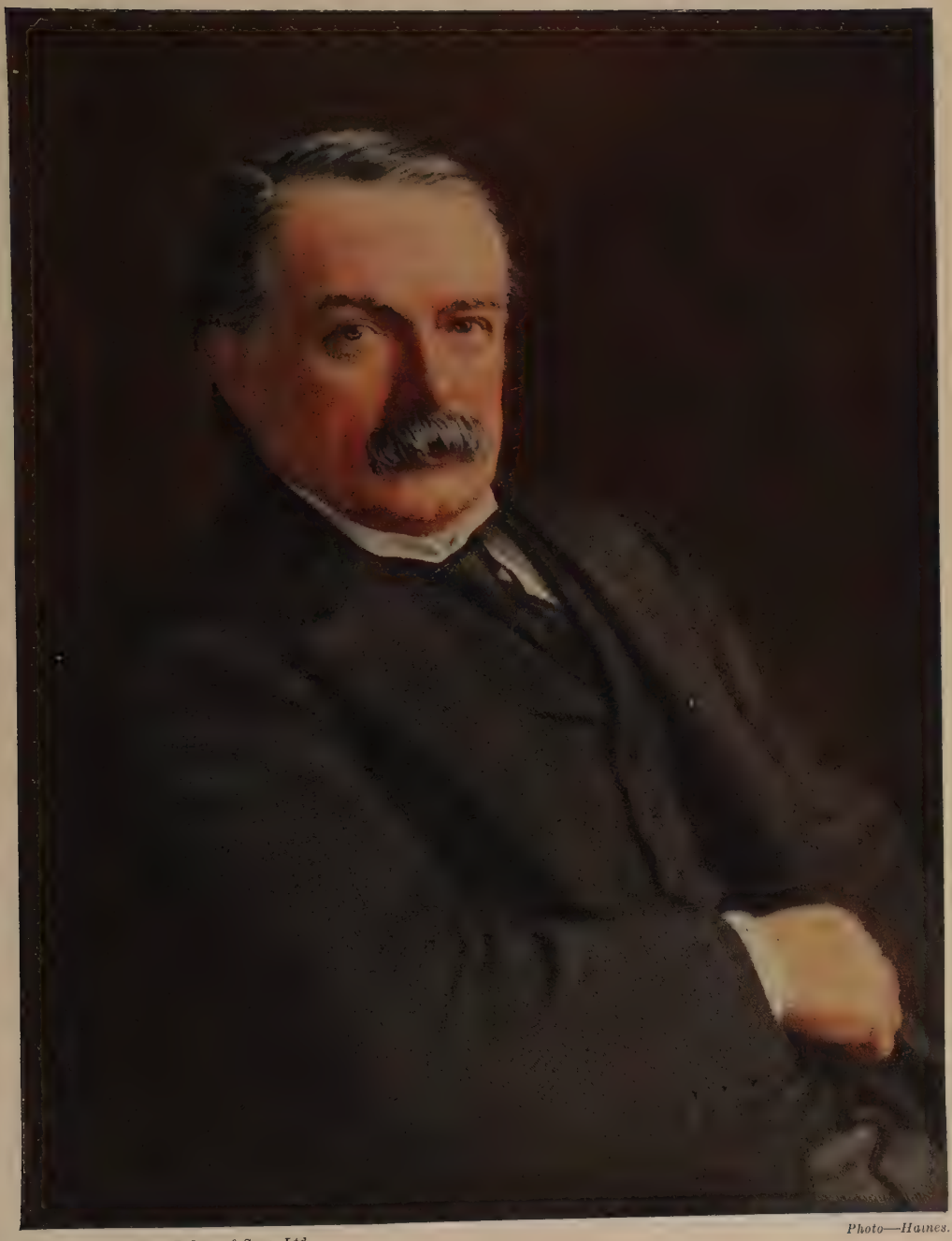
THE SITUATION OF THE NEUTRAL POWERS EVER MORE DIFFICULT.

The lot of the neutral powers grew steadily more difficult. German submarines sank their ships while the Allied blockade interfered with their commerce and even with their food supply. Portugal, long closely associated with Great Britain, gave up the vain effort to preserve neutrality, March 10, 1916, and sent a contingent to France. Though some individuals in Holland made fortunes by selling food stuffs to both belligerents, the cost of maintaining the army and the hindrances to commerce more than counterbalanced this advantage. The other neutrals were equally unhappy.

The United States was evidently moving toward war. The diplomatic correspondence with the German authorities was increasingly unsatisfactory. German sympathizers continued to destroy lives and property and to foment discord among the various elements of the population. The deep-rooted love for peace in the United States was giving way to the realization that war was inevitable. Though some votes were cast for the re-election of President Wilson on the ground that "he kept us out of the war," the Germans seem to have had no illusions on that score. Meanwhile the President held his majority in Congress well in hand and prevented the passage of a resolution warning Americans not to travel on armed merchant vessels. It was evident that the participation of the United States was a matter of months at most.

FAILURE TO END THE WAR BY MILITARY FORCES EVIDENT.

The year 1916 was the year of the soldier. On every front, on both sides, the commanders had had liberty to force a decision if it could be done by lavish expenditure of men and materials of war. They had spent both freely, but no decision had been reached and none seemed in sight, although Russia was already in the early throes of revolution. Many men on both sides, as well as in the neutral states, were beginning to question whether a decision could be reached by military force; and during the next year we are to see a series of abortive attempts to secure peace by negotiation.



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Photo—Haines.

THE RIGHT HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

Minister for Munitions, 1915-16. Prime Minister from December, 1916

The Houses of Parliament in London

CHAPTER XL

The British People at War

GREAT BRITAIN STRIVES WITH UNFALTERING DETERMINATION TO WIN THE WAR

THE Great War was primarily a struggle of nations, rather than of armies. It was fought, not only on the battle-front, but also, and perhaps more decisively, on the home front. Consequently, the true story of the war is to be found as much in the sphere of national war efforts as in the sphere of military operations.

In waging war, the British people have almost always started badly. The Seven Years War, the Napoleonic War, the Crimean War, and the Boer War were all long-drawn-out struggles, marred in the beginning, so far as Great Britain was concerned, by bungling and mismanagement, and crowned with success only when the nation was thoroughly aroused, and had learned its lesson in the school of experience. "Muddling through," in fact, has become the traditional *modus operandi* of the British people at war.

BRITISH ARMS OFTEN UNSUCCESSFUL AT FIRST.

The British have never "gone in" for short, sharp military successes, such as that which the French won over the Prussians in 1806, or as that which the Prussians won over the French in 1870. They have preferred usually to drag out the drama through all its five acts, leaving the dénouement to the very last; and there is no doubt that, during the most depressing days of 1914 and 1915, many an Englishman found much solace and comfort in the fact that, whereas British arms had never prospered at first in war, they had almost invariably prospered in the end.

For the comparative ill-success of the British in waging war at the outset, there are various reasons. One of these lies perhaps in the national temperament. The British are a practical, rather than a theoretical, people. They do not as a rule take long views, but prefer rather to feel their way, to take each step only as they become convinced of the necessity for it. Consequently, when war has come, it has usually found them only half-prepared; and the task of readjusting themselves to the new conditions imposed by the outbreak of war has often been a long and painful process.

DEMOCRACY NOT ALWAYS EFFICIENT IN WAR.

Another reason, no doubt, is to be found in the British type of government. Democracy is notoriously less efficient, up to a certain point, in waging war than autocracy; and the British type of democracy, with its dependence on the principle of cabinet government, is peculiarly ill-adapted to the conduct of war. A ship of state which goes into action under the direction of a navigating board

of twenty-three members, any or all of whom are liable to be thrown overboard at a moment's notice, does not enter battle under the most favorable auspices.

A WAVE OF PACIFISM SWEEPS OVER GREAT BRITAIN.

In 1914, moreover, there were special reasons why Great Britain was ill-prepared to go to war. During the opening years of the twentieth century there had swept over the British Isles a wave of pacifist feeling. Many people were persuaded by the arguments of writers like Mr. Norman Angell, the author of The Great Illusion, who taught that war under modern conditions was so ruinous that it was unthinkable; and many were misled by the apparent solidarity of the Labor *Internationale* into thinking that a general European war was actually impossible.

A group of the Unionist party, led by Lord Roberts and Lord Charles Beresford, had, it is true, preached the danger of the "German menace", and had urged the country to gird itself for the coming struggle; but their warnings had fallen on deaf ears. It so happened that during the years preceding the Great War there was in power in England a Liberal government which, pacific and anti-militarist in tendency, was committed to a policy of *rapprochement* with Germany.

In 1912 Lord Haldane, a member of the British cabinet who had described Germany as his "spiritual home", went to Berlin carrying an olive branch, in the hope apparently of conciliating the "blond beast", and though it is now clear that his mission was at best only partially successful, the British government was so encouraged by the friendly reception which Lord Haldane was given in some quarters in Berlin that it continued its attempt to bring about better relations between the two countries. "The anticipation that good would result from a free exchange of views," said Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, in the House of Commons on February 14, 1912, "has been realized. It has dispelled the suspicion that either government contemplates aggressive designs against the other." Dwelling as they did in this fool's paradise, it is small wonder if the Asquith government and its anti-militarist supporters were unready when the world war broke out.

FEW FORESAW THE EXTENT OF BRITISH PARTICIPATION.

Even among the advocates of preparedness there were few who foresaw the extent to which Great Britain would be compelled to go in participating in a continental struggle. The doctrine enunciated in the eighteenth century by the elder Pitt when he said, "The fleet is our standing army," still held sway in England, and it was expected that Great Britain's contribution to a general European war would be primarily naval. So far as war on land was concerned, it was not anticipated that Great Britain would have to take part in it except on the theory of limited liability. Plans for the dispatch of an expeditionary force to the continent in the event of war had indeed been agreed upon, but this force was not apparently expected to exceed a few divisions, and the machinery for the sudden creation of a larger force simply did not exist.

The British people had steadfastly set their faces against the principle of compulsory military service; the Territorial forces were under obligation to serve only in home defense; and the only troops immediately available for overseas service were the units of the comparatively small regular army, many of which were required for garrison duty elsewhere. Even had the machinery existed for calling up a large army, no preparations of an adequate nature had been made for officering, equipping, or provisioning such a force. A *levée en masse* in England in 1914 would have produced an army like the rabble Falstaff led to Coventry.

THE LACK OF AN EFFICIENT GENERAL STAFF.

In yet one other respect Great Britain was ill-organized for waging war. She had no machinery, such as was afforded in Germany by the Great German General Staff, whereby policy

might be co-ordinated with military and naval strategy. She had no central control for waging war. The modern General Staff system contemplates the co-ordination by one person, the Chief of the General Staff, of advice tendered by a host of subordinate experts, covering every possible phase of the situation; but under the British system in 1914, there was no real head of the General Staff, save the unwieldy civilian cabinet, and the real direction of the war rested in the hands of a number of departments, the War Office, the Admiralty, the Foreign Office, and even the India Office; and if all these departments worked in harmony it was more by good luck than by good management. Too often, especially during the earliest stages of the war, decisions were taken by the British government on the strength of half-baked and half-digested advice, owing to the absence of any organization for the proper consideration of plans by experts from all points of view.

SIR SAM HUGHES AND LORD ROTHERMERE

General Sir Sam Hughes is photographed with Brigadier-General Seely and Lord Rothermere. General John Seely was appointed to command a brigade of Canadian Cavalry in February 1915. At the end of 1917 the Air Board of Great Britain was expanded into an Air Ministry and Lord Rothermere became special Air Minister.

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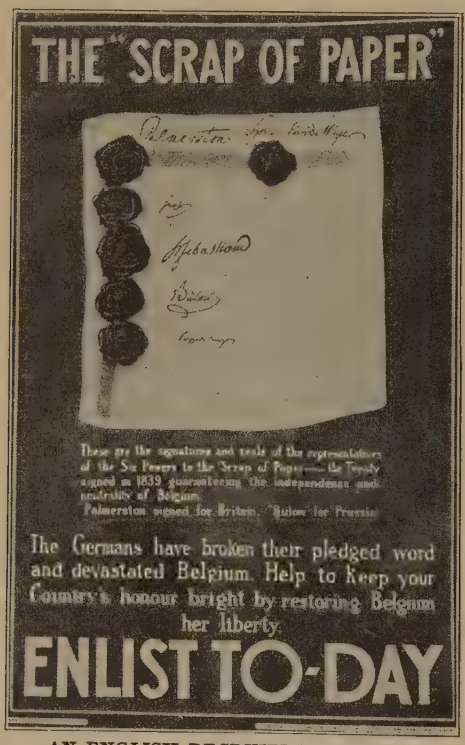
UNCERTAINTY AS TO A DECLARATION OF WAR.

Up to the last minute it seemed doubtful whether Great Britain would throw herself into the war or not. War broke out between the continental powers on July 31; but as late as August 3, when the British parliament was called together, the British government had not yet decided to throw in its lot with France. It had even steadfastly declined to enter into any definite engagement with France. Only when the German forces had actually violated the neutrality of Belgium, of which Great Britain was one of the guarantors, did the British cabinet take the plunge and declare war on Germany; and even then there was an element in the Liberal and Labor parties which opposed an entry into the war. Lord Morley and Mr. John Burns resigned from the cabinet; and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and his friends openly deplored the government's action.

The overwhelming majority of the people, however, stood solidly behind the cabinet. If it had been merely a question of Serbia's sovereign rights, if it had been even a question of the invasion by Germany of the eastern frontier of France, it is doubtful if British public opinion would have been in favor of participation in the war;


THE "SCRAP OF PAPER"
The Germans have broken their pledged word and devastated Belgium. Help to Keep your Country's honour bright by restoring Belgium her liberty.
ENLIST TO-DAY

AN ENGLISH RECRUITING POSTER

This facsimile of the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium was used on a recruiting poster in England, and was quite effective.

but when Germany, with a cynical disregard of her plighted word, invaded Belgium, the soul of the British nation was immediately roused to action. Not only was the occupation of Belgium by an unfriendly power likely to prove, in the language of Napoleon, "a pistol aimed at the heart of England," but it became a point of honor with Great Britain to make good her guarantee of the neutrality of Belgian soil.

A PARTY TRUCE IS IMMEDIATELY DECLARED.

The way in which the British people rose to the situation had in it something magnificent. A political truce was promptly declared between the two great historic parties; and even the Irish Nationalists and the Ulstermen, who had been a few weeks before on the brink of civil war, buried the hatchet and vied with each other in their loyalty to the common cause. It was symptomatic of the truce to party feeling that Lord Kitchener, the Empire's foremost soldier, who was actually on the way to Egypt, was recalled, and made Secretary of State for War—a position that had been temporarily occupied by the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith.

A SURVEY OF THE DOMESTIC SITUATION IN 1914.

During 1914 there appeared no rifts within the lute. It had been feared that on the outbreak of war there would be a serious collapse of credit and a financial panic; but the measures taken by Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in conjunction with the leading British bankers, successfully averted the danger of disaster and Great Britain embarked on the war in an astonishingly good financial position. The temper of the nation remained firm and resolute. Lord Kitchener, far-sighted enough to discern that the war would be a long one—he was credited with having prophesied for it a duration of three years—, immediately scouted the theory of Great Britain's limited liability, and laid plans for a whole-hearted participation in the struggle. Not only did he accept the offers of the Territorial units to serve abroad, but he issued a call for a new army of a million men. His recruiting appeal was splendidly answered. Especially during the dark days of the retreat from Mons and the anxious weeks of the First Battle of Ypres, the volunteers poured into the recruiting booths faster than the recruiting organization could deal with them.

Nothing perhaps was more significant of the temper of the people than the unreserved way in which they placed their trust in the government. During the autumn of 1914 hardly a breath of criticism was heard.

BRITISH VOLUNTEERS WHO HAVE JUST SIGNED UP

Voluntary enlistment in Britain during the early weeks of the war was so large that equipment in uniforms and weapons fell far short of the demand. As time went on, however, better system prevailed. The men shown in the picture standing before the barracks have passed their medical examination and been accepted for service.

THE SAME MEN TEN MINUTES LATER

These are the same men ten minutes later (a record) in uniform, furnished with their kit and regimental number, and ready to entrain. From the barracks where they stayed only a few minutes, they were sent to one of the instruction camps dotted all over England. After training they were sent to some part of the British front in France. Notice the extra pair of boots standing before every man's kit-bag.

Parliament virtually abdicated its powers in favor of the cabinet. It began by authorizing the expenditure by the government of £100,000,000, to be spent for any war purpose without specification or estimate; and this vote was followed by other and larger votes. It passed a Defense of the Realm Act, the first of a series of acts which conferred on the executive government the widest powers of legislation by Order-in-Council, and which even authorized, for the first time in more than two centuries, the sentencing to death of a civilian without trial by jury. "The Houses may be said to have agreed to a sort of *Ultimatum senatus consultum; videant consules.*"

SOMEWHAT LATER THE PARTY TRUCE IS BROKEN.

Early in 1915, however, the harmony that had prevailed began to break down. The Asquith government still received general support, and there was at first no open attempt to force its retirement. But evidence of uneasiness and dissatisfaction began to appear both inside and outside of parliament. The continuance of Lord Haldane in the cabinet came in for criticism from those who had disapproved of his pre-war policy and who suspected him, though without reason, of being pro-German. The indiscretions of Mr. Winston Churchill at the Admiralty, especially his ill-starred attempt to relieve Antwerp (which prolonging the resistance of the city, endangered the Belgian army), offered another target of attack.

The general policy of the government, moreover, had been, despite the vast powers placed in its hands, unstable and vacillating. In the matter of liquor control, it embarked on an ill-considered venture which ended in an inglorious surrender to the "trade". In its treatment of alien enemies it was forced to reverse, because of popular pressure, the policy of lenience which it had first adopted. And in the all-important matter of munitions, it confused and irritated the country by ministerial announcements displaying alternate complacency and panic.

LORD KITCHENER AND THE QUESTION OF MUNITIONS.

The question of munitions, indeed, more perhaps than any other, was the rock on which the government came to grief. Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War, who had charge of the supply of munitions for the army, had devoted his energies mainly to the problem of recruiting and had devoted apparently less attention to the matter of supplies. The probability is that he attempted to supervise too much himself, and was not able to give to all aspects of his task the attention they required. When it became clear that, in spite of ministerial assurances to the contrary, the British army in France was being hampered and hindered by a serious shortage of artillery shells, and that among the shells sent forward there was too high a proportion of shrapnel and too small a proportion of high explosive, the country naturally became aroused.

Lord Northcliffe, the proprietor of *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*, opened in his papers an attack on the Asquith government in general and Lord Kitchener in particular. On May 14, *The Times* printed a dispatch from its correspondent at British General Headquarters in France which revealed the existence of a disagreement between Lord Kitchener and Sir John French, the British commander-in-chief in the field, over the question of munitions. The following day, Lord Fisher, the father of the modern British navy, resigned from the post of First Sea Lord at the Admiralty, as the result of differences with his official chief, Mr. Churchill. The effect of these combined events was seriously to shake the stability of the administration; and when, in the third week in May, the Unionist leaders in parliament privately served notice on Mr. Asquith that they could no longer refrain from criticism unless big changes were made, Mr. Asquith was forced to accept, as a solution for his difficulties, the idea of a national or coalition government, in which all parties should be represented.

A COALITION CABINET IS FORMED IN MAY, 1915.

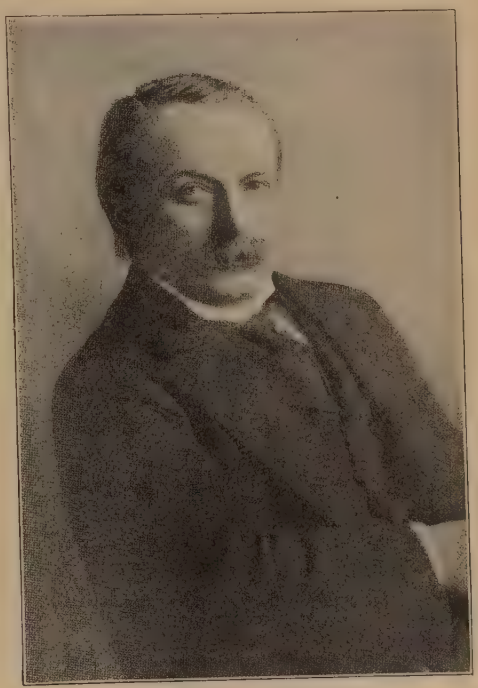
On May 25, consequently, a radical reorganization of the cabinet was effected, with the inclusion in it of eight Unionists and one Labor member. Mr. Asquith remained Prime Minister; but Lord Haldane was dropped, and Mr. Churchill was relegated to the sinecure post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, while his place at the Admiralty was taken by Mr. A. J. Balfour. Lord Kitchener remained at the War Office, but he was relieved from the oversight of munitions by the creation of a new Ministry of Munitions, which was placed in charge of Mr. Lloyd George.

Mr. Lloyd George had been before the war the *bête noire* of the more conservative element in the country; but his skillful solution of the financial difficulties at the beginning of the war, and his tactful handling of some labor disputes which had broken out in the winter of 1914-1915, had met with general approval; it was significant of his altered position in the public eye that he should have been entrusted with the task which, more perhaps than any other, was the object of public concern.

THE RECORD OF THE COALITION CABINET.

The Coalition Cabinet promptly gave evidence of a more energetic policy. Under Mr. Lloyd George the production of munitions was speeded up so successfully, and on so stupendous a scale, that never again was the shortage of supplies a cause for serious anxiety with the British people. In February, 1916, a new Ministry of Blockade was created, with the object of tightening the cordon drawn around the Central Empires; and in half a dozen other ways, the new ministry showed itself more effective than the old.

But its efficiency still left something to be desired. The record of the Coalition Cabinet, which remained in power for a year and a half, has been well described by an English political commentator on the war, who wrote; "The Coalition Government proved in almost every sphere of war direction and war administration that it was stronger than its predecessor, but not strong enough, that it acted more swiftly, but yet acted too late, that its measures were better adapted to the needs of the time than the measures of the first year of the war, but yet were almost invariably half measures."



THE CHIEF COMMONER

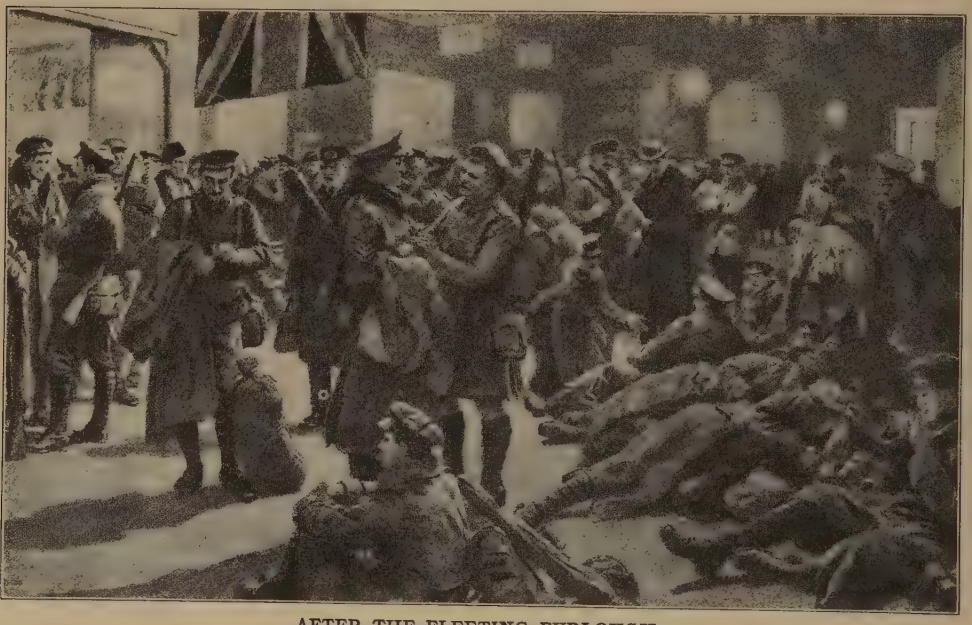
David Lloyd George during the war was in turn Chancellor of the Exchequer, Minister of Munitions and Prime Minister.

MR. ASQUITH LOSES THE CONFIDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.

Very early criticism of the coalition government began to make itself felt. It was complained that it was merely an alliance of front-bench politicians, rather than a real national government. In particular, many people were distrustful of what was called "the Old Gang", namely the Asquithian Liberals who still dominated the cabinet. Mr. Asquith himself, was accused of being deficient in leadership, and a phrase which he had used, "Wait and see," was held up as typifying his war policy. The obvious failure of the Dardanelles expedition, the

comparative ill-success of British diplomacy in the Balkans, the apparent stalemate on the Western Front, all contributed to discredit Mr. Asquith's direction of the war.

There were, moreover, domestic questions which embarrassed the government. One of these was the question of recruiting. By the summer of 1915, the flow of recruits had begun somewhat to ebb. There were many, and among them some of the cabinet ministers, who believed that the only satisfactory solution of the recruiting problem was to be found in conscription, or compulsory military service. Others, and these included at least a majority of the cabinet, hesitated to admit the necessity for conscription until it had been shown that the voluntary system had definitely failed.



AFTER THE FLEETING FURLOUGH

This picture shows British veterans awaiting the Flanders trench special at Victoria. Many of the privates who had never left England before or even been to London, came to take the land and sea journey with its at least three changes very phlegmatically. All railroad and boat service was of course under government control.

SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES OVER RECRUITING.

The internal conflict in the cabinet over this question produced naturally indecisive and compromise measures. In July, 1915, a national registration was held. In October, 1915, a final recruiting appeal was made by Lord Derby, the Director of Recruiting; and this appeal was moderately successful, but during its course promises were made which rendered the adoption of conscription in the case of unmarried men, obligatory. This led to the introduction of the first compulsory service measure in January, 1916, and to a further measure in April; but these bills were so mild, despite the fact that serious opposition developed to them in the cabinet, that dissatisfaction rose to a great height and a more sweeping measure had to be brought in, early in May, 1916.

This Act definitely placed the question of British man-power on a compulsory service basis, and it went far toward solving the problem of reinforcements for the front. But its passage brought little prestige to the government. On the one hand, it earned for the government the opposition of the anti-conscriptionist element in the Liberal and Labor parties and it was a curious fact that there grew up a more active opposition in Parliament to the Coalition ministry than to the purely Liberal ministry

which had preceded it. On the other hand, the measure earned for the government little commendation from the conscriptionists, who attributed the passage of the measure, not to leadership on the part of the government, but to subservience on their part to public opinion. Many of them, indeed, looked on the measure as a victory over the government, which they had forced to conform to their views. The truth was, of course, that the Coalition, containing as it did many shades of political opinion, had to proceed in all contentious matters by way of compromise and concession; and this fact alone was sufficient to account for the appearance of vacillation and indecision in the policy it followed.

BUSY SCENE IN A MUNITION WORKSHOP

Women of the Allied and enemy countries had the privilege of making munitions before their sisters in Great Britain, who only had their desire granted in the summer of 1915. While government schemes were under consideration a volunteer movement was set on foot at the Vickers factories at Erith. The movement once started gained very rapidly.

SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES OVER LABOR.

Another question which caused the government much worry was the Labor difficulty. Early in 1915 unrest began to appear among certain elements of the working-class. Strikes kept breaking out, especially among the Welsh miners and the shipping and munition workers of the Clyde; and even where strikes did not break out, production was disappointing. It proved difficult to persuade the workingman to give up his trade union regulations with regard to such matters as hours, wages, and the competition of unskilled and female labor. "The life of Britain," said Mr. Lloyd George at the end of February, 1915, "is being imperiled for the matter of a farthing an hour." Another cause of the trouble was heavy drinking among some of the workers; and it was with the object of setting an example that on March 30, the King banished alcoholic liquor from the royal household.

The trouble may have been due also in part, to political causes. The extreme wing of the Labor party in Great Britain, represented by the Independent Labor party and the Union of Democratic Control, had become openly anti-war, and it was obvious that the influence of this element, combined perhaps with the machinations of German agents, had something to do

with the Labor unrest. But whatever the source of the trouble, there was no doubt that the attitude of an element in the working classes was a cause of much embarrassment to the government; and there were many people, otherwise friendly to Labor, who felt that the government handled the situation too timidly. It seemed an anomaly that a deserter at the battle-front should have to suffer the extreme penalty when deserters on the home-front got off scot-free.

THE GRAVE OF MAJOR REDMOND IN A CONVENT GARDEN

Major William Redmond, M.P., brother of Mr. John Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader, was mortally wounded April 26, 1917, during the successful attack on Messines Ridge. His body was taken to the little village of Loecre behind the lines and there buried in the private garden of the convent. Photograph British Official

THE OUTBREAK OF THE IRISH REBELLION.

The most disastrous failure of the Coalition Government in domestic affairs was its handling of the Irish question. Ireland has always been a thorn in the side of England at times of crisis. It was so at the time of the Puritan Revolution, at the time of the Revolution of 1688 and during the Napoleonic Wars. But at no time was it more so than during the Great War of 1914-1918. In the spring of 1914, just before the outbreak of the war, as the result of the introduction into parliament by the Asquith government of a bill granting Home Rule for Ireland, Ireland had been on the verge of civil war. The Protestant people of the North of Ireland, under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, had organized an army of "Ulster Volunteers", had imported arms from Germany, and had announced their determination to resist by force of arms the application of Home Rule to Ireland; and the Roman Catholic South of Ireland had replied with the formation of a volunteer army of its own.

The declaration of war had had a sobering effect on both parties. The question of Home Rule for Ireland, together with other contentious measures, was shelved for the time being; and both the Ulstermen, under Sir Edward Carson, and the Irish Nationalists, under Mr. John Redmond, sank their differences, and united to support the government in its war policy against Germany. Mr. Redmond actually

DUBLIN POST OFFICE

The portico of the gutted Post Office—a scene of devastation, dust and débris. Photograph taken from the lofty Nelson Pillar.

went on the stump and delivered recruiting speeches; and if the people of Ireland had followed his lead full-heartedly, it is possible that they might have converted, not only the people of Great Britain, but even the people of Ulster, to Home Rule.

It is significant that the way in which the female suffrage organizations of Great Britain suspended their agitation, and threw themselves heart and soul into the war, resulted in the concession of their demands in 1918; and it is reasonable to suppose that if the Irish had followed their example, they, too, would have established an irresistible claim to consideration. But unfortunately the hatred of England was so deep-rooted in Irish breasts, the distrust of England was so ineradicable in Irish minds, that the people of Ireland were not able to rise to the height of their opportunities.

THE SINN FEIN ORGANIZATION GROWS STRONGER.

Early in 1915 it became clear that Mr. Redmond had failed to carry with him a large body of Irish opinion. There had been founded in Ireland about ten years before the outbreak of the war, an Irish republican organization named Sinn Fein, which had as its ideal the complete independence of Ireland, and which was virtually a revival of the Fenian organization of the middle of the nineteenth century. The leaders of this movement were chiefly dreamers, doctrinaires, and fanatics. They now showed themselves willing to sacrifice on the altar of Irish nationalism all those ideals for which Great Britain and her allies were fighting. They discouraged recruiting; they formed a secret revolutionary organization; they organized an army of Irish Volunteers, not to fight against the Germans, but to embarrass the British; and they did not hesitate, as subsequent events showed, to ally themselves with the Germans, to accept German aid, and to champion the German cause. Anti-recruiting meetings were held; posters discouraging recruiting were openly displayed;

IMPERIAL HOTEL, DUBLIN

Ruin of the Imperial Hotel, Dublin, as seen from the top of the Nelson Pillar. Not a room in the building remained intact.

seditious literature was published broadcast, and the police in the execution of their right of search were met by armed resistance.

The Irish Secretary in the Coalition Government was Mr. Augustine Birrell, a genial man of letters, a humanitarian Liberal, a believer in the best side of human nature. An enemy of the policy of repression, he showed himself loth to use drastic measures in dealing with the Sinn Fein agitation. After the rebellion which broke out, he admitted to having held "an untrue estimate of the Sinn Fein movement, not of its character, or of the probable numbers of persons engaged in it, nor of the localities where it was most to be found, nor of its frequent disloyalties; but of the possibility of disturbances, of the mode of fighting which has been pursued, and of the desperate folly displayed by the leaders and their dupes." But whatever the motives which actuated the British government, the result of their policy was disastrous. On April 24, 1916, the Sinn Feiners issued a proclamation "from the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic to the People of Ireland", which called on the Irish people to rise; and the same day armed rebellion broke out in Dublin and in other places.

Sir Roger Casement Lands in Ireland.

For some time German arms, ammunition, and money had been finding their way into Ireland. Only four days before the rebellion, for example, a German auxiliary, in the guise of a neutral merchant ship, acting in conjunction with a German submarine, had attempted to land arms and ammunition on the Irish coast; and Sir Roger Casement, a former British official who had been in Germany, actually succeeded in landing from the submarine—only to be captured a few days later, and to suffer ultimately the penalty of high treason. Armed with German rifles and cartridges, and garbed in a sort of uniform, the Sinn Feiners attempted on April 24 a *coup d'état* in Dublin. They occupied St. Stephen's Green, seized the Post Office, took possession of the ammunition magazine in Phoenix Park, captured the Four Courts and other important buildings, barricaded the streets in the neighborhood of Dublin Castle, cut the telegraph and telephone wires, and attacked the 3rd Royal Irish Regiment when the latter attempted to relieve the Castle. In Charles Street a British cavalry regiment was surrounded and besieged for over three days, until it was relieved.

The outbreak seems to have taken the authorities by surprise. There does not seem to have been in the vicinity of Dublin a sufficient number of troops to cope with the rebellion. For several days the rebels were in virtual control of Dublin, and all the authorities could do was to hold the Castle and the Custom House. But gradually troops began to pour in; a cordon was drawn around the district in which the rebels were concentrated; field guns were brought up to bombard the vantage-points which the rebels had seized; and on April 29 the rebels surrendered unconditionally.

The Long Roll of Casualties During the Uprising.

In the street-fighting which occurred during the rebellion, there were many casualties and some "unfortunate incidents" on both sides. The military casualties were 521, of whom 124 were killed; and the civilian casualties, so far as known, were 794, of whom 180 were killed. Many buildings were destroyed, and millions of pounds worth of damage was done. Mr. John Healy, the editor of the *Irish Times*, who was an eye-witness of the rebellion, declared that "there must be no mistake about the uprising. It was brutal, bloody, savage business. It was marked by many cases of shocking and callous cruelty. Innocent civilians were butchered in cold blood. Unarmed policemen and soldiers were shot down. As the result of promiscuous looting and incendiarism one of the finest public buildings in Ireland, and the most important commercial centre of Dublin, are in ashes. The full toll of death will never be known." To the rank and file of the rebels clemency was extended,

which was interpreted by some of them as a sign of weakness on the part of the government; but the leaders of the rebellion were duly tried and executed, and thus the rebellion ended, as it was bound to end, in a tragic fiasco.

Under normal circumstances, the whole British Cabinet would have been compelled to bear the blame for the failure of their Irish policy. But the European situation was in 1916 so critical that the resignation of the government would have been a calamity; and Mr. Birrell, whom a Royal Commission found mainly responsible for "the situation that was allowed to arise and the outbreak that occurred," was made the scapegoat for his colleagues, and forced to resign. But there can be little doubt that the Irish tragedy seriously undermined the prestige of the government, and was a factor in bringing about its fall.

THE FINAL DOWNFALL OF THE COALITION CABINET.

As 1916 wore on, evidences of dissatisfaction with the Coalition Cabinet increased. Criticism became louder and more vigorous with regard to a great number of phases of the government's policy. The comparative failure of British diplomacy in the Balkans; the lack of unity in the work of the Air Forces; the supineness of the Admiralty, where Mr. Balfour was considered out of place, and especially its failure to scotch the growing submarine menace; the slackness of the British blockade of Germany; the failure to grapple with the serious decline of the British merchant shipping; the inertia of the government with regard to food production and food control; the mishandling of the question of the distribution of manpower; the slowness in winding up the German banks in England—these, and other, matters came in for the frankest strictures. As in 1915, the Northcliffe press led in the chorus of denunciation. At the beginning of December, 1916, the *Sunday Times* described the government as "muddlers," and the *Daily Mail* characterized them as "The Limpets—a National Danger." Some of the members of the Cabinet were held up to ridicule as "idle septuagenarians;" and the general attitude of the Cabinet was lampooned as one of inaction and indecision.

THE FAILURE OF THE CABINET TO ACT PROMPTLY.

The actual crisis, when it came, however, occurred not over any of the questions which have been enumerated, but over the question of the reorganization of the cabinet system. It had early been recognized that "a body of 23 men of very unequal ability, tired by their departmental labors, and meeting every day for a couple of hours, was, indeed, an impossible machinery for making war." Such a system was well described as "government by debating society." In November, 1915, a standing War Committee of the Cabinet had been created, composed of the prime minister and five other ministers; but this committee, though a step in the right direction, was still open to grave objections. Its members were still heads of departments, engrossed in the details of departmental administration; its decisions were subject to ratification by the Cabinet as a whole; and owing to its practice of calling in technical and official advisers, as well as ministers from other departments, it became hardly less cumbrous a body than the Cabinet itself.

MR. ASQUITH IS COMPELLED TO RESIGN.

In the summer of 1916 Lord Kitchener, when on his way to Russia, had met his death when the battleship on which he was traveling had been sunk by an enemy mine or submarine; and Lloyd George had succeeded him as Secretary for War. It was not long before Lloyd George, with his keen sense for organization, became dissatisfied with the existing machinery for prosecuting the war. At the beginning of December he proposed a plan for the reduction in size of the War Committee, the exclusion from it of ministers immersed in departmental business, and the investment of it with full authority to deal with

all questions of war and strategy, without reference to the whole cabinet.

This plan might have been accepted had it not been that it was definitely stipulated that the prime minister should not be a member of the committee. This stipulation Mr. Asquith naturally refused to approve: and a few days later he charged that there had been a "well-organized careupon applied to Mr. Lloyd George, "the man of the hour"; and on December 10 the latter announced the formation of a new "Win-the-War" government.

THE LLOYD GEORGE MINISTRY IS FORMED

The new Cabinet differed profoundly from the old. Not only was a clean sweep made of the old-fashioned school

THE BISHOP OF LONDON "RECRUITING"

The Church in Britain as in every country vehemently espoused the cause of war as the cause of right. This picture of the Bishop of London was taken during one of the great recruiting drives frequent in England before the compulsory service act of May 1916. The British as a nation were set against conscription, and it required almost two years' casualty lists to prove the unsatisfactoriness of the voluntary system. Underwood & Underwood.

fully engineered conspiracy" against himself and some other members of the cabinet. However this may have been, when he refused to accept Mr. Lloyd George's plan the latter resigned, and thus precipitated a crisis which immediately brought about the resignation of Mr. Asquith and the whole of the Cabinet. The King first invited Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the Unionist party, to form an administration: but Mr. Bonar Law, who appears to have worked in harmony with Mr. Lloyd George during the crisis, found himself unable to accomplish the task. The King thereof politicians, such as Mr. Asquith, Lord Grey, and Lord Lansdowne, but there was a liberal infusion of new blood in the Cabinet. A number of self-made business men, such as Lord Rhondda and Sir Albert Stanley, were included; Labor was represented by Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. John Hodge, and Mr. George N. Barnes; education was placed in the hands of a distinguished British scholar, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher; shipping was assigned to Sir Joseph Maclay, a great ship-owner; and agriculture was placed under Mr. R. E. Prothero, a well-known authority on food production. To a

COAL-WOMEN ON A DAILY ROUND IN GLASGOW

It was not only the light work that the women of Great Britain took over in order to free men for service at the front. "Doing their bit" required grit and endurance.

HELPMATES AT HOME

This picture shows a form of service that was quite heavy for women to perform, namely wheeling coke to fill trucks at Coventry gasworks.

large extent the Cabinet was one of experts and business men.

Another new development was the creation of an "Inner Cabinet", or War Cabinet. This War Cabinet was given complete charge of the general direction of the war, without the necessity of reporting its decisions to the whole Cabinet. It was composed of five members, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, Mr. Arthur Henderson, and Mr. Bonar Law; and all of these ministers, with the exception of Mr. Bonar Law, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, were relieved of all departmental duties. It was even decided that the prime minister, as the head of the War Cabinet, should be relieved from the burden of attendance in the House of Commons; and the leadership of the Commons devolved on Mr. Bonar Law.

THE EFFECT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WAR CABINET.

This arrangement marked a distinct step in advance in the organization of the government for war; it provided the most effective instrument which Great Britain had as yet had for the unified direction of the war, while it left the heads of departments free to devote their whole energies to their administrative duties. It paved the way, moreover, for one of the most interesting developments of the British Constitution in the last century or more, the Imperial War Cabinet, a development which offers at least the possibility of the solution of the intricate problem of the government of the British Empire. On the other hand, the dictatorial powers enjoyed by the War Cabinet threw into relief the decline which had taken place in the authority of Parliament.

Once the necessity was removed of keeping the ministry within the bounds of an executive committee, the number of departments in the government began steadily to increase. A Ministry of Labor and a Ministry of Pensions, an Air Board and a Ministry of Blockade, the office of Shipping Controller and that of Food Controller, a Ministry of National Service and a Ministry of Reconstruction—all these were created in rapid succession, until the number of administrative depart-

ments was almost double that of the pre-war period. At one time it was estimated that the number of new departments, boards, commissions, and committees exceeded the total of four hundred.

NEW AND DIFFICULT PROBLEMS ARE CREATED.

This multiplication of departments and agencies of government produced an inevitable overlapping and duplication of business; and it soon became clear that it created as many problems as it solved. Lord Curzon admitted in the House of Lords that most of the time of the War Cabinet was taken up with the adjustment of internal disputes between the ministers. The jurisdiction of the Food Controller clashed with that of the President of the Board of Agriculture; the new Ministry of Labor trenched upon the spheres both of the Ministry of Munitions and of the Board of Trade, and the Director of the new department of National Service, which proved a gigantic and expensive fiasco, resigned because he had been left nothing to do.

But, despite these and other obvious defects, the Lloyd George government proved itself to be a distinct improvement on either of the administrations that had preceded it. It showed leadership where its predecessors had had to be pushed; its policy was thoroughgoing and decisive where the policy of its predecessors had been weak and vacillating; it was on time where they had been "too late." The masterful energy, the cheery optimism, the indomitable courage of the new Prime Minister infected the rest of the nation. The years 1917 and 1918 were, for the people of Great Britain, by all odds the most trying and severe of the war. Not only did the casualty lists spread their tragic tidings among practically every family in the country, but, as a result of the German submarine warfare, the food supply of Great Britain ran dangerously low. The war struck home at the everyday life of Englishmen as it had never done before. Yet, under the inspiration of "the little Welshman" who by sheer force of character had risen from the humblest to the highest position in the land, the people of Great Britain met the crisis with a serenity and a resolution that had in it something of the heroic.

THE FOOD PROBLEM WAS THE MOST CRITICAL.

The most critical problem the country had to face under the Lloyd George government was probably that of maintaining the food supply. In peace time Great Britain had been a heavy importer of food-stuffs; and during the first two years of war, owing to the way in which the army had drained off the able-bodied men from the land, Great Britain became even more dependent than ever on foreign imports. Already, however, in 1916 the difficulty of keeping up the flow of imports had made itself felt, partly owing to the diversion of a vast amount of merchant shipping to purely military and naval uses, and partly owing to the growing success of the German submarine campaign.

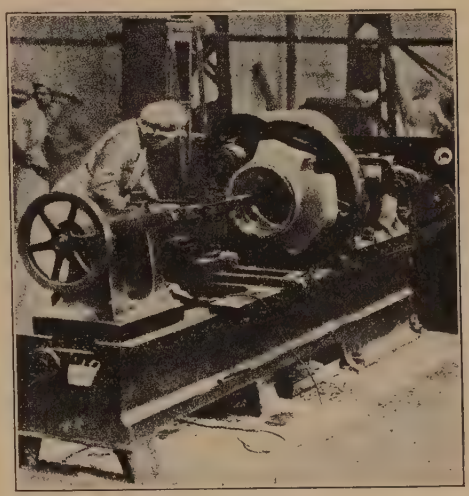
It so happened that just after the entrance into office of the Lloyd George government the Germans embarked on an unrestricted submarine offensive. Hitherto they had used, out of deference to the United States and other neutral powers, some discretion in their use of the submarine weapon; but now they threw caution to the winds, and adopted a policy of sinking everything on the high seas at sight. The result was that the carrying trade of the world became threatened with extinction. In January, 1917, the sinkings of British, Allied, and neutral ships totaled 333,000 tons, in February 470,000, in March 600,000, in April 788,000, in May 540,000, in June 758,000, in July 463,000, and in August 591,000—a grand total of 4,561,000 tons in eight months. As against these figures there stood only a total of 1,500,000 tons of new shipping launched in the same period—so that Great Britain and her Allies had to face in these few months a net shrinkage of over 3,000,000 tons of shipping. And this loss represented not only a serious reduction of carrying space, but it meant also the complete destruction of vast cargoes of food-stuffs,

coal, munitions of war, and other commodities.

MEASURES TAKEN TO RELIEVE THE FOOD SHORTAGE.

Sir Edward Carson, who was First Lord of the Admiralty during the first half of 1917, has confessed that during these terrible months there were times when those at the Admiralty could see no ray of light in the black outlook. The Germans became jubilant, and many of them regarded the war as already won. Yet the British government turned to face the new peril undaunted, and to organize the country to meet it. The measures adopted by the government were of five kinds. First, there were the purely naval measures taken with a view to crushing the submarine menace; second, there were the measures taken to increase the output of new shipping, and to speed up the repair of damaged shipping; third, there was a rigorous restriction of imports, so that all cargo space would be available for the importation of essentials; fourth, a system of food control, and also liquor control, was set up which aimed at limiting the consumption of food-stuffs in the country; and fifth, a policy of food production was inaugurated, which had as its object the raising in Great Britain itself of the maximum of food-stuffs of which the country was capable.

The anti-submarine warfare was one of the most thrilling and romantic phases of the Great War. But the story of the hunting of the submarines by destroyers, motor-launches, sea-planes, blimphs, and mystery ships, the story of the mine-sweepers and of the mine barrages, the story of the numberless duels between lonely merchant vessels and gigantic submarine-cruisers —these things fall outside the scope of this chapter. What does deserve mention here, however, is the work of the sailors of the merchant marine. These heroic men, without even the protection of the King's uniform, faced daily danger and death as fearlessly and gallantly as any bluejacket or soldier; and if, in the end, the submarine menace was held, if not mastered, the credit was due no less to the sailors of the merchant marine than to those of the Royal Navy. If the forecastle hands of the British merchantmen had in any way failed in their duty, as those of some of the neutral countries failed, the results would have been disastrous.



BORING INSIDE BREECH PIECES OF HEAVY GUNS

When the Ministry of Munitions was formed in England women clamored to work in the factories, and government schemes on a large scale were set on foot for their employment.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE SHIPPING CONTROLLER.

The work of the Shipping Controller was not without its difficulties. The lack of trained mechanics, strikes in the shipyards, scarcity of materials, troubles over the attempt to standardize ships, delays in regard to the erection of new shipyards—all these things retarded the hoped-for increase in the output of shipping. But gradually these difficulties were overcome; and by the end of 1917, while the losses of shipping had begun to show a decided downward curve, the curve of shipbuilding was upward. The two curves had not yet by any means met; but in every shipyard in Great Britain and America men were rivaling one another to see who could rivet the greatest number of bolts in one day, and there was every prospect that sooner or later the Allies would be able to build as many ships as the German mines and torpedoes could sink. In that day the war would be won.

The restriction of imports was a comparatively simple matter. Orders-in-council were issued prohibiting the importation of foreign fruit, tea, coffee, cocoa, rum, wines, linen, books, and generally all things that did not come under the head of necessities. The importation of other things, such as paper and canned salmon, was restricted by 25 or 50 per cent. On the whole, it was estimated that the new restrictions would effect a saving in cargo space of nearly 1,000,000 tons, and would thus go a long way to counterbalance the loss of shipping which had already taken place.

Final resort to rationing of food.

Food economy, like recruiting, was at first put on a voluntary basis. Lord Devonport, who occupied the office of Food Controller until the summer of 1917, hesitated, on account of practical difficulties, to adopt a system of compulsory rationing; and he merely put people on their honor to ration themselves voluntarily according to a fixed schedule. This voluntary rationing undoubtedly resulted in a considerable decrease in the consumption of foodstuffs, for most people adhered to it religiously; but it offered a loophole for the glutton and the food-hoarder, just as voluntary recruiting had offered a loophole for the "slacker". A strong demand consequently developed for a compulsory system; and Lord Rhondda, who succeeded Lord Devonport as Food Controller, acceded to this demand, and in December, 1917, inaugurated a system of compulsory rationing by means of food cards. Sugar was at first the only commodity rationed; but the system worked with unexpected smoothness, and in the beginning of 1918 other foodstuffs were rationed as well, notably meat.

Parallel with the food economy campaign was the policy of liquor control. The output of the breweries and distilleries was rigorously restricted; and by this means an annual saving of hundreds of thousands of tons of foodstuffs was effected. No attempt was made to ration beer and spirits, except on the part of the dealers, and the prices of all kinds of spirituous beverages rose to unheard-of heights, until in the summer of 1918 prices were fixed: but temperance advocates believed that the restrictions imposed, by limiting drunkenness, contributed greatly to the effectiveness of the British war effort.

Efforts to stimulate production of food.

Lastly, every effort was made to stimulate food production in Great Britain itself. A "back to the land" propaganda was launched; local agricultural committees were given authority to place land under the plough, with the result that tennis-courts, golf-links, and ancient estates which had not been under cultivation for a century were transformed into potato patches and wheat fields; generous minimum prices for foodstuffs were guaranteed by the government; and a revival of agriculture took place such as Great Britain had not seen since the first half of the eighteenth century. In every village and town in England old men, women, and boys—of every grade of society—had their allotments of cultivated land, which they worked in their hours after business.

Taken all in all, "the race with death," as a German newspaper denominated the anti-submarine struggle, imposed on the British people unprecedented privations and sacrifices. It involved an experiment in state socialism such as few people ever thought would be made on British soil. Yet the British nation accepted the situation with a certain phlegmatic, but heroic equanimity; and in the end the combined result of the measures adopted was that the Germans were cheated of the victory which they had thought was all but within their grasp.

The small effect of air-raids.

Just as the submarine menace was met and held, so the menace of the German air-raiders was in the end scotched. The first air-raids on England were made by Zeppelin dirigibles, which crossed the North Sea under cover of dark and cloudy nights, and

TWO GIRLS CARRY ON A FARM

On a farm in Devonshire all the men employed were in the army, and the farmer was ill. His two daughters, one eighteen the other fourteen, carried on all the work of the farm, milking, ploughing and taking care of the calves and sheep and driving the animals to market. Picture British Official.

A GERMAN PICTURE OF ENGLISH GUNS

Though this picture was apparently made in France it was widely circulated in Germany as being made in England. It pretended to show that the English were so much alarmed by the threat of German invasion that they were retaining heavy guns in England and scattering them all through the country-side near the sea, instead of sending them to France. Feature Photo Service.

BACK TO THE LAND

This picture shows the woman prize-winner for harrowing and driving in Cornwall, where the heavy soil requires a steady hand.

RELEASING MEN FOR MILITARY SERVICE

A woman acting as a bricklayer's assistant in an English village. Others cleaned and painted ships, sawed lumber, even carried coal.

dropped bombs promiscuously over the east of England. These raids wrought occasionally no small damage; but on the whole they proved a failure, not because of the effectiveness of the British defenses, but on account of atmospheric conditions and other practical or technical difficulties. The Germans then had resort to aeroplane raids. These were made at first on moonlit nights, and they proved more difficult to deal with than the Zeppelin raids. Then, growing bolder, the Germans ventured on daylight raids; and the first daylight raid, which took place in Kent in May, 1917, did great havoc.

Gradually, however, the British anti-aircraft defenses were improved. London, which was the chief object of attack, was provided with a plentiful supply of anti-aircraft artillery; an elaborate system of air-raid warnings was evolved, which gave time for precautionary measures; and the growing ascendancy of the British air forces made it increasingly dangerous for the Germans to attack England. Very little of the damage done, moreover, was of military importance; and during the last stages of the war any German air-raids on England were undertaken, apparently, more with the hope of pinning down a part of the British air-forces to the defense of England than with the hope of obtaining any decisive result through terror or demolition. Throughout the war, indeed, the German air-raids on England, far from weakening the resolution of the British people, rather steeled it, and thus contributed in the long run to the downfall of Germany.

THE GREAT WAR EFFORT OF 1917-1918.

During 1917 and 1918 everyone recognized that the crisis of the war was approaching; and Great Britain strained every nerve to make her weight felt as strongly as possible. To cite statistics with regard to the magnitude of the British war effort during these years would merely bewilder without convincing; a clearer idea may be gained from a few simple but significant facts. By the beginning of 1918 the military age in Great Britain had been raised to fifty years and lowered to eighteen; the medical standard for recruits had been lowered

A PARTY OF THE W.A.A.C. AT TOURS

This group of the W.A.A.C. was detailed to do clerical work in the American Central Record office at Tours. The workers are shown on a little island made into a play-ground for war-workers of all nationalities which was in charge of a young American Y.W.C.A. worker, in the centre of the picture.

WOMEN'S ARMY AUXILIARY CORPS IN BARRACKS

In 1917 after the heavy losses in the Somme campaign the problem of man-power was serious in Great Britain. A Women's Army Auxiliary Corps was formed as an adjunct of the army, and similar corps for the navy and air forces. They relieved men for duty at the front who had been held behind the lines. They were under strict military authority while on duty and did almost everything a man could do.

repeatedly, and all exemptions revised; the principle was adopted that all private considerations, of whatever sort, should give way before the needs of the state, and every man who was not physically unfit was forced either into the army and navy, or into some industry, such as munitions, shipbuilding, or agriculture, which was essential to the prosecution of the war. By 1918, indeed, there was hardly an otiose man in the British Isles, outside of Ireland; and the total enlistments in the army had soared to a figure around six millions.

THE WORK OF WOMEN IN WAR AND INDUSTRY.

An even more striking illustration of war effort was to be found in the work of the women. From the beginning the women of Great Britain had enlisted in large numbers as hospital workers and as makers of soldiers' comforts; and when the munitions crisis arose, great numbers of them entered the munition factories. Some factories indeed came to be staffed almost wholly by women. Then, when the problem of man-power came to the fore in 1917, women flocked into service in a score of different spheres, where they had never been seen before. A Women's Army Auxiliary Corps was formed as an adjunct of the army; and these "Waacs", as they were familiarly known, more than justified their existence by relieving for duty at the front men who heretofore had been held on the lines of communication. Similar corps were formed also in connection with the navy and the air forces; the former were known as "Wrens" (Women's Royal Naval Service), and the latter as "Wrafs" (Women's Royal Air Force). Large numbers of "land girls" volunteered for work on the farms; women became bank clerks, taxi drivers, bus conductors, and even railway hands. In every branch of life women stepped up and took the places of the men who had gone to the front; and the remarkable feature of this social revolution was that it was the result of voluntary effort.

Still another illustration of the war effort of the British people was seen in the sphere of finance. Although by 1918 the cost of the war had risen in Great Britain to over £6,000,000 a day, and the national debt had grown to over six times its pre-war size, Great Britain was able to meet a considerable part of the cost of the war out of an enormously increased tax revenue. The tax on quite moderate incomes rose to 7s. 6d. in the pound; and on large incomes it rose to more than 10s. This taxation, however, did not prevent the country from subscribing liberally to the government loans; and of the war loans and victory loans issued nearly three-fourths of the total was taken up in the country itself.

THE "WILL-TO-VICTORY" IN THE GOVERNMENT.

Government action in 1917 and 1918 afforded many evidences of the Lloyd George Cabinet's determination to prosecute the war to a successful issue. Every effort was made to keep the Cabinet at the highest point of efficiency. Mention has already been made of the substitution in June, 1917, of Lord Rhondda for Lord Devonport as Food Controller. Lord Rhondda, one of the ablest business men in Great Britain, undertook the duties of Food Controller against the advice of his physicians, and he died when his work was accomplished, as true a martyr to the cause as any soldier that died at the front. In July, 1917, Sir Edward Carson was superseded as First Lord of the Admiralty by Sir Eric Geddes, one of the "supermen" thrown up by the war, a civilian who had risen to the rank of Major-General in the army and Vice-Admiral in the navy. In August, 1917, Mr. Arthur Henderson, the representative of Labor in the War Cabinet, was forced to resign on account of his equivocal attitude toward the International Labor Conference at Stockholm, where it was apparently proposed that British and German Socialists should sit side by side and discuss the terms of peace; and his place in the War Cabinet was taken by Mr. George N. Barnes, who had opposed sending British delegates to the Conference.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PROPAGANDA ORGANIZED.

A singular illustration of the efficiency of the British government was seen in the creation, in February, 1918, of a department of Propaganda. This department was placed in charge of Lord Beaverbrook, a Canadian financier who had had a meteoric career in British politics, and who had played a leading part in the formation of the Lloyd George Cabinet; and the oversight of propaganda in enemy countries was given to Lord Northcliffe, whose great abilities had previously been employed in a special mission to the United States. The new department was the result of a realization that the issue of the war was likely to be decided as much on the home-front as on the battlefield, and that the struggle had now entered the realm of psychology.

The work of the department was twofold. On the one hand, it devoted itself to strengthening the "will-to-victory" of the British people and their allies, through the newspapers, through books and pamphlets, and even through the cinema; and on the other hand, it strove to break down the will of the Germans and their allies by getting the facts about the war effort of the Allies and the United States into the Central Empires, if only through literature scattered over enemy countries by British airmen. That the propaganda carried out was successful in weakening the German resistance was proved, during the war, by captured German army orders, and has been amply corroborated, since the armistice, by the narratives which the German generals and admirals have poured from the press.

THE IMPERIAL WAR CABINET IS ORGANIZED.

As the war entered, moreover, on its final stages, the British machinery for the direction of the war grew steadily better. The creation of the War Cabinet paved the way for the formation in March, 1917, of the Imperial War Cabinet, in which sat, not only the members of the British War Cabinet, but also the Prime Ministers of the British overseas Dominions. This new body, which was well described as a "Cabinet of Governments," and which possessed not merely advisory but executive powers, provided what had hitherto been lacking, a unified control for the war effort of the British Empire. Later, in November, 1917, largely as a result of the insistence of Mr. Lloyd George, a Supreme War Council was set up at Paris, which gave the same sort of unity to the war effort of all the Allies that the Imperial War Cabinet had given to the war effort of the British Empire; and the culmination of the process was reached in March, 1918, when Marshal Foch was made Generalissimo of the Allied armies on the Western Front.

CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT SOMETIMES HEARD.

The Lloyd George government, of course, did not escape criticism. At times, indeed, criticism of both the policy and conduct of the administration was hardly less vigorous than it had been under the Asquithian régime. But it was criticism of a different kind. Little complaint was heard of vacillation or dilatoriness in government action; most of the critics of the government were people who believed, on various grounds, that the policy of the government was too thoroughgoing. From the beginning a part of the Labor party and the extreme Radical wing of the Liberal party had been opposed to the war; and under the Lloyd George régime this pacifist element grew bolder and more active. They attacked nearly every measure whereby the government sought to strengthen the war effort of Great Britain; and they continually advocated "a peace by negotiation" rather than a decision on the battlefield. As the war dragged on, a certain war-weariness, which began to appear among some people, gave to this party an accession of strength; and they received support from an unexpected quarter when, in November, 1917, no less a person than Lord Lansdowne wrote a letter to *The Times* urging that peace negotiations with the Germans should

be opened. But among the rank and file of the British people these pacifists were regarded as disloyal, and their attacks probably strengthened the government rather than weakened it.

DISAGREEMENT IN ARMY AND NAVAL CIRCLES.

An attack from a different angle was that conducted by certain groups connected with the War Office and the Admiralty. In this campaign a number of questions were at issue. The "Westerners"—those who believed that the war was to be decided on the Western Front—objected to the various "side-shows" which the government was conducting at Saloniki, in Palestine, and in Mesopotamia; and an element in British military circles condemned what they regarded as the undue centralization of authority in the hands of an Allied Generalissimo. The old cry was heard that the politicians were bedeviling the conduct of the war. Unfortunately, in the controversies that arose, personalities seemed to play a considerable part. The friends of Lord Jellicoe were angry at his dismissal from the post of First Sea Lord; the friends of General Sir W. R. Robertson were angry at his having been forced out of the position of Chief of the General Staff over the question of the unity of the Allied command; and when, on May 6, 1918, General Sir Frederick Maurice, the Director of Military Operations at the War Office, wrote a letter to *The Times* accusing Mr. Lloyd George of having misled the House of Commons with false information, the personal feeling between the professional soldiers and the politicians became all too apparent. The attack resulted only in a parliamentary victory for Mr. Lloyd George; General Maurice was disciplined by the Army Council; and as soon as the tide turned in France in the summer of 1918, and the advantages of the unity of command became apparent, the attack died down.

THE DAY OF VICTORY FINALLY ARRIVES.

The victory of the Allies in the autumn of 1918—the collapse of Bulgaria, the break-up of Austria-Hungary, the defeat of Germany—was almost a personal triumph for Mr. Lloyd George. It proved the soundness of his views with regard to the prosecution of the war; and it justified the shining optimism with which he inspired the people of Great Britain even in the darkest days of the struggle. His presence at the head of affairs in Great Britain during the critical years of 1917 and 1918 was worth many army corps to the Allies; and it was not surprising that, as the war closed, he became a popular idol among the majority of his countrymen. The general elections held at the end of 1918 resulted in the tribute of an overwhelming victory for the Lloyd George government—a tribute rendered more remarkable since a new Act (the Representation of the People Act, 1918) had enormously widened the electorate, inaugurating not only manhood suffrage, but female suffrage as well.

But great as was the contribution made by Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues in the government to the final victory of the Allied arms, the chief credit for the war effort of Great Britain rests with the average British citizen. Encompassed about with dangers of which he had never dreamt, faced with famine, subject to restrictions against which at other times his liberty-loving soul would have revolted, enduring the daily torture of the casualty lists, and often mourning the fact that the light of his life had gone out, the average Britisher nevertheless played his part with stolid and unfaltering constancy—not doubting that the clouds would break. Never, not even in the Napoleonic Wars, did the prosaic heroism of the British people shine more brightly or clearly than in the Great War of 1914-1918.

W. S. WALLACE.

French infantry awaiting attack

Chapter XLI

M. Poilu, As I Knew Him

AN ENGLISHMAN'S COMPARISON OF THE FRENCH AND THE BRITISH SOLDIER

By Basil Clarke

M. POILU, the French soldier? Which way shall one turn to find the type? Take the bearded old man you see in the roadway there, sitting with his hammer beside a heap of stones. He is bent and rheumatic; his eyes are failing, and, despite the spectacles he wears behind his stonebreaker's goggles, he can hardly see the stones he is so busily breaking. His lunch is by his side—a loaf, an apple and half a bottle of mixed wine and water. He will work there from sunrise till sundown, and then, with bent back and slow step, he will hobble to some neighboring cottable to sup and sleep. A quaint, pathetic old figure! But he is a French soldier, none the less. His weather-worn blue coat was served out to him by a regimental commissariat goodness knows how many years ago. His corduroy trousers are also uniform; his cap is the uniform peak cap of the French Army.

Both of these old men soldiers of France.

Soon, perhaps, you may see this old Poilu's corporal come along the road to take a look at the work done, and to pass censure if the amount is too little. The corporal is, perhaps, just as old as the stonebreaker himself. He may wear the stripe of the "caporal" because his sight is a little better or because he can walk along the roads at a whole mile an hour instead of only at half a mile. Both are equally soldiers of France, and they work for soldier's pay—which is the luxurious sum of three or five sous (three cents to five cents) a day.

The French army and the French nation synonymous.

They may never go near the front. They may be now, as you watch them, a good fifty miles away from the nearest trench. But over the roads they make or mend pass the troops and the stores, the horses and the guns, that go to the winning of France's battles. And just as those guns are necessary so also are the stones for the roads that take the guns, and the stonebreakers that break the stones for the roads that take the guns. It is like the "House that Jack Built" over again; and in France, when the house is to be built is a war to be won, every man necessary for building that house is caught up in that immense and all-embracing labor net, the Army of the French Republic. He may make you a boot or pull you out a tooth, bake you a loaf or bury you, but he becomes a soldier. The French Army just now is the French nation.

To take the French equivalent, therefore, of the British soldier you must take the French fighting soldier. This is not so all-comprehensive a term as the term French soldier, who is everyone. Gunners, sappers, horse and foot—there are numerous types enough of the French "fighting soldier" and the wider age limit that exists in the French Army yields greater contrasts in individual types than are to be found in even our own Army. To reduce the French fighting soldiers to a type, therefore, to take, that is, all the types of French soldier, and in the manner of those horrid little sums we used to do at school, to take their G. C. M. or H. C. F. and say this is the French fighting soldier type—would be rather speculative mathematics. I don't think one could do it. What I will try to do instead is to set down certain qualities which I think belong especially to the French soldier, at least to a greater degree than to any others.

SOLDIERS INCAPABLE OF ACTIVE SERVICE MENDING ROADS

These old men, decrepit, and perhaps half blind are, nevertheless, soldiers of France under military discipline. Every man on the rolls who could render service in any capacity was called to the colors. Though entirely incapable of service in the trenches he might be set to making munitions, farming, building roads, or any one of a dozen other occupations all of which helped to carry on the war.

THE PASSION AND THE FIERCENESS OF THE FRENCH.

First, then, I think the French soldier is the fiercest of all the soldiers fighting in this war. His war spirit burns him. It is a passion. I shall never forget the face and the eyes of the infantry sergeant who one night, early in the war, came across me in a French troop train (to which one of his men had invited me), and, as he stood with a lantern peering into my face, said, "Swear to me that you are not a Boche." Even though I was not a Boche the look in that man's eyes quite scared me then and still remains in my memory as the most fearful examination I have ever undergone. Had he not been satisfied and had my papers not been in order as well as my general appearance, I could have hoped for no mercy, even no respite from a man who could look like that.

I saw that look several times again in French soldiers. Once when walking along a country road near Ypres I

THE YOUNG RECRUIT AMONG THE VETERANS

The word "poilu" once meant bristly or hairy, and was used rather contemptuously, but in spite of objections the French people began to use it affectionately as applied to their unshaven and unshorn soldiers undergoing the hardships of the trenches. It was then only a step to apply it to all private soldiers.

stumbled upon a masked French battery. It was a bearded lieutenant, this time, who darted out and stood in front of me, revolver in hand. "What is monsieur doing?" I can hear to this day the icy coldness and suspicion of those words of his; can feel still the cold glint of his black eyes as they looked me up and down and through and through. He thought me a spy and to have his battery located by the Germans was an appalling risk. He marched me in front of him to the commandant of the battery, and all the way there I could feel those eyes at my back. The commandant, fortunate-

ly, was more satisfied with me, and showed me over his battery, but the lieutenant stood by, and though he did his best to be friendly, I could never forget his first greeting. I remember thinking that had I been a Boche, I would rather have been taken by the British, or by any other race than by the French. My end might not have been any the less swift, but the manner of it could never have been so cold and full of passionate enmity.

THEIR UNRELENTING DETERMINATION SHOWN IN BATTLE.

The French are like this in all their war, but especially in a charge or an attack. They are not as athletic as our men; they are not, perhaps, when it comes to the number and quickness of thrusts, so deadly with the bayonet. And yet the Germans fear the French bayonets, I think, more than they fear ours. There is a greater deadliness of purpose, a more unrelenting hate and determination to kill and naught but kill. They are terrible fighters, but even more terrible "haters." I saw a spy once being taken into custody by the French and noted the look on his guards' faces. I heard the shots that finished his spying and his life the following morning. And a cold chill went along my spine, and I, somehow, longed to be back in England.

This fierceness is an outcome of their intensity of nature and resoluteness of purpose. I don't think any Army *shows* resolution more than the French Army. Our boys are resolved enough, but it is the fashion to hide this rather than to show it. A singer who dares to sing to our soldiers at the front about fighting for King and country, dying "with face to the foe," and the like, is generally shouted off the platform before very long. Our soldiers cannot bear it. They will fight as bravely as any soldier for these things, but they don't like it talked about.

BRITISH AND FRENCH TEMPERAMENT SHOWN IN SONGS.

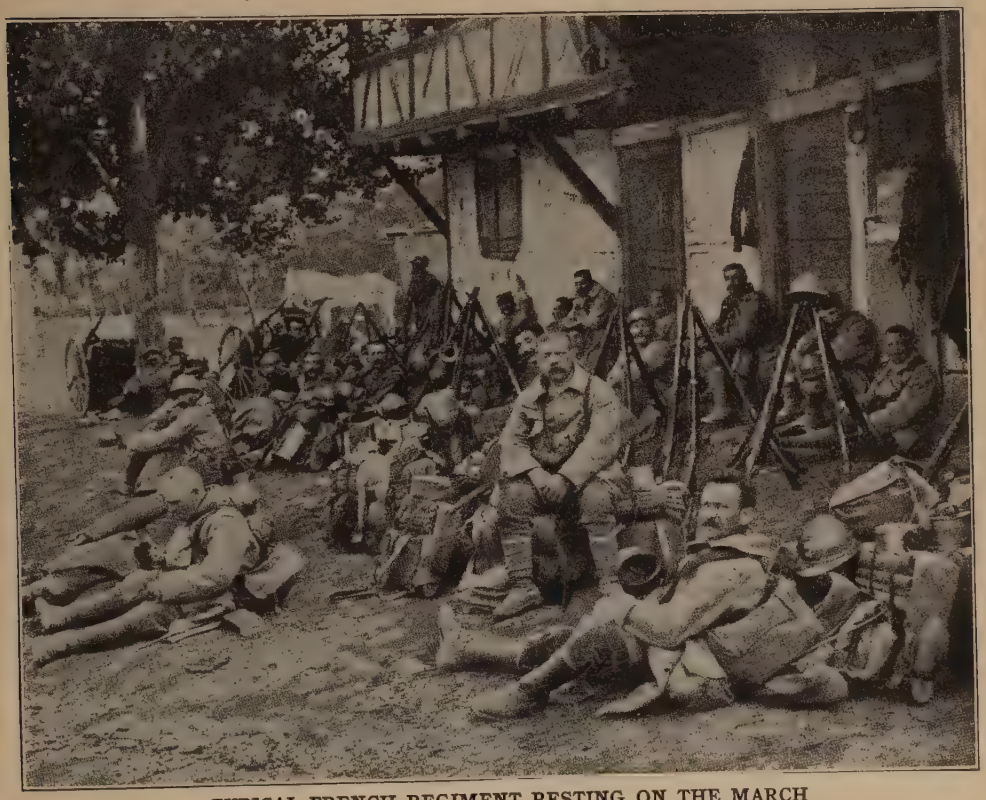
In their songs, in fact, they prefer to pretend that they are afraid. The most popular type of song out at the front is the song that displays its singers as "having the wind up"—which is soldier slang for being in a downright funk. The French soldier would no more think of singing a song like this than he would of flying. Marching along the roads, over camp fires, and in billets and trains he will sing blithely about glorious France, fighting for France, death before the foe and the like. None of these phrases has become trite and jejune for him; he feels and thinks that way. Yet he is at heart less combative a type than the average British soldier, especially the North-country soldier. He fights less readily, but with less consideration for his enemy when he does begin. No false ideas of "sport" moderate his warfare.

EXACTNESS AND PRECISION MARK THE FRENCH GUNNER.

The French soldier has a wonderful gift for exactness, precision, and essential detail. This is partly what goes to make him the best gunner in the world. Some of our sergeants mistake precision and synchronization and clock-work movement for efficiency. To watch a French gun crew working, say, a field-gun, you would at first deny even the possibility of their being so efficient as some of the spick-and-span British gun crews you had seen. They seem to go in a "go-as-you-please" fashion. That fellow slogs open the gun-breech and takes a look round the horizon perhaps as he does it; this fellow rams in the shell and makes a joke about "les sales Boches"; this fellow's tunic is half off because he has not fastened it properly—there seems no comparison at first sight between that crew and its work and a British crew. But note the number of shells that French gun "gets away" to the minute; note the number of direct hits, and it will amaze you; the truth being that the French gunner concentrates on the one or two little points that make for quick fire and accurate aim and lets all else go by the board. His skill for detail has shown him what these one or two points are, and he has paid attention to these things till no mortal man could do them better than he. The German gunnery officers have slaved for years to get their gun

crews as quick as the French, but they are to this day not within many shots per minute as fast.

The French soldier is as gentle when not fighting as he is fierce when fighting. With his friends he is more like a woman. He will laugh with their joys, weep with their sorrows, and while he is laughing or weeping he means it. His forgetfulness of these moods will be quicker than that of a British soldier, it is true, but there is no insincerity at the time.



TYPICAL FRENCH REGIMENT RESTING ON THE MARCH

These soldiers are older than those seen in the first year of the war. As the need grew, older and older men were called until often father and son were in the ranks, while the grandfather might be making roads or guarding prisoners. The French kit was heavy and frequent short rests were necessary on the long marches.

COURAGE ARISING FROM QUITE DIFFERENT SOURCES.

The French soldier's courage is undoubted, but it is a different kind of courage from that of the British soldier. It is not the stoic kind of courage. I have been in French hospitals many times, and have always been struck by the fact that the Frenchman makes more of pain than our men. They have not the old "biting on the bullet" tradition of the British soldier, and they do not hesitate to show signs of pain. But put fifty Frenchmen to take a trench, and assure them that at least thirty-five will be killed in the taking, and I don't think you would see any of them fall out. The French soldier's courage and the Briton's rise, I think, from different sources. The source of the Briton's courage is more egotistical. He sets a standard for himself, and tries to live up to that standard. British bravery may often be traced to this rather noble form of egotism. A man does not wish to "let himself down" in his own eyes any more than in other people's eyes. He will not desert a post or shirk a danger because he would feel not so good to himself if he did one of these things. It would not be "playing the game."

The French soldier's courage, on the

other hand, owes more, I think, to the communal sense. For his own particular sake he would do much to avoid a cut finger or a black eye, but for "La Patrie" and a cause he has at heart he would face the biggest Boche and the longest bayonet. The French soldier always strikes me as a man who overcomes his own personality and *makes* himself do brave things. His imagination tells him the risks he is running far more vividly than does the imagination of the average Briton. He will do his brave deed, then, with a little flourish. He is *consciously* brave, whereas some of our fellows really do not know when they are brave. They know only when anyone funks.

THE RELATIONS OF OFFICERS AND MEN IN THE FRENCH ARMY.

The French soldier has the dramatic temperament; the British soldier has not. This is another reason of the Frenchmen's greater demonstrativeness. You will see them kiss one another on the cheeks after a successful charge. They are delighted to have won and to have "come through." See an English—or particularly a Scottish—regiment in like circumstances and they will be laughing and joking no doubt, but striving at the same time, by all the means that they know, to keep to themselves their deeper emotions—the fact that they are pleased to see one another safe and sound and to be alive. Yet they must feel this just as much as the gallant French soldiers do.

The French soldier's relations with his officer are rather different from those of the British soldier. Men and officers in the French Army are not nearly so like two different races of men. There is a tremendous respect, but at the same time there is not the same stiffness. The relationship does allow room for a mutual smile now and again. The nearest approach to this that I ever saw in the British Army was between the chaplains and the men. A French soldier once asked me if it was against the rules in the British Army for an officer under the rank of major to smile with a common soldier. He said he had been struck by the way our young officers, except when alone with one man, avoided anything like cheery relations with their men. "Your older officers," he said, "are not so stiff and unnatural." Yet the French officers, he argued, were harder on offenders in the ranks than were the British. This greater intimacy between a French officer and his men—to whom he stands more in the light of father than of taskmaster—probably arises from the more democratic spirit of the French nation. Perhaps we shall come to that in time.

FRENCH INABILITY TO UNDERSTAND BRITISH SPORTS IN WARTIME.

The French soldier is generous, but not so generous as the British. He is much more thrifty. He cannot throw trouble aside in the way a British soldier can, nor can he quite understand the determination to throw trouble aside in, say, a game of football or a comic song. For a long time our men's football and games behind the lines, were utterly incomprehensible to the French, who quite misunderstood them. "Why do your men make a sport of the war?" they have asked me, in horrified tones. And the same idea struck other people than Frenchmen. M. Take Jonescu, the great pro-Entente statesman of Rumania, once asked me the same question, all because of a football game behind the lines. But the French have now come to see that fresh air and games are as much a part of the British race as the meat-breakfast habit.

The French soldier has an endurance and hardihood far greater than his physical condition and his more sedentary mode of life would suggest. I am still left wondering how the French ever contrived that great advance of theirs over two miles of Somme mud. It will rank among the wonders of war.

The Winter Palace and Square, Petrograd

Chapter XLII

The Russian Revolution

THE METEORIC RISE AND THE SUDDEN FALL OF ALEXANDER KERENSKY DURING 1917

THOUGH the tremendous events which occurred in Russia during the early part of 1917 have generally been designated as "the Russian Revolution," the facts indicate that they might be more truly described as the collapse, the disintegration, of the Russian autocracy, brought about through its own inherent weakness in the face of outside pressure. The revolutionary elements simply took advantage of the situation to establish an organization to take the place of the dead autocracy. It is only at a later date that they assume importance.

Some reasons for the downfall already mentioned.

Some of the numerous factors concerned in the downfall of Russian autocracy have already been briefly mentioned: the treason of the inner court circle gathered about the Tsarina; the growing suspicion of the conservative intellectual elements, hitherto the main support of autocratic Russia, that they were being betrayed; and the weakness of the nation's economic organization. But out of these more or less abstract causes rise one or two striking personalities which help us to visualize the situation and which lend dramatic value to the events leading up to the climax of March, 1917.

First of these, from the point of view of human interest, is the dark and evil figure of the monk, Rasputin, a mysterious shadow in the background. Rather a symbol of the portending disaster than an active participant in national affairs, never once does he emerge into the open daylight of the political arena. Yet his was the guiding hand which swung the nation's helm hard over and headed it for the rocks of fatal calamity.

The mysterious figure of the monk Rasputin.

Gregory Novikh was the son of illiterate Siberian mujiks. His early life was that of a common peasant boy, but even then he showed signs of those abnormal qualities which were eventually to bring him his questionable and short-lived success. It was during his early youth that he gained the name by which he is most widely known; Rasputin, meaning a rake, a person of loose morals. For Gregory had that magnetic personality before which many women of high and low quality succumbed. Of this power he took every advantage.

Discarding the garb of a laboring mujik, Rasputin turned toward a field of wider opportunity and became an itinerant monk, preying on the superstitious credulity of the peasantry to whom he presented himself as a holy man and a healer. Gradually

he sought higher game among the women of the more prosperous classes and so eventually he made the acquaintance of Madam Virubova, the favorite lady-in-waiting to the Tsarina.

THE SUPERSTITIOUS CREDULITY OF THE TSARINA.

Despite her exalted position, the Tsarina was a woman of rather ordinary intellectual qualities. She had long been a patroness of the occult cults, but when finally the Tsarevitch was born, a puny child, constitutionally diseased, she turned toward occultism with renewed faith.

Thus it was that Rasputin found his opportunity in an introduction to the inner court circle. Perhaps he really had some abnormal powers which rare persons possess, perhaps he was only a clever faker, but the fact remains that he succeeded in convincing the Tsarina, and the Tsar as well, that he had a healing influence on the little Tsarevitch. Report has it that Madam Virubova drugged the boy, and that Rasputin's demonstration of healing consisted in applying the antidote. Whatever the truth may be, Rasputin remained a permanent fixture in the court life. Once or twice, when the saner outer circle of the Imperial family succeeded in having him expelled, the Tsarevitch immediately became ill, the Tsarina developed a succession of hysterical outbursts, and always Rasputin was recalled. Gradually he acquired an influence possessed by no other one person, over the royal family; especially over the ignorant Tsarina.

WHAT WERE THE MOTIVES WHICH AFFECTED RASPUTIN?

There are those who contend that German gold bought Rasputin after the war broke out, that he was hired to plant the poison which was presently to develop within the court itself as rank treason. It is more probable that he realized that a defeated German autocracy would also mean an end to the Russian autocracy, to all autocracies, and so would wither the plant on which he was a parasite. Whatever his motives, he was the central figure of the "dark forces," of those intriguing pro-German conspirators within the court and the government who desired the triumph of Germany and all that she represented, even at the cost of a defeated Russia.

Nicholas himself was a man of subnormal intelligence and capacity—indeed, his mental flabbiness almost approached a condition of feeblemindedness. The Tsarina was at least a personality, a woman of some will power and capacity for determination, and she undoubtedly influenced the Tsar in all his actions, as her letters show. And she was the willing tool of Rasputin—"Our Friend," she called him—and those he served. Such was the chain from Potsdam to Petrograd.

STÜRMER RETIRES BUT PROTOPOPOV CARRIES ON.

The appointment of Boris von Stürmer as Premier had undoubtedly been at the instigation of Rasputin. The intrigues to bring about a separate peace with Germany have been mentioned in a previous chapter, and the exposure of Stürmer in the Duma. Even before this it was evident that he had been a disappointment to his masters. He lacked the skill, the subtlety of a really clever intriguer, and had neither the force of character nor the executive ability to carry through his task. Undoubtedly the "dark forces" were very little concerned over the exposure which forced his resignation. The man appointed to steer the ship of state on to the rocks of destruction had already been appointed—Protopopov, Minister of the Interior. As already narrated, the loyal Russians were still congratulating themselves over the elimination of von Stürmer when Protopopov stepped forward in his place. For the Premier who followed von Stürmer, Trepov, was and remained a mere figurehead, who, in fact, later developed sympathy for the Progressives.

Protopopov successfully weathered the storm of indignation from the floor of the Duma, and steadfastly continued to develop his plans. Not long

before the close of 1916 there came to the ears of the members of the Duma reports of revolutionary activities among the working classes, especially those engaged in the munition factories. At first they turned accusingly to the members who represented the organized revolutionary elements, the Socialists and the labor leaders, who had declared themselves strongly for urging them to remain at work while the nation was straining to win the war.

It was not long before it was discovered that the agitation among the masses of Petrograd was being carried on by the paid agents of the Ministry of the Interior. Possibly a few leaders of the "impossibilist" Socialist elements, later known as the Bolsheviki, worked in harmony with them, not

RASPUTIN AND HIS COTERIE

Gregory Rasputin—a sinister figure of a weird mediæval type—in whom the "dark forces" of disloyal and pro-German Russians centred. Rasputin was a kind of fakir or wizard such as flourished in all lands of twilight culture before the daybreak of modern science. Such men were known in pagan Rome and in the heathen Orient and in Christendom they continued to appear until the seventeenth century. Copyright, Underwood & Underwood

national unity in the face of the enemy. These radical leaders quickly convinced their conservative colleagues that they were not responsible for the agitation.

THE SOURCES OF SEDITIOUS AGITATION ARE DISCOVERED.

Mysterious placards had appeared on the walls of the munition factories and in working class districts, calling upon the workers to strike for better conditions. To prove their own sincerity the working class leaders immediately issued proclamations to their followers, calling on them to turn deaf ears to the mysterious agitators, and because they were paid, but because they believed that the war would be, or could be, brought to an end by the working classes in all the belligerent countries striking behind the lines.

LOYAL RUSSIANS STRIVE TO STEM THE TIDE OF SEDITION.

Protopopov's plan was clear, so clear that a panic literally swept through the Duma and all intelligent, loyal Russians. Protopopov contemplated nothing less than a revolution at home, in Petrograd, which would, first of all, paralyze all effort behind the lines and make further military

operations impossible. Then, when Russia lay helpless, he would call in the German forces to suppress the disorders—and the final aim of the conspirators would be accomplished.

This fact was literally shouted from the floor of the Duma, and it roused all loyal Russians regardless of their previous attitude toward the autocracy. This was the fact which members of

putin. On the night of December 30, 1916, a lonely policeman on patrol heard revolver shots and shouts from within the mansion of Prince Felix Yusopov, a member of the Imperial family by marriage, and one of the largest land-owners in Russia. Knocking at the door to investigate, the policeman was sent about his business by no less a person than the Grand

AFTER THE STORM OF WAR HAD PASSED

Effects of German bombardment in a town in Russian Poland. Such scenes of general desolation were only too frequent in the pathway of this war, and their horror is the modern repetition of the horror of the Middle Ages when cities were burned and sacked. The power of reparation and indemnity is confined to inanimate brick and stone. It cannot recreate homes and household gods destroyed in the gun-blast.

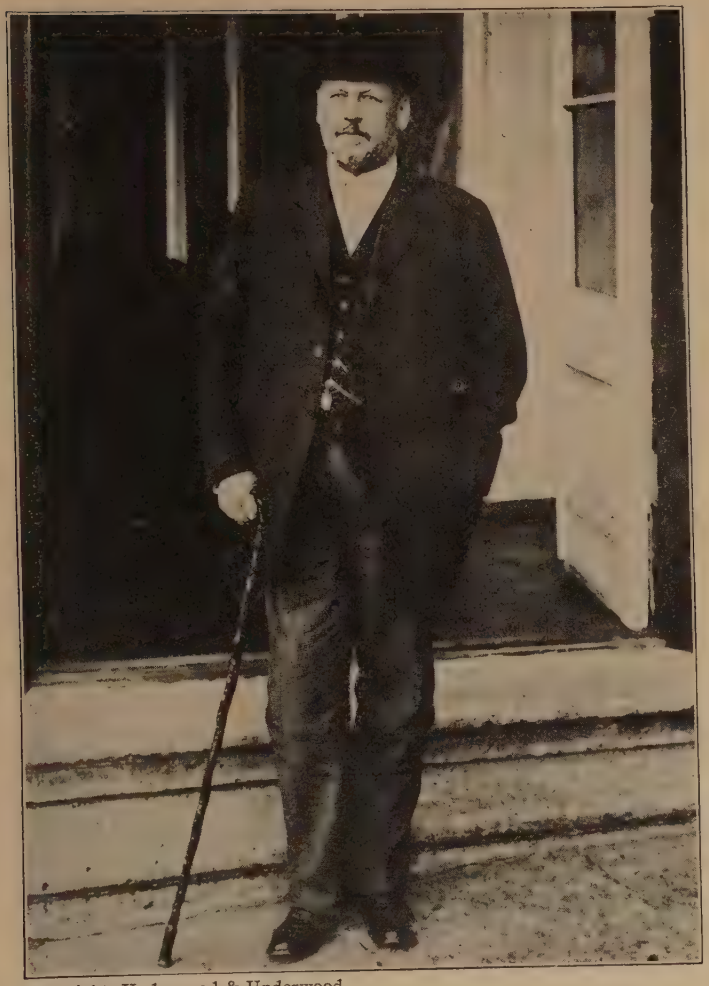
his own family presented to the Tsar—without success. The Tsarina was almost openly accused before him. As ever his answer was only a smile, and the remark, "There is none more loyal than the Tsarina."

RASPUTIN IS EXECUTED BY A GROUP OF NOBLEMEN.

In sheer desperation the leaders of those very elements, which in pre-war days had been the strongest supporters of the throne, took action. At that time, toward the end of the year, Protopopov's personal responsibility for the plot was not so obvious, and the blame was laid directly on Ras-

Duke Dimitri Pavlovitch, an ex-Minister of the Interior, who opened the door. Nor did he dare interfere when, half an hour later, he saw four men leave the house and get into an automobile, carrying an object resembling a human body in shape.

When daylight came bloodspots were discovered on the pavement and trailed to the river by the police, then over the ice to a hole which had been cut through. A rubber galosh was found near the hole. Three days later a human body, clad in the black cassock of a monk, was found in the river. The dead man was Rasputin. The dead



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M. MICHAEL RODZIANKO
Fresident of the Russian Duma who guided its fortunes in the days of the revolution, and showed himself both moderate and far-seeing.

monk had been lured to the house of Prince Yusopov and there been summarily tried, found guilty, and executed by a group of men including the Prince himself, the Grand Duke Dimitri, A. N. Khvostov, also an ex-Minister of the Interior, and Vladimir Purishkevitch, the notorious Black Hundred leader and reactionary. These men openly proclaimed their deed, and no one dared call them to serious account. Indeed, they were hailed by every articulate Russian as heroes.

RASPUTIN'S DEATH TOO LATE TO SAVE THE THRONE.

In striking contrast to the pompous ceremonies with which the funeral of the dead monk was conducted, and in which the Tsar himself and Protopopov acted as pallbearers, was the general rejoicing which took place all over Russia at the news that Rasputin was dead. But Rasputin had been destroyed too late to interfere with the succession of events which had been set in motion. With the desperation given him by the knowledge that he might any day share the fate of his master and colleague, Protopopov set about with renewed determination to accomplish his aims and protect the interests of his cause. And now, during the latter part of January and early February, 1917, his efforts began to bear fruit.

He began arresting and imprisoning the labor leaders who were fighting against the agitations of his agents. Nothing that he had as yet done was so openly significant. With a clear field in which to work, without being hampered by the police, of which they were themselves members, the pseudo-revolutionists began to succeed in arousing the discontent of the workers of Petrograd. The scarcity of food was now reaching the stage of acute famine. The few honest Socialists and labor leaders still at liberty could no longer make themselves heard. On February 27, 1917, over 300,000 workers were on strike in Petrograd. The critical moment was approaching.

THE STRIKES IN PETROGRAD CONTINUE TO INCREASE.

On March 1 the only labor representative left in the Duma issued a last appeal to the strikers, exhorting them to return to work to save Russia. That proclamation was completely suppressed by the Government—the leaflets were seized and destroyed by the police. This was the final proof of Protopopov's treachery, if any were needed. During the following week the unrest among the populace continued to increase. Food was so scarce that not only the wealthy went hungry, but the troops of the garrison were starved, which was poor tactics on the part of the conspirators.

On March 9 street railway traffic in Petrograd ceased, for the street railway men had gone on strike. The people gathered in the streets, shouting for food, but otherwise creating no disorders. The soldiers, both cavalry and infantry, were called out to patrol the streets, while squads of police lugged machine guns up to the roofs of certain houses, to cover the public squares and other strategic points, where disorder was likely to begin. Protopopov wanted disorder, but he did not mean to let it get out of his control. A few days like Red Sunday were needed to serve as a pretext.

THE COUNCIL OF WORKINGMEN'S DELEGATES IS ORGANIZED.

But the disorders did not manifest themselves so soon as he had expected or desired. Realizing that the workers were going to strike anyhow, the real leaders of the labor elements desisted from protesting and began directing the strike instead. Quietly they organized the Council, or Soviet, of Workingmen's Delegates, and through this body representing the strikers, they assumed control, thus checking disorders. What might otherwise have been a blind mass protest without any conscious leadership, and therefore bound to end in disorder, became a controlled movement. The agent provocateurs had been able to arouse the movement, but failing another Father

STREET FIGHTING IN PETROGRAD

Much of the bloodshed which stained the streets of Petrograd in the Russian Revolution was due to Protopopov and the police, who had promoted disturbances among the disaffected in order to suppress them by force. When the soldiers threw in their lot with the populace the police were in a hopeless position, and those who were not shot were imprisoned. In the street fighting in Petrograd about 2500 people were killed and wounded.

Gapon, they had not been able to direct it, once it was aroused.

The leaders in the Soviet were at first in harmony with the members of the Duma. One of them, in fact, a young lawyer, Alexander Kerensky, was also a member of the Duma, representing the Social Revolutionist Party. Thus the Duma leaders understood the situation, and the danger its connections." The Tsar was then at military headquarters, but Protopopov hastily despatched a messenger to him, who brought back a signed ukase proroguing the Duma for a month. The Elder Committee, representing all the political factions in the Duma, decided to ignore the ukase and refused to dissolve.

Meanwhile the crowds continued

REVOLUTIONISTS STARTING ON A POLICE HUNT

Animosity against the police, creatures of the old bureaucracy, suppressed through long years of terrorism, burst into full flame when they started shooting upon assembled crowds. Armed civilians and soldiers crowded into motor-lorries and raced from point to point, driving the police by a hail of bullets from coigns of vantage on roofs and in garrets.

which had been momentarily averted. But, realizing that it might be only a question of a few days, or perhaps hours, before acts of aggression on the part of the police might break the restraining hold of the Soviet leaders on the strikers and precipitate disorder, the Duma hastened to take action.

THE DUMA REFUSES TO BE PROROGUED.

By March 10th the strike was practically general. On that day the Duma officially broke off official relations with the Government, stating in its proclamation that "with such a Government the Duma forever severs marching up and down the streets of the city, shouting and calling on the Cabinet to resign, but still in an orderly manner. It was noted that the Cossacks, usually so rough in handling demonstrators, hustled them very gently and good-naturedly. An order was issued forbidding the gathering of crowds. The people, as was to be expected, ignored the order. This gave Protopopov a pretext. He commanded the chief of the garrison to order out his troops in full force and clear the streets, even if they must be swept clean with machine gun and rifle fire.

PROTOPOPOV ATTEMPTS TO QUELL THE STORM HE HAD RAISED.

The police, men picked for their fitness for just such work, immediately obeyed and began firing down on the multitudes from their stations on the housetops, and so precipitated the first skirmishes, for now a few armed workingmen and students became suddenly belligerent. It was over his faith in the troops that Protopopov's plans went to pieces. There were 40,000 soldiers in Petrograd at that time, more than enough to suppress an uprising. And when had Russian soldiers, especially Cossacks, ever refused to suppress revolutionary demonstrations?

But the Russian Army had undergone a very radical transformation during the three years of the war. The old-time regular establishment had been flooded by recruits from the masses. The Russian Army had become the masses themselves—armed. Even the Cossack regiments, isolated and privileged, had been in the field and come into intimate contact with the people in the democratic life at the front. All the young men of the nation had come together in the trenches, where men talk as well as shoot, and they had come to a realization of their common interests.

THE PICKED REGIMENTS REFUSE TO FIRE UPON THE PEOPLE.

When the officers of the Petrograd garrison called out their regiments and commanded them to shoot down the people in the streets of the city, there was an almost unanimous refusal on the part of the soldiers to do so. As an instance, James J. Houghteling, Jr., an eye-witness of the revolution, states in his "Diary of the Russian Revolution" that "this morning Turner, of the Embassy, passed the barracks of the Preobrajensky, Peter the Great's old bodyguard, and saw the entire regiment drawn up in a hollow square and its colonel addressing it on the necessity of firing on the mob. Suddenly a soldier stepped from the ranks and, clubbing his rifle, struck down the speaker; and the greater part of the regiment seized and disarmed the other officers. A few blocks distant, in front of the Artillery Arsenal, the soldiers of the Volhynian Life-Guards had shot the general in command, and practically the whole regiment had revolted."

However, serious disorder or disorganization might have been the result had it been only the common soldiers who refused to support the corrupt autocracy, but the same spirit which had created the Progressive Bloc in the conservative Duma had also permeated the army leadership. In the majority of cases the officers of the regiments went over to the cause of the people with their soldiers. It was a general military mutiny which encouraged the Duma to declare itself the supreme government of the Russian nation.

THE SOLDIERS JOIN THE ATTACK ON THE POLICE.

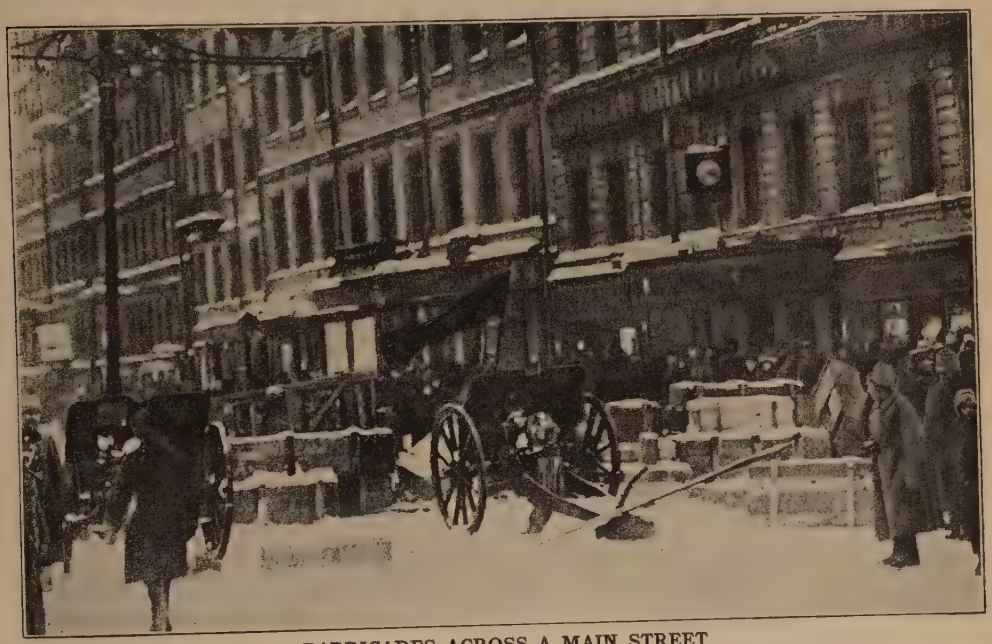
The soldiers not only refused to fire on the people, but they marched out into the streets and, joining the people, began to attack the police. This fighting began in the afternoon of March 11, and it may be said that at that hour began the Russian Revolution; at that hour the Russian autocracy fell. Michael Rodzianko, President of the Duma, sent a last telegraphic appeal to the Tsar to save the situation. "The situation is serious. In the capital is anarchy. The government is paralyzed. . . . It is indispensable to entrust to a person having the confidence of the country the formation of a new ministry. . . ." To this urgent appeal the Tsar made no answer, and so lost the last opportunity to save his throne.

Rodzianko then telegraphed to the army commanders at the front to present the situation to the Tsar, but the monarch seemed to be in a comatose state, unable to develop sufficient resolution to take action. It was said that while the generals explained the situation to him he twirled his thumbs and gazed abstractedly out of the window of his car. And so the revolution in his capital sped past him. This same inertia, to a lesser degree, also possessed the majority of the members of the Duma.

LEADERS IN THE DUMA ARE DEVELOPED FOR THE OCCASION.

It was the leaders of the old revolutionary elements, the Social Revolutionists and the Social Democrats, who asserted themselves and took the situation in hand, and so saved Russia from complete anarchy. Several of them, notably Alexander Kerensky and N. S. Tchkheidze, both Socialists, were also members of the Duma, and

Under the danger of that political disorganization which Protopopov had wished to bring about, so that he might have a pretext for making separate peace with Germany, these two naturally antagonistic factions allowed their fundamental difference of interests to recede into the background, inspired by a common sentiment of patriotism. So, for the time being, they worked loyally together.



BARRICADES ACROSS A MAIN STREET

Guns decorated with the red flag of international Socialism defend these barricades which have been thrown up in one of the principal thoroughfares of the Russian capital. All business was at a standstill, and the government paralyzed. When the soldiers showed their intention of siding with the workers the police soon surrendered.

together with such strong characters as Rodzianko, Prince Lvov and Paul Miliukov, saved it from utter discredit. It was the Soviet, however, the Council of Workingmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, which instantly gripped the reins which had fallen from the hands of the dead autocracy. Thus, from the very beginning the new government assumed a dual character, a partnership between two irreconcilable elements. For the Duma, by a large majority, represented the aristocratic and the mercantile interests, while the Soviet represented those elements of the people who had already had experience in mass organization.

THE SOVIET ORGANIZES THE FORCES OF THE REVOLUTION.

By Monday morning, March 12, the Soviet had knit together the fighting forces of the revolution into an organization that might have done credit to men of far more military experience. There were, of course, high ranking officers among the mutineers thoroughly in sympathy with the Socialistic ideals of the Soviet leaders, and no doubt they assisted in directing the operations of the revolutionary forces. On that Monday morning the red flag of international Socialism was raised over Petrograd.

During that morning the revolu-

tionists delivered their first organized attack against the remnant of the loyal forces of the autocracy by storming the Arsenal. This building was taken, its commanding officer killed and the arms and ammunition distributed among the soldiers of the revolution. Automobiles, crowded with armed revolutionists, scoured the streets of the city, hunting down the police, many of whom were still hiding in houses and buildings and sniping the revolutionists. The jails and prisons were broken open and the political prisoners were liberated. The police headquarters building was also stormed and sacked; all its archives and records were thrown out in the street in a heap and burned. Then came a lull in the fighting and a delegation from the revolted soldiers presented itself before the Duma building and demanded an interview with the Duma leaders.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE PROCESS OF ORGANIZATION.

"The autocracy is overthrown," they said. "We have liberated Russia from her tyranny. Where do you stand?" In reply Rodzianko stepped forward and addressed the crowd. He declared himself and the members of the Duma unequivocally in favor of a constitutional democratic government for Russia. Kerensky and Tchkheidze also came forward in his support, and the assembled soldiers cheered for the Duma.

That afternoon the Elder Council of the Duma, representing all the political parties, elected a temporary committee to co-operate with a similar committee of the Soviet to maintain order and organize a provisional government. These two committees then went into joint session and so remained almost continuously for many days. Meanwhile there was a steady stream of delegations from all sorts of civic and military organizations to the Duma building, where the committee was in session, bearing the formal adhesion of their constituents to the new régime. One of these represented the Imperial Guards at the Imperial Palace who had revolted and arrested the Tsarina and her children. Meanwhile the soldiers of the new government were bringing in as prisoners all the officials of the old autocracy until none remained at large except the arch-traitor, Protopopov. A determined search had been made for him, but he seemed to have disappeared. Finally, on the evening of the 13th an old man in civilian dress presented himself before the student guard at the doorway of the Duma building.

PROTOPOPOV GOES TO PRISON NEVER TO EMERGE ALIVE.

"I wish to present myself to those in authority," he said. "I am Protopopov, ex-Minister of the Interior." A shout of rage went up from the bystanders, and had not Kerensky just then appeared violence might have been offered to the old autocrat. He was led away to prison, never again to emerge, for when they came into power the Bolsheviki made short work of him. One report has it that he died insane.

On Wednesday the Grand Duke Cyril Vladimirovitch presented himself to the Duma and placed himself and his whole bodyguard at its disposal. But this was no more surprising than the alacrity with which all the military commanders on the fighting front responded to the telegrams sent them by Rodzianko, explaining the new situation. One and all sent in their declarations of loyalty to the new revolutionary régime. The whole Russian Army was with the revolution, from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

From the provincial cities came news equally encouraging. Everywhere the revolution was accepted, if not with great enthusiasm, at least with quiet acquiescence. Equally encouraging was the attitude of the Allied governments; the French and British ambassadors had immediately hastened to inform the President of the Duma that their respective governments accorded recognition to the new régime. These countries and the United States as well, later sent missions to offer all possible aid to the new government.

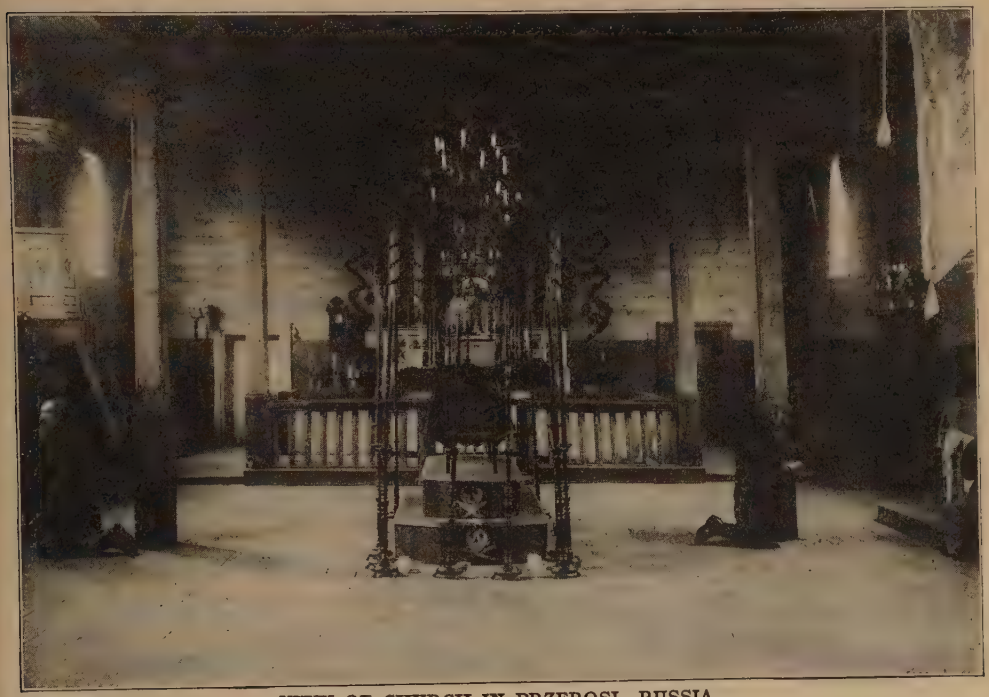
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IS FINALLY ORGANIZED.

Early in the afternoon of March 15, the two committees announced the

result of their labors—the formation of the Provisional Government. Prince George Lvov, widely known as a Liberal-Constitutionalist, but above all as the organizer of the All-Russian Union of Municipalities, which had been such a power in the work behind the lines during the war, was named as Premier, the one man against whom no protest was raised in either the new government. Obviously the Soviet, though it undoubtedly held the real power in Petrograd, desired strongly to gain the confidence of the middle classes.

WHAT SHOULD BE THE FUTURE FORM OF GOVERNMENT?

In the maintenance of law and order the two elements stood as one. In their desire to continue the war against the Central Powers to a triumphant finish, together with the Allies, there was also no room for disagreement. But in the character, or form, of the future permanent government of Russia there was considerable difference, but this was finally settled by compromise. The radicals ceded their demand for a pure Socialist republic and agreed to a constitutional monarchy. But the conservatives on their part agreed that Tsar Nicholas must be deposed. It was agreed that the puny invalid, the Tsarevitch, should be placed on the throne for the present, under the control of some



VIEW OF CHURCH IN PRZEROSL, RUSSIA

Poverty-stricken and primitive as is the interior of this little church, its aspect in no wise affects the simple piety of the mourners praying for the soul of the departed at the side altars. Unlettered and rude, the Russian peasant's nature has nevertheless a deep fount of mysticism—rich soil for the tenets of his church.

Ruschin

radical or the middle class camp. Paul Miliukov, learned historian and leader of the Constitutional Democrats, was Minister of Foreign Relations. Alexander Kerensky, a member of the Social Revolutionary Party, was Minister of Justice. Shingarev, a physician by profession and a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party, was made Minister of Agriculture, an important post since the food problem came under its jurisdiction.

The Liberals, or Constitutional Democrats, obviously had a majority in the Cabinet, as Kerensky was practically the only radical prominent in

responsible regent. As for the constitutional form of the future Russian state, that would be left to a Constituent Assembly, to be elected as soon as possible by the whole Russian people, on the basis of universal suffrage for women as well as men.

The Duma and the Soviet, together, had already dispatched two representatives to the front to obtain the formal abdication of the Tsar. Rodzianko

GRAND DUKE MICHAEL OF RUSSIA
In his favor Nicholas II abdicated his crown, March, 1917.

had been in close telegraphic communication with General Ruzsky, in command of the northern armies, and he, in his turn, had communicated with all the other commanders along the whole front. All agreed with the Provisional Government that the Tsar should be made to abdicate. Before the two delegates, Gutchkov, War Minister in the new Cabinet, and Bublikov, a deputy, had arrived in Pskov, Ruzsky's headquarters, Ruzsky had made a determined effort to awaken the Tsar to a realization of the situation and to make some sort of action which would save him his throne. When the delegates arrived Ruzsky was convinced that this was impossible, and joined the two delegates in demanding of the Tsar that he abdicate.

THE TSAR ABDICATES FOR HIMSELF AND HIS SON.

Nicholas acted under this new influence as readily as he had succumbed to the influence of his former reactionary advisers and signed the document which left his throne vacant.

"But I cannot consent to part from my son," he said, "so I abdicate in favor of my brother Michael."

The Grand Duke Michael wisely refused to accept the honor thus bestowed on him unless at the request of a Constituent Assembly, thus leaving the throne vacant. By that time the manifestation of public opinion in favor of abolishing entirely the monarchial form of government asserted itself so strongly that no further effort was made to find a candidate for the throne, and the Provisional Government remained the supreme authority of the state.

The ex-Tsar Nicholas, for several days remained at liberty, traveling aimlessly back and forth in his sumptuous drawingroom car, until finally he was arrested and imprisoned at Tsarskoe Selo, together with the rest of his family. Here he resigned himself completely to his fate, devoting his time to association with his family, chopping down trees and making entries of these minor occupations in his diary.

DISAGREEMENTS ARISE BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND THE DUMA.

For some weeks the Provisional Government continued its work of establishing its power, in complete harmony with the two contending factions which it represented, personified in the members of the Soviet and the Duma. Orders were promulgated liberating all political prisoners, expropriating the Imperial estates and granting full civil recognition to the Jews. Then the death penalty was abolished in the army, but as the danger of political anarchy, which both factions feared, disappeared, rival tendencies began to assert themselves.

The first of these was the desire of

the radicals within the Soviet to extend extreme democratic principles to the army organization. Officers should not be appointed, but elected. The salute should be abolished; officers and men should be equal. Unfortunately the country was still at war, fighting against armies which were under strict discipline—and practical military operations do not harmonize with democratic idealism. The military commanders at the front immediately protested against these radical demands. And for a time the Soviet recognized their protests. But the idea had been voiced; the rank and file, having heard so much talk about democracy, desired to see it in practice among them. The same spirit began to permeate the workingmen in the munition factories. Their leaders had told them that Socialism would mean shorter hours and more pay, a fuller life. Why, then, should this speeding up continue? Yes, the war must be won, and that meant increasing the output of war munitions as rapidly as possible. But—had not these same Socialists once said that all men were brothers? So what were they fighting the Germans for, anyhow? These thoughts were not as yet loudly voiced, but they began to grip the minds of the workers and soldiers alike.

THE FUTURE DICTATOR OF RUSSIA ARRIVES ON THE SCENE.

Early in April there arrived in Petrograd one who was to formulate these thoughts in words, loudly and more loudly, as time passed—Nikolai Lenin, the "impossibilist" Socialist. Like most revolutionary leaders he had adopted a pseudonym. His name was Vladimir Illitch Ulyanov.

In theory there was little difference between the opinions of Kerensky and those of Lenin—both were Marxian Socialists. It was entirely in tactics that they disagreed. Both believed that society is composed of two classes, the capitalist, or exploiting class, and the proletariat, or the exploited class, and that the proletariat should forever abolish this difference by coming into power and establishing a social system based on the collective ownership and democratic control of industry. But Kerensky believed that this could only be accomplished gradually through evolution, and that meanwhile conditions as they are must be dealt with practically. He was what in Socialist terminology is called an "opportunist." Above all, he believed, German imperialism must be crushed first of all, and to accomplish that both classes must join together in the effort to accomplish it, as they had joined

SHADOWS OF GLORY

Empty frame in the Duma whence the Tsar's portrait was removed. Eagles and other heraldic pomp that adorned the Imperial Palace were torn down and burnt in the courtyard.

together in overthrowing the Russian autocracy. Later the social reorganization could be accomplished, peacefully or otherwise.

LENIN'S UNCOMPROMISING THEORY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY.

Lenin placed the social revolution first and foremost in the order of importance. The war with Germany was only a struggle between two capitalist states, in which the proletariat was merely the tool of the contending powers. Let Germany invade Russian territory, what matter? For it would be only a question of a little time before the German proletariat would destroy the German autocracy, which was in its essence capitalistic. A

conquering Germany would only destroy itself as a capitalist state.

This was the propaganda which Lenin and his thirty followers who came into Russia a month after the revolution began to spread among the soldiers and the workingmen. Later came Leon Trotzky, from America, and joined forces with them. Trotzky was a Russian by birth, and had lived in several other countries of Europe before coming to the United

WHERE DEMOCRACY BROKE THE BARRIERS

One of the first things the revolutionaries did was to cover the royal insignia on the Palace gates or public buildings.

States where he had lived a few months. He was not so much of a pacifist as Lenin, but he believed that it was not necessary to defeat the Central Powers before the Russian proletariat, at least, could proceed to establish a perfect Socialist state. Later the German proletariat, however victorious the masters might have been, would follow the example of the Russian working classes and so pave the way to a world-wide commonwealth.

A MAJORITY IN THE SOVIET AGAINST THESE VIEWS.

With these "impossibilist" views the majority of the radicals of the Soviet were not in sympathy, however much they might agree with the Leninites in their ultimate ideals. Yet they were growing more and more conscious of their differences with the Liberals. This growing difference of opinion came to a head in April, 1917, when Miliukov, as Foreign Minister, ventured to express the foreign policy of the Provisional Government for the benefit of the outside world, more especially Russia's allies in the war. The occupation of Constantinople by Russia and command of the Dardanelles, said Miliukov, was necessary to the economic welfare of the Russian nation.

This was a proposition, involving sovereignty of one people over another, against which the mildest Socialist might be expected to protest. Either Miliukov completely misunderstood the Socialist point of view, or disregarded it. At any rate, his words brought forth a perfect storm of protest. The Soviet literally boiled over. The radicals quickly asserted themselves, and a few days later came the famous manifesto, or declaration of policy, ennunciating the rights of "self determination" of all peoples, big or small, whatever the outcome of the war might be. Indemnities also, in principle, were denounced.

THE DETERMINATION TO FIGHT STILL STRONG.

But if the Germans, who made a great deal of capital of this difference of opinion which had arisen within the governing body of revolutionary Russia, hoped that it might be utilized in creating such a split as would weaken the prosecution of the war, they were mistaken. This was not to be the cause of the decline of Russia's military strength. For in the second week of April a national convention of the Soldiers' and Workingmen's Soviets from all Russia passed a resolution in favor of continuing the war against Germany, by a vote of 325 against 57.

The real source of discord came in the conflicting tendencies within the army itself. The Soviet, representing as it did, the rank and file of the army, still realized that the organization of an army is incompatible with the principles of democracy, and conceded

that on the field of battle the army commanders should have full and absolute authority. Behind the lines they would not concede so much. This brought about a continual conflict with the commanding generals. Finally on May 13, 1917, General Kornilov, commanding the Petrograd garrison, registered his protest by handing in his resignation. Generals Gurko and Brusilov did likewise. Obviously it was a concerted move on the part of the army authorities, for a few days later Minister of War Gutchkov also resigned. A serious crisis was thus precipitated.

THE BATTALION OF DEATH

Russian girl soldiers of the "Battalion of Death" assembled in front of their barracks at Tsarkoe Selo, fifteen miles south of Petrograd, the seat of two former imperial palaces. The battalion remained loyal to the last to the Kerensky Provisional Government and the Allies, and for a while counted as an effective military unit.
N. Y. Times Photo Service

KERENSKY COMES FORWARD TO ARRANGE A COMPROMISE.

Again it was Kerensky who rose to the occasion as the mediator between the two conflicting elements. In an impassioned speech he appealed for unity to a joint meeting of the Soviet and Duma committees, with the result that the Soviet agreed to exercise its power solely through representation in the Provisional Government, which it had hitherto refused to do.

A complete reorganization of the Cabinet followed on May 19. Miliukov, who had made himself unpopular by his utterance regarding Constantinople, retired, but Prince Lvov continued as Premier. Kerensky took up the portfolio of War. Terestchenko, a man of the same type as Lvov, became Minister of Foreign Affairs, but Shingarev was made Minister of Finance. There were six Socialists in the new Cabinet. The Soviet now passed a resolution expressing full confidence in the Provisional Government and agreed to recognize it as the supreme authority in all matters.

KERENSKY ATTEMPTS TO AROUSE THE SPIRIT OF THE ARMY.

The generals now withdrew their resignations and returned to their posts. Kerensky, as War Minister, set out on a tour of all the fronts, where he exhorted the soldiers to observe strict

discipline until the war should have been won. At this time a peasant's congress was held, and it is significant that though showing itself strongly Socialistic, Lenin, who was candidate for one of the offices in the organization, received only eleven votes.

The Government now made active preparations for a determined offensive on the fighting fronts. Kerensky had accepted the resignation of Alexiev

GENERAL SOUKHOMLINOV

General Soukhomlinov, Russian Minister of War at the beginning of the struggle, was convicted of high treason under the Provisional Government and sentenced to life imprisonment.

as Commander-in-chief, and appointed Brusilov in his stead. The Leninites, otherwise known as the Bolsheviki, now began intensive efforts to counteract these preparations. Possibly they sensed the growing demoralization in the army, and mistook it for sympathy for their doctrines, for in the middle of June they prepared to organize a popular demonstration in Petrograd, in the hope of having it develop into an overthrow of the Provisional Government. However, on June 23, the date fixed for the demonstration, nothing occurred. The Soviet issued a proclamation calling on all its constituents to boycott it.

THE MEANING OF THE NEW TERMS, BOLSHEVIKI AND MENSHEVIKI.

There is much confusion over the term, "Bolsheviki". The origin is simple. After the Revolution of 1905 the Social Democratic party in Russia split into two factions. The more radical had a majority, *bolshinstvo;* the more conservative wing was a minority, *menshinstvo.* Hence the Bolsheviki meant at this time the majority, or more radical wing, of the party and the Mensheviki the minority wing. The Bolsheviki were, of course, opposed to the Provisional Government which they considered to be an unholy compromise, and desired to overthrow it at once.

Early in the first week of July dispatches from the front indicated that the offensive against the Germans was beginning. Day after day the reports continued describing Russian successes, and for a while it seemed that the Russian revolutionary army was to score a great triumph over the German and Austrian forces.

The sudden collapse of this brilliantly begun offensive is described elsewhere. By the middle of the month it was obvious that the fighting spirit had gone out of the majority of the Russian soldiers. On July 18 the Bolsheviki succeeded in creating some disorders in the streets of the capital, which resulted in several skirmishes between the demonstrators and the troops of the garrison. The latter still showed themselves loyal to the Government, and the disturbance was put down with sharp determination.

KERENSKY BECOMES THE HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT.

On July 20 it was further announced that Prince Lvov had resigned as Premier, for the reason that Kerensky and his radical associates were trying to rouse the enthusiasm of the soldiers at the front by declaring Russia formally a republic. Prince Lvov declared it to be his opinion that they were trespassing upon the prerogatives of the future Constituent Assembly,

which alone had the right to determine the final form of Russia's permanent government. Nevertheless, five non-Socialists still remained in the Cabinet, so that it still remained a coalition government with Kerensky as Premier. At the same time Kerensky removed Brusilov as Commander-in-Chief, and in his place appointed General Kornilov, the Cossack chief.

From this time Kerensky's position powers. Kerensky and his associates, on the other hand, while recognizing the necessity of stricter discipline on the fighting fronts, believed that the enthusiasm of the soldiers only could save Russia, and that a dictatorship, however temporary, would kill whatever enthusiasm there still remained and lead to a strong movement toward the left, toward the "Bolsheviki of the Left", the Leninites.

KERENSKY AND BRUSILOV

A photograph of Kerensky (right) and General Brusilov at the Russian headquarters on the Southwestern front. "Stout hearts and stern hands are required to stay the rout in the army," stated the Premier, and for a while Brusilov hoped to bring the army back to its old morale and sweep the Germans out of Russia.

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was peculiarly trying. There was deep discontent throughout the nation over the failure of the military offensive. The conservative elements laid it to the agitation for democratic principles which had been carried on in the army. There was deep discontent with Kerensky's policy of making concessions to the radical elements, which he was undoubtedly doing, behind the lines, at least. These "Bolsheviki of the Right," as Kerensky termed the extreme conservatives, believed that the time had come to establish a "strong government," with dictatorial

THE GAP BETWEEN CONSERVATIVE AND RADICAL WIDENS.

Kerensky has since stated in his recently published book ("The Prelude to Bolshevism; the Kornilov Rebellion," London, 1919) that conspiracies against the Provisional Government were forming in various conservative circles, notably in the League of Army Officers, the Cossack organizations and among the financial interests of Moscow.

Believing, however, that the nation as a whole was strongly in favor of prosecuting the war to a victorious

conclusion before establishing a permanent form of national organization, Kerensky determined to give the whole people an opportunity to express themselves through something more broadly democratic than either the Soviet or the Duma. So he called a national conference, to be held in Moscow in the latter part of August. All kinds of organizations and social bodies were invited to send delegates; the Zemstvos, the co-operative societies, the labor unions, the Red Cross, the professional leagues and the army itself. It was, in fact, a sort of provisional constituent assembly, whose authority, Kerensky hoped, would impress both the extreme right and the extreme left.

Representatives of all factions assemble in Moscow.

The gathering took place in Moscow on August 25, 1917. As nearly as was possible, all Russia was represented there. For three days representatives of all shades of political opinion expressed themselves freely. Kerensky states in his book that the parties of the extreme right hoped to develop so strong a sentiment in their favor among the delegates that they might make it the occasion of a coup d'état, and there and then proclaim a dictatorship, with the Commander-in-Chief as its head. If this is true, they were sorely disappointed. The keynote of the conference was sounded when Bublikov, representing the Liberal Party, made a passionate plea to the middle classes to co-operate with the democratic elements. As he finished, Tseretelli, a Socialist representative, impulsively sprang forward and gripped his hand, whereupon the floor of the conference hall became the scene of a tremendous demonstration of enthusiasm.

The conflicting stories of the Kornilov rebellion.

The result of the Conference was to strengthen Kerensky in his belief that a coalition Government was the only thing that could save Russia from anarchy. Many of the measures Kornilov demanded, not only at the conference but of the Provisional Government directly, Kerensky, who was apparently developing a high sense of his own importance, believed proper, but he objected to the form in which they were put; Kornilov "demanded" them, and Kerensky insisted that Kornilov give the first example of discipline by moderating his attitude toward the government.

Now come the contradictory stories of the Kornilov conspiracy. Let us take Kerensky's story first. He says that on the night of September 8, 1917, Vladimir Lvov, who had previously been a member of the Cabinet, came to him in Petrograd and announced that he brought a message from Kornilov, at army headquarters to this effect, that the Provisional Government should resign from power and hand over their authority to Kornilov. Kerensky says that this ultimatum came as a complete surprise, that he immediately placed himself in direct telegraphic communication with Kornilov, who verified the message, and demanded that all power be handed over to him.

Kerensky's measures to suppress this act of rebellion were, naturally, backed by the full power of the Soviet. Kornilov had dispatched a division of Caucasians toward the capital, ostensibly to quell a Bolshevist uprising, but really, so Kerensky believed, for the purpose of overthrowing him, should he refuse to retire. The commander of this division, General Krimov, sensing the opposition he would have against him, first demonstrated to him by the refusal of the railroad workers to transport his supplies and troops, came to Petrograd alone and shot himself. A few days later Kornilov also came to a realization of the hopelessness of a counter-revolution from the right, and submitted to arrest. For a few days Alexiev, though very reluctantly, consented to assume the chief military command in his place, but presently he was superseded by General Dukhonin.

Kornilov's story differs in many particulars.

On the other hand, Kornilov said that Savinkov, Kerensky's Minister of War, and Lvov had come to him, he

supposed with the authorization of Kerensky, and had discussed the question of the dictatorship, and that he had consented to an arrangement under a directorate of four, of which he and Kerensky were to be the two dominating personalities, and that at the last moment Kerensky had treacherously gone back on the understanding, to gain credit in the eyes of the radicals. He further said that the highly improper to have anticipated the findings of this commission by any declaration of his own. Unfortunately the final catastrophe came before the commission could conclude its work and publish its findings. Kerensky presents his own testimony before the commission with explanatory notes in full in his book. His story is plausible, but it is probable that neither he nor Kornilov told all the truth.

WHEN THE MEN LAID DOWN THEIR ARMS

The "Battalion of Death" was recruited from among the intellectual classes of Russia. Only women between eighteen and twenty-five years were taken, and then not unless they were of exceptional physique. They wore their hair cropped, and were trained by one of the regiments which remained loyal to the Kerensky régime.
International News

troops had been dispatched toward Petrograd at the suggestion of Savinkov. So Kornilov said in plain words.

Kerensky, in his recent work, ascribes his later downfall to the suspicion this accusation aroused against him in the minds of the radicals. Certainly the conservative papers made the most of this accusation and openly denounced him. On the other hand, he says that he did not come out with a public statement of the actual facts, because a commission of inquiry had been instituted, and it would have been

KERENSKY DECLARES RUSSIA TO BE A REPUBLIC.

On September 15, 1917, Kerensky issued a proclamation declaring Russia a Republic. While an attack from Kornilov was expected and the result of his conspiracy still remained in doubt, the Soviet had exerted all its power and influence in its support of the Provisional Government. Fear of a reactionary revolution dominated the masses of the workers and soldiers who had supported the overthrow of the autocracy. With the arrest of Kornilov and the return of more or less

normal conditions, this fear began to manifest itself into a strong swing toward the left—toward the doctrines of the Bolsheviki. It was Kornilov's attempted revolution "by the Bolsheviki of the Right," Kerensky says, which brought about the later successful revolution by "the Bolsheviki of the Left." The people had been frightened, and this fear caused them to turn hastily in the opposite direction.

THE KREMLIN, IN MOSCOW, THE HOLY CITY

Kremlin, a word of uncertain origin, is used to designate the citadel in a Russian city. The best known kremlin is that of Moscow lying on the north bank of the Moskva, for many centuries the centre of the political and religious life of Russia and still the most venerated place in the heart of every Russian.

THE BOLSHEVIKI SECURE CONTROL OF THE SOVIET.

On the evening of September 13 the delegates to the Petrograd Soviet held a special meeting to discuss the situation, and it was on this occasion that the Bolsheviki suddenly developed a majority vote—279 against 150. At least this was the vote against the principle of a coalition government—in favor of an exclusive control of the state by the representatives of the "proletariat." The result of this unexpected swing of opinion in the Soviet toward the left was the resignation of the members of the Executive Committee, on the 19th. It was extremely significant that after the chairman of the Executive Committee, Tchkheidze, had resigned, Leon Trotzky was elected to fill the office he had vacated. The Soviet was now truly in the hands of the Bolsheviki.

The elements now in power in the Soviet, represented by such men as Trotzky, held that the Moscow Conference had not truly represented the peasant and working classes of Russia; that the bourgeoisie, or propertied classes, had been the controlling element in the deliberations. Therefore, being now in control, they used the Soviet as a means for calling another conference in Petrograd, known as the Democratic Congress, which was to represent the working classes of Russia. About 1,200 delegates attended, representing, first of all, the provincial soviets. Aside from these, however, there were representatives of the Zemstvos, the labor organizations, the co-operative societies and the peasants' unions.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO ASSERT INDEPENDENCE.

This gathering the Provisional Government refused to recognize officially, but Kerensky appeared before the opening session, in his private capacity,

he took care to explain. The Government, he declared, would henceforward recognize no bodies except the Constituent Assembly, when that should have been elected.

Kerensky obviously sensed that he was facing opposition on the floor of the Democratic Congress, for he immediately assumed a belligerent attitude. Nor did he make a mistake in so assuming, for a strong animosity was shown toward him, visible in the lack of applause, the hissing of his remarks and the antagonistic remarks from various parts of the hall.

"You may hiss, my friends," he paused once, to remark, "but do not forget that a German fleet is sailing up the Baltic!"

TYPES OF RUSSIAN PEASANTS

Courtesy of the Red Cross Magazine

THE ACTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

At a later session a resolution was passed by the Congress demanding that no change should be made in the personnel of the Provisional Government without its sanction. Of this resolution Kerensky took no notice, for several days later, on October 4, he completely reorganized his Cabinet, appointing a number of Constitutional Democrats to portfolios, which was against the principle enunciated by the Congress—that the Government should be exclusively Socialist. But three days later Kerensky weakened and arrived at a compromise with the Congress. The result was some further changes in the Cabinet in which the radicals were given more representation.

As a last act the Congress organized a body which was to serve as a temporary constituent assembly, to fill the interval until the real Constituent Assembly should be convened, some time in December. This body was called the

Temporary Council of the Russian Republic. As a compromise the "non-democratic" elements were allowed certain representation in it. Further, the Temporary Council was invested with the right to act in an advisory capacity with the Government and with certain initiative powers.

THE BOLSHEVIKI OPPOSE THE GOVERNMENT OPENLY.

On October 20, the Temporary Council held its first meeting. Trotzky and a number of his associates had been elected as members, though they had been strongly opposed to its creation. Nor had they any intention of participating in its deliberations, for as soon as he could obtain the floor, Trotzky rose and hurled a speech of fiery denunciation at the Government and at the Temporary Council itself.

RUSSIAN PEASANTS AT HOME

By Courtesy of the Red Cross Magazine

KERENSKY ATTEMPTS TO OVERCOME THE BOLSHEVIKI.

As he had set himself against the "Bolsheviki of the Right," so Kerensky now faced the "Bolsheviki of the Left," the real Bolsheviki, being fully convinced, as he was, that only all classes of Russian society together could save Russia from the enemy and from ruin. Already he realized that this second revolution, from the opposite direction, would not be so easily downed as had been the first. Foreign correspondents who saw him at this time reported him as careworn and obviously suffering from nervous exhaustion. And there was distinctly a note of despair in the statement which he issued on November 1, through the Associated Press, to all the newspapers of the Entente countries and the United States.

"Russia has fought continuously since the beginning," he said. "She saved France and England from disaster in the early part of the war. She is worn out by the strain, and claims now that the chief weight of the burden should be borne by the Allies."

THE BOLSHEVIKI NOW RESORT TO ARMED FORCE.

Indeed, the new leaders in the Soviet were already at this time preparing the first steps toward the downfall of the Provisional Government. On being elected to the chairmanship of the Petrograd Soviet, Trotzky had immediately organized a "military committee of revolution." In the evening of November 4, 1917, representatives from this committee appeared at the staff office of the Petrograd garrison and demanded the right of inspection and veto—that no orders should be given without the consent of the committee. This demand was flatly refused.

On November 7, 1917, an armed naval detachment, under orders from the Soviet revolutionary committee, suddenly appeared at the gates of the Marie Palace, where the Temporary Council was in session, and occupied the building by force of arms. Later

similar action was taken in the building of the Smolny Institute and the Central Telegraph Agency.

THE SOLDIERS REFUSE TO OBEY THE GOVERNMENT.

Against this hostile action the Provisional Government was unable to offer any immediate resistance, for the troops of the garrison showed themselves indisposed to obey commands. On the other hand, the Bolsheviki also refrained from a too active manifestation of force, for within the Soviet there was still a strong minority in favor of compromising with the Provisional Government.

It was not till the forces of the Soviet appeared before the Winter Palace, the headquarters of the Provisional Government, that the first actual fighting took place. As the Bolsheviki approached, shots were fired from within the grounds of the building, and the attacking party immediately took shelter behind the piles of firewood which had been stacked in the square before the gates. From here they opened a steady fire at the windows of the Palace. The cruiser Aurora, whose crew had gone over entirely to the Soviet, drew up off the Palace and opened a desultory fire. About thirty of the military cadets defending the Palace were killed, and then, toward midnight, the rest surrendered.

KERENSKY AND HIS CABINET FLEE FROM PETROGRAD.

Kerensky and the majority of his Cabinet had meanwhile left Petrograd. Outside the city he encountered a small force of Cossacks under the command of General Krasnov, with which he attempted to return and suppress the rebellion. But the Cossacks themselves were naturally only half-heartedly in his favor, and on approaching the city began deliberating over the advisability of going over to the Bolsheviki. Kerensky then fled, and so disappeared from the arena of Russia's internal politics.

Kerensky had failed to save Russia though he had striven with all his might. Sincerely devoted to the welfare of his country he had given all his energy and strength to the reconciliation of opposites which could not be reconciled, grasping at the shadow and losing the substance. He believed in the power of words, and often talked when he should have acted. Toward the end of his power he was possessed by "delusions of grandeur" and rebuffed men who might have aided him in saving Russia. He failed, but whether any one else could have succeeded is improbable.

The Bolsheviki had acted according to a general plan, for the same acts of rebellion occurred in all the principal centres of Russia simultaneously. Almost everywhere this second revolution was peacefully and bloodlessly accomplished, except in Moscow, where the military cadets offered a determined resistance.

THE BOLSHEVIKI PROCEED TO FORM A GOVERNMENT.

Having gained control of Petrograd, the revolutionary committee of the Soviet immediately issued a proclamation, announcing the "dictatorship of the proletariat"—the advent of the "real revolution of the Russian people." The programme which they published enunciated the following points:

First—to open negotiations with all the belligerent states for the purpose of obtaining a democratic peace.

Second—to distribute land holdings among the peasants.

Third—recognition of the Soviet as the supreme power in the government of Russia.

Fourth—the convocation of a genuine Constituent Assembly, representing the Russian democracy.

On the following day another proclamation announced the formation of a new cabinet, of which Nikolai Lenin was Premier, and Leon Trotzky Minister of Foreign Relations.

ALBERT SONNICHSEN.

A DETACHMENT OF THE WOMAN'S BATALLION OF DEATH RESTING IN THE FIELD

By Courtesy of the Red Cross Magazine

Greek Destroyers Off the Piræus, the Port of Athens

CHAPTER XLIII

Greece and the War—The Venizelist Revolt

THE ATTEMPT OF KING CONSTANTINE TO ESTABLISH ABSOLUTISM IN A DEMOCRATIC LAND

GREECE lies in the pathway from Asia to Europe, and when East invaded West, and the Turk entered Europe, Greece became a subject nation for many centuries. Enslavement almost blotted out her previous history, and that any fraction of individuality and tradition survived is due to the fact that her mountain fastnesses and multitudinous islands preserved it from utter extinction. With the turn of the tide in the other direction in the nineteenth century, what was left of Greece began a new life in common with all the other subject races under Turkish rule in the Balkans.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND RUSSIA DESIRED WEAK BALKAN STATES.

The history of the wars against Turkey has been told in a previous chapter (Chapter IV). Who should take the Turk's place in the peninsula was a complicated problem. From the point of view of Austria or Russia it was advantageous to maintain a balance of power among the Balkan States that would be so nicely poised as to keep all the rivals engaged in maintaining its equilibrium. It was a menace to this balance of power when Bulgaria precipitated the second Balkan War, ending in the Treaty of Bucharest which left her so angry. Stripped of the Dobrudja by Rumania, and of Macedonia by Greece and Serbia, Bulgaria bided her time. She had brought on the war herself rather than submit her claims in Macedonia to arbitration, but she felt that she had been over-punished and her services against the Turk under-recognized by the terms of the treaty. On the other hand, Serbia and Greece knew they had reason to fear Bulgaria and had a treaty of mutual support in case of Bulgarian aggression.

THE ALLIES SEEK TO WIN THE FAVOR OF BULGARIA.

Bulgaria was the pivot upon which the whole question of the Near East turned, and their mistaken attitude toward that country is the cause of the failure of the Allies in the Balkans. They thought to recast the Treaty of Bucharest and cut up Macedonia into slices, apportioning—with a fair consideration for racial distribution—slices of it among Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria, hoping to establish a united action of the Balkans against the Austro-Germanic League. Thus Serbia and Greece—their certain friends—were to be made to pay to placate Bulgaria—a possible enemy. So thinking, Allied diplomacy ignored two facts: the ambition of Bulgaria towards the hegemony of the peninsula, and her strongly developed Austro-Germanic leanings. But Serbia saw these

things and to Greece they were particularly distinct. When the Triple Entente pressed concessions to Bulgaria upon Greece and Serbia, an atmosphere of doubt was created in the Greek mind which the Central Powers were quick to foster by vigorous propaganda. Further, not content with blinding itself as to the signs of the times in Bulgaria, Allied diplomacy neglected all means of cultivating popular support in Greece, or of counteracting German propaganda. With the failure at the Dardanelles, the tragedy of Serbia, and the sacrifice of Rumania before her eyes, was it astonishing that Greece held back and hesitated to pay the debts of honor and of gratitude that she owed to Serbia and professed to Russia, England and France?

At the beginning of the war, popular sympathy had been with the Allies, for Greece and Serbia had been allies in the last war, Russia, France, and England had set Greece up as a nation, and their Premier, M. Venizelos, was popular and pro-ally. But the Greek Queen, Sophia, was the Kaiser's sister and she exercised a powerful influence with all members of the governing classes, and was moreover clever enough to take advantage of political divisions to aid the German cause. In the tangle there was only one man who in spite of Allied blunders saw and persisted in seeing that the cause of liberty must be that of Greece.

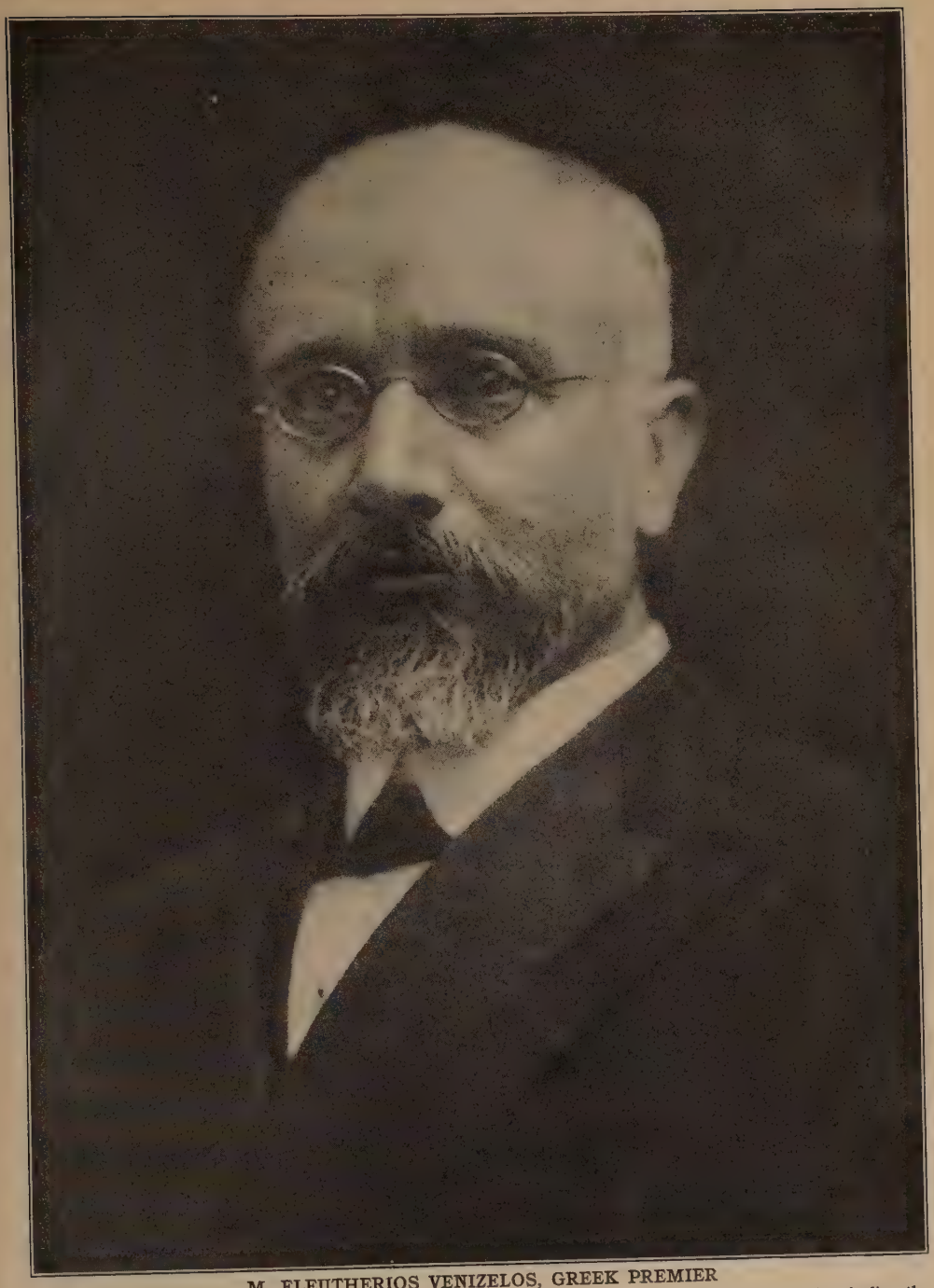
VENIZELOS THE GREATEST STATESMAN OF MODERN GREECE.

That man was Eleutherios Venizelos, premier of Greece and leader of the Liberal party. In 1864, in the little village of Murniaes on the island of Crete, was born the greatest statesman modern Greece has known. He was christened Eleutherios, meaning Liberty, and the name seems to have influenced his vocation in life through the years he struggled for the liberation of Hellas and to free Christendom from Prussian militarism. His father had first intended him to follow in his own steps as a merchant, but gave the boy a liberal education in the University of Athens, where he passed his examinations brilliantly, and returned to Crete to practice as a lawyer. When only twenty-three he entered the Cretan Assembly and soon succeeded M. Mitsotakis as leader of the Liberal party. It seemed to be the Turkish policy to stir up factions among the population so as to involve them in internal political struggles. When strife flared into bloodshed in 1889, Turkey stepped in and took sanguinary reprisal. Again in 1895 revolution broke out, and in the following year Turkey laid more massacres to her account. At last the Greek government asked the Great Powers to intervene on behalf of their little neighbor, and through their concerted action for a time Crete had a measure of autonomy under the Sultan.

Self-government afforded little protection against the Turk, however, and when further massacres took place the Cretans proclaimed their union with Greece. Leaving his practice, Venizelos placed himself at the head of the insurgents who resisted the interference of the Great Powers with obstinate intrepidity until they were obliged to yield. In 1897, war, which the Powers had striven to avert, broke out between Greece and Turkey because of Crete. Greece was obliged to withdraw her forces from the island, and the Cretans were again forced to accept autonomy, though Venizelos and his supporters did so conditionally, claiming it was only a stage towards the national aim of final union with Greece.

THROUGH VENIZELOS CRETE BECOMES GREEK TERRITORY.

The Powers appointed as High Commissioner of the island Prince George, son of the King of Greece, and in 1898 he took over the reins of government. Time passed, however, the goal of union seemed no nearer, and administrative mistakes added to general dissatisfaction. A general rising at Therisso broke out in 1903. Venizelos led with the mountaineers their rough life and shared their fortunes until Prince George resigned in July, 1904. The rebels had taken a vow to recognize no ruler save one



M. ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS, GREEK PREMIER

The Greek premier whose meteoric career during recent years has astonished the world. A patriot, feeling the most sacred obligation to the Constitution and to the National Cause, he was for long styled a traitor and an adventurer by ungrateful fellow-countrymen. Not only had he to fight against a treacherous king and unscrupulous and self-seeking rivals, but he had to fight against them without open support from his natural friends. Patient and long-enduring, possessed of great vision and imagination, Venizelos could realize the difficulties of the Allied Powers as well as his own. In the bud he saw the triumph of his dreams: a Greece freed from tyranny and once more united, a Greece allied with those powers whose traditional ally she had always been.

appointed by the King of Greece, and so with the nomination of M. Zaïmis, a former premier, brief tranquillity succeeded. The Young Turk revolution began in 1908, with a general loosening of authority in the Ottoman Empire. Austria took advantage of the time to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Bulgarians asserted their complete independence, and on October 7, the fourteenth insurrection since 1830 broke out in Crete with the same object as heretofore—the union of the island with Greece. The government took an oath of fidelity to King George and chose a committee of six to govern the island in the name of the Hellenic King, but it was not until 1912, when Venizelos had left them, that the Cretans were formally annexed to Greece.

Two years before this the Cretan deputy had been summoned to Athens by the Military League which had been formed by the officers of the army in hopes of bringing about a better state of affairs in their country. General unrest, parliamentary slackness, governmental indifference and laxity of discipline were reacting upon the national life so that the country seemed dead. With the determination of breaking altogether with the past the Military League was formed and it hoped by recasting the laws to revive the nation. There had been no time to evolve a policy to fit the new situation, and it soon became evident that a leader with a matured political programme which he would apply without flinching, was imperative. In their need, the officers of the army who had served in Crete to organize the police, remembered Venizelos and sent for him.

THE GREEK CONSTITUTION REVISED AND REFORMS INTRODUCED.

The constitution was revised, legislative and administrative reforms were carried out, the *favlokratia* or "rule of the incompetent" done away with, and—greatest of all—the Balkan League brought about. Knowing that such a project must be supported by military preparedness, Venizelos directed improvements in army and navy, and in May, 1912, when Greece held some grand manœuvres the Bulgarian and Serbian attachés were so much impressed by what they saw that soon after a treaty of alliance between the three powers was signed. As a consequence of Bulgaria's defeat in the Second Balkan War, and through M. Venizelos' influence in the Conference of Bucharest, the territory of Greece was much enlarged, and the population almost doubled. M. Hanotaux in "La Guerre des Balkans et l'Europe" thus sums up the benefits acquired by Greece, "If ever Pan-Hellenism felt on the point of realizing her dream it is at the present hour; Crete, the islands, Albania, Saloniki, the coast as far as Kavalla is a haul the consequences of which in the future can hardly be estimated. Greece seems to be the maritime heir of the Turkish Empire."

King Constantine (succeeding his father who was assassinated in Saloniki, March 18, 1913) was pleased to confer upon his Prime Minister the Grand Cross of the Order of the Saviour accompanied by a telegram: "I thank you for announcing the signing of peace. . . . You have deserved well of your country." One wonders if King Constantine and M. Venizelos remembered these last words when the time of exile for both came,—for the one a brief stay in Saloniki to be ended by a triumphant recall to Athens, for the other an indefinite sojourn in Switzerland, his future as closed in as the valleys before him.

VENIZELOS RESTORED AND STRENGTHENED THE DYNASTY.

The issue between King Constantine and his minister was never a personal one. When their ways of thought divided, the enemies of the Cretan patriot always sought to make out that Venizelos was anti-dynastic and anti-Constantine. On the contrary, when Venizelos was called upon to address the crowd in Athens in the early days of his premiership, he spoke of the Greek chamber as being revisionary in character. "Constituent!" shouted the frenzied crowd who blamed the royal house for all the evils from which the people suffered. "Revision-

ary, I said," repeated M. Venizelos and waited calmly until the shouting died away and his qualification was accepted. Consistent with this declaration, too, was the manner in which he brought forward and exalted the throne on every possible occasion. In his opinion Greece was not ready for a democratic form of government but needed a dynasty, and the thing

GREECE ONE OF THE CHIEF HEIRS OF TURKEY.

With the outbreak of war and Turkey's entry into the conflict, all hope for the maintenance of Balkan peace vanished. Venizelos did not believe that Turkey would survive the struggle and sought means by which Greece could help the Allies in that part of the world. By reason of the reforms

CYPRUS, THIRD LARGEST ISLAND IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

In ancient times Cyprus supplied the Greek monarchs of Egypt with timber for their fleets. It was also celebrated for its copper which takes its name (cuprum) from the island. It is now bare of trees and little mining has been done in modern times. Cyprus belonged to the Ottoman Empire, but in 1878 passed under British control. Picture from Henry Ruschin

to do was to strengthen the one that existed. He therefore neglected no opportunity to enhance the glory of Constantine.

Greece had shown her ability to live and go forward, and after 1913 Venizelos tackled the problem of extensive internal reforms. He needed a long peace for this, and even tried to revive the Balkan League, notwithstanding memories of the recent war. While Turkey was trying to exterminate the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire, M. Venizelos was seeking to reconcile the Greco-Turkish differences.

undertaken by the Liberal party the opposition, in the parliamentary sense of the word, had disappeared. The Liberal party was all-powerful, and the king could not dream of imposing his personal political views. It was entirely due to external events that the design to substitute personal for democratic government arose.

In another chapter the attitude of Greece towards the war during 1914 and 1915 has been outlined. Upon the outbreak of hostilities Venizelos used all his influence to have Greece join the Allies. Constantine took the

stand that so long as Bulgaria remained neutral and the Balkan equilibrium created by the Treaty of Bucharest was not upset, Greece would remain neutral. Early in 1915 the Triple Entente decided to embark upon the Dardanelles campaign, and became eager to secure Greece's help to hold Bulgaria in check, and to secure bases of operation in the neighborhood. Accordingly, Greece was offered concessions on the coast of Asia Minor in return for the co-operation of her fleet, and the use of a single division of her army. The territorial concessions would include regions of Greek colonies and strengthen her hold upon the islands.

THE GREEK GENERAL STAFF OPPOSES THE GALLIPOLI PROJECT.

These reasons together with his firm conviction that Greece should stand beside her former allies caused M. Venizelos to press earnestly for intervention. But the opinion of the Greek General Staff condemned the enterprise, and when the king refused to agree with M. Venizelos, the latter resigned in March, 1915. He was succeeded at once by M. Gounaris who, without dissolving the Chamber, announced a policy of strict neutrality. In April, M. Gounaris was approached by the Entente with a request that Greece should make war upon Turkey. Gounaris submitted proposals which the Allied governments allowed to fall through, and Gounaris turned, rebuffed, towards the pro-Germans and began to create an anti-Venizelist party. Constantine was ill and did not interfere by word or deed even when his minister dissolved the legislative body, headed a furious campaign against the Venizelist candidates for the coming elections, and told the electors that they must choose between Constantine and his minister, neutrality or hazardous intervention. Many new seats were thus won by the government but when the returns were declared in June, the Liberal party had a majority, 184 against 130. Still Gounaris held office, giving as a pretext that during the king's illness things must continue as they were, and the ministerial press did not cease to calumniate Venizelos. Finally Venizelos was recalled in August.

At this point it is well to estimate the strength of the opposition arrayed against the former premier. The king himself had received his military education in Germany and was possessed with the greatest admiration for the Prussian military machine. Of his military advisers, General Dousmanis and Colonel Metaxas, the former was violently anti-French and bureaucratic, and the latter, like the king himself, a brilliant product of the Berlin *Kriegsakademie*. Queen Sophia, of course, had her own special instructions from William II of Germany as to the course she should pursue in her native country's interests, though her influence was more marked in the creation of a pro-German environment at court and in the government than in its direct action upon her husband.

KING CONSTANTINE BELIEVED GERMANY TO BE UNCONQUERABLE.

The royal mind seems to have believed at this time that only an indecisive peace could be reached in Europe, and that, therefore, it would pay to maintain neutrality to the end. It inclined to the Austro-Germanic Powers as a shield against the Slav from without and a protection against an inconvenient development of democracy from within. We have not all the inside history of Teutonic intrigue, but it is probable that Constantine and William II met in July, 1915. The attack upon Serbia in the autumn was outlined to the Greek king and Bulgaria's complicity foreshadowed, Greece must remain quiescent or she would share in the Serbian disaster, but the price of her non-intervention would secure territorial integrity. Unfortunately the Triple Entente chose this very season to press the question of concessions to Bulgaria.

In continued blindness, Entente diplomacy still affected to believe that Bulgaria might be bought with the spoil of Macedonia, but Bulgaria had entered into a secret treaty with Berlin, Vienna and Constantinople in July, and between the 14th and 20th of Septem-

ber, she signed a further treaty with Turkey. On September 21, after the German advance upon Serbia had begun, M. Venizelos, believing that his country in the terms of her alliance with Serbia must enter the fray, asked the Allies for 150,000 men, and on the 23rd of the month asked the king for an order of general mobilization of the Greek army. It is probable that Bulgaria took the first steps toward mobilization on September 21, though her formal order was not dated until the 23rd.

ATHENS FROM THE ACROPOLIS

The central point of the ancient city was the Acropolis: the modern city lies almost entirely to the north and east between the Acropolis and Mount Lycabettas, and along the west slope of the latter. The temple and the other buildings on the Acropolis were destroyed by the Persians (480-479 B. C.) and never entirely rebuilt.

Ruschin

THE KING'S PARTY BEGINS TO WORK AGAINST VENIZELOS.

This step was as far as the king and his premier went together; at this point a vigorous royalist programme of resistance was set on foot by the Gounarists, the staff officers, the paid agents of Germany, by Queen Sophia and the king's brothers. When the chamber met, Venizelos in an impassioned speech declared that Greece was in honor bound to go to Serbia's assistance, and if in this action she found herself brought face to face with powerful nations he was certain that Greece would do her duty. A vote of confidence was carried by an effective majority of 46, and pro-German activities seemed frustrated. At this juncture Constantine violated the Greek constitution and began his course of substituting personal for democratic government. Summoning M. Venizelos to the palace he informed him that he had gone beyond his rights and demanded his resignation, October 5. Then in face of popular elections and the vote of the Chamber, Constantine took the helm of state into his own hands. M. Zaïmis was again appointed premier and proclaimed a policy of "benevolent neutrality." We know now that Constantine had already secretly assured Bulgaria that Greece would not aid Serbia.

It is easy to be wise after the event; had the Allies in this crisis made some

forceful demonstration in favor of the interventionists and offered vigorous resistance to the royalist party, the forces which were just landing in Saloniki would have had a different record of achievement, and it is even possible that the tragedies of Serbia and Rumania might have been avoided. As it was, they did nothing. In the meantime the French forces, on the invitation of Venizelos, landed at Saloniki and were met by a formal protest. The need of help for Serbia was the more urgent through Constantine's treachery. When M. Zaïmis formed his government on October 7th he did not at first take open stand against the Venizelist policy, and for that reason the Liberal majority promised its support. But the inertia of the Triple Entente and the fine scrupulousness of M. Venizelos left the king a free hand, and, master of the staff and of the army, he felt himself in a position to resist parliamentary pressure. His praises were sung in a tone almost of adoration by a chorus of journalists richly bribed by Baron Schenck, who had come to Greece originally to sell Krupp guns and had remained to buy Greek honor. The way lay open for dictatorship, and on October 13th, M. Zaïmis by Constantine's orders notified Serbia that Greece could not enter the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary.

THE ENTENTE MAKES ANOTHER BID FOR GREEK ASSISTANCE.

The gage was flung; Serbia did not dare to break off diplomatic relations with her one-time ally. The Entente tried to buy Greek support of Serbia by offering Cyprus. The Greek Chamber protested against the action of the government by adopting the programme of the Liberal party by 147 votes against 114, declaring the declarations of the government unsatisfactory, and censuring the conduct of the Minister of War. But Constantine had prepared the way; the Allies' offer was coolly declined, as other and more alluring promises were in his mind, and he there and then proceeded to lay the fabric of absolutism within the country. The Chamber which had voted against him he dissolved, the minister who had failed to win the opposition he dismissed, and nominated in his place M. Skouloudis, whom he charged with the formation of a Cabinet that was strongly royalist in tone and which Constantine intended to be both tool and screen in his personal government.

While the king was thus building up royal despotism within the country, in other parts of the peninsula things were going ill with the Allied cause. The overwhelming disaster that fell upon Serbia and the ineffective campaign of the Saloniki contingent are all told in another chapter (Chapter XXII). Their effects upon the popular mind were considerable. The royalists could affirm that Serbia's fate would have been that of Greece had she intervened when the Allies wished; Bulgaria no longer loomed large and menacing in the public eye, for she had food for her rapacity. But the Allied occupation of Saloniki was used to irritate national pride, and all the time the grip upon the Venizelist press grew daily more strangling until one by one the papers either dropped off and suspended publication altogether, or went over to the ministerial side.

THE SUPPORTERS OF VENIZELOS REFRAIN FROM VOTING.

There was no election campaign; M. Venizelos requested his friends not to run for office and advised the electors not to vote. As a matter of fact, half of the voters were under arms, including fifty-three Venizelist deputies, and though the government was ready to give furloughs to its supporters it withheld them from its opponents. The June total of voters had been 750,000, the December election only showed 200,000. Constantine meant this Chamber—so unrepresentative and so packed—merely to serve the purpose of a screen for his unconstitutional acts: he relied on his military council almost entirely and used the Cabinet only as their tool. Through his military council he began the Germanization of the army. The leaders of the army needed little encouragement in this project.

THE GREEK COMMANDER OF FORT RUPEL SURRENDERS BY ORDER.

In spite of Skouloudis' advertised "benevolent neutrality" towards the Triple Entente he announced his intention of disarming soldiers who might be driven back on Greek soil, and a threatening note, a partial blockade, and a painful discussion were necessary in November to force him to remove this menace to the rear of the Saloniki force. Finally, when some of the escaping Serbians took refuge upon Greek soil the ill-treatment they suffered contained no measure of benevolence. To guard against this ill-will, Allied warships on January 10, 1916, seized Corfu and prepared relief for such Serbians as had taken refuge on the Albanian coast. Later in April when these same Serbians—refreshed and reformed—desired to rejoin the Allies in Saloniki, M. Skouloudis offered objection after objection to their passing over Greek soil. The movement of the Serbians seems to have alarmed Bulgaria also, for on the 23rd of May a column of Germano-Bulgarians advanced over the border to Fort Rupel in the Demir-Hissar Pass and summoned the Greek garrison to surrender. Slight resistance was offered, but in the night the Greek troops received an order to withdraw and the incident was explained in the Athenian Chamber as a concession to neutrality!

There was instant reaction from two directions. The Allied uneasiness at this threat to their right flank, and the evident co-operation of the Skouloudis Cabinet and the king with the Bulgarians, caused them to send a landing force to the Bay of Salamis. In Athens the population rose, protesting that Greek interests had been sold to the Germans since the detested Bulgarians were allowed to occupy the sacred soil of Greece. Nevertheless, the royal programme continued. At the end of May, General Yannakitsas warned his troops that they must be prepared to fight, and the king in an address to the men stated that as soldiers they should be obedient to orders and not to sentiments. It seemed as if the stream were at last flowing as William II and Constantine had desired. Athenian hooligans incited by German money demonstrated against the English and French legations with the apparent approval of the Chief of Police. On the 21st, the Entente struck hard; they presented an ultimatum which contained four demands:

1. Immediate demobilization of the Greek army.

2. The dismissal of the Skouloudis Cabinet, and its replacing by a business cabinet without bias.

3. The dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies to be followed by free elections, when demobilization was complete.

4. A change in the police force whereby certain individuals known to be in the Austro-German pay were to lose their places.

THE TERMS OF THE ALLIES ARE RELUCTANTLY MET.

When this note was delivered, British and French warships appeared before the Piræus and a practical blockade was established. Awed at last by this show of force and energy, Constantine submitted for the moment, allowed M. Skouloudis to be put out and recalled M. Zaïmis who, on June 23rd, accepted the ultimatum. Six days later general demobilization of the army was ordered, and by the end of July it was on a peace footing. Yet once again, cunning robbed the movement of its salutary effects by creating among the returned soldiers in their own homes Reservists' Leagues whose object was the defense of their king. The Chamber was not dissolved—merely adjourned, and still pro-Entente newspapers were prosecuted. Baron Schenck and other German agitators continued their work. In those times the life of Venizelos was threatened, but he continued to conduct vigorously an electoral campaign. Constantine at the bidding of his imperial brother-in-law was playing for time, and finally, to postpone the elections from which the Venizelists were hoping so much, contrived the invasion of Eastern Macedonia by the Germano-Bulgarian forces.

During June and July the military situation at Saloniki had not changed from the deadlock which had begun in December, 1915, after the withdrawal into the zone around the city. An Allied offensive was planned to take place early in August by which it was hoped to influence the Greek elections in favor of the Liberal party and intervention and also to occupy the attention of Bulgaria on her southern boundary so that Rumania, already secretly committed to the Allies, might have freedom to complete her mobilization. Accordingly, on August 10, an advance against Doiran was undertaken by the Allied forces. Suddenly the scene changed; Bulgaria had cognizance of the advance and meant to strike first. Where her advance was met by Serbian or Allied troops it was checked, but in Eastern Macedonia the Bulgarians advanced and occupied the cities of Kavalla, Seres, Doxata and Drama, together with what amounted to a whole province. The Greek troops were ordered by the government not to resist the Bulgarian advance, and submitted without striking a blow to being carried away and transported to Germany. The Hellenic Government had admitted the invaders as guests, so to speak, and promises had been made to maintain the local administration and safeguard the security and tranquility of the inhabitants.

THE BULGARS COMMIT MANY EXCESSES IN EASTERN MACEDONIA.

Nevertheless, only a few days after their entry into Greek territory they gave themselves up to excesses and devastations of every sort. Instead of maintaining the local Greek authorities for any period of time the administration was entrusted to well-known *Comitadjis* upon whom the Bulgarian government had conferred military rank, or to Greek officials who had been corrupted. Their authority was that of brigands and criminals as the Report of the Greek University Commission upon Atrocities and Devastations clearly proves. Nor was this vandalism merely the result of Greco-Bulgarian jealousy. It had the definite purpose of clearing Eastern Macedonia of its Greek population by famine, by outrage, by torture, by deportation, and by murder. It is anticipating history only a little to add that when Greece entered the war the persecution in Macedonia became even more cruel. Deportations of public employees and later of all persons between the ages of 15 and 60 years were made for the purpose of supplying Bulgaria with labor for building strategic roads and the work in the fields. Privation and maltreatment took fearful toll of these wretched victims so that the figures of the report show that more than four-fifths (at least 70,000 persons) succumbed to the savagery of their enemies. Thus was a province of Greece betrayed by its king who had based his policy of neutrality upon a condition of territorial integrity; who had accepted the guarantees of his country's hereditary enemies that they would respect the lives, liberty and property of his subjects.

This was a severe blow to Constantine's prestige; and a vigorous movement of protest at once took place in Athens and other large cities. Before the house of M. Venizelos an immense crowd gathered to cheer for the chief of the Liberal party. To them the ex-premier proposed that they should elect a delegation which should submit to the king an appeal that he had prepared. He read it to them and the great concourse approved it enthusiastically.

THE GREEKS IN SALONIKI RISE IN REVOLT.

All was in vain. King Constantine refused to receive the deputation, alleging illness, and on the same ground delayed the dissolution of the Chamber and the elections. But he could not stay the march of events which in the next few weeks came thick and fast. The Bulgarian invasion had harmed the royal cause seriously in that it had cut in two the army—hitherto his greatest asset. On August 30, a revolution broke out in Saloniki. The insurgents were Cretan gendarmerie and Macedonian volunteers; a Committee of National Defense was formed under

Colonel Zymbracakis who addressed a proclamation to the people inciting them "to cease to obey the authorities who had betrayed the national honor," and exhorting the army to deliver the fatherland.

After some disorder General Sarrail interfered to save bloodshed and the troops of the 5th Division quartered at Saloniki either joined the Committee

THE DEPOSITION OF THE KING IS SERIOUSLY DISCUSSED.

King Constantine experienced great difficulty in finding a successor. He sent for M. Dimitracopoulos intending to form an ordinary political ministry, but the latter, when he found that the Allies still insisted upon compliance with their note of June 21, resigned at once. Then the king had recourse to

MEMBERS OF THE GREEK ROYAL FAMILY

To the right is Prince Alexander who succeeded his father. He is three years younger than the ex-Crown Prince George, who together with his three sisters and Prince Paul, accompanied his parents into exile. Embarked for Italy, they had not yet reached the residence of their choice when their hopes were dashed, and they had to slip out of Lugano en route for Switzerland amidst manifestations of public scorn. Ruschin

or were disarmed. Those officers who resigned were allowed to go to Athens where the king received and congratulated them. Franco-British warships appeared off the Piræus on September 1, and demanded the dismissal of Baron Schenck and his followers, the immediate disbanding of Reservist Leagues, and control of all communications. On the 10th, the Reservists demonstrated against the French Legation and on the 11th, the premier, helpless against the forces of anarchy breaking out all over the country, resigned. He had never been strong enough to rule Greece.

M. Nicholas Calogeropoulos, a member of the Germanophile coterie who proceeded to form a ministry of second-rate men of noted anti-Venizelist tendencies. To this ministry the Allies refused recognition although M. Calogeropoulos published his intention of complying with their note. On September 20, Constantine addressed some 5,000 young infantry recruits in a spirit of pure absolutism, informing them that they were "soldiers of the king owing blind devotion to the will of the king." On the 22nd, a battalion of the Greek revolutionary army at Saloniki left for the front to fight against the

Bulgars. Two days later the Congress of Hellenic Colonies, assembled in Paris, declared the deposition of King Constantine. Early next morning M. Venizelos and Admiral Coundouriotis set sail from Phalerum for Crete—the revolution had begun.

In a statement published before he left, the Cretan patriot reviewed the injuries suffered by Greek honor, and added, "Do not think I am heading a revolution in the ordinary sense of the word. The movement now beginning is in no way directed against the king or his dynasty. This movement is one made by those of us who can no longer stand aside and let our countrymen and our country be ravaged by the Bulgarian enemy. It is the last effort we can make to induce the king to come forth as King of the Hellenes and follow the path of duty in the protection of his subjects."

THE ISLANDS ARE FIRST TO RISE IN REVOLT.

At the same time manifestoes came in to the king from many of the islands, Mytilene, Samos, Chios, demanding intervention, and over seventy Anti-Venizelist deputies and some prominent army officers urged the king to enter the war. The revolution in Crete was so decided that in ten days the insurgents to the number of 30,000 had complete possession. M. Venizelos was received with enthusiasm at Canea by the people and the troops and he issued a proclamation reviewing the disorder which had resulted from the fatal policy of the king during the last year and a half. Immediately adherents flocked to the cause. In all the larger islands royal officials were replaced by Venizelists, from Athens itself many officers and men set sail for Saloniki, the Congress of Hellenic Colonies sent their assurance of support "on the path of honor and glory," the Committee of National Defense placed itself at the disposal of the movement. On the last day of September a triumvirate consisting of Venizelos, Coundouriotis and Danglis was formed to direct the National Movement towards the forming of a Provisional Government.

Meanwhile, unrecognized and ineffective, the Calogeropoulos Cabinet felt bound to resign, and King Constantine then called to the head of the government Professor Spyridon P. Lambros who proceeded to form a service Cabinet in accordance with the Allied note. That same day, October 9, Venizelos in Saloniki amid scenes of wildest enthusiasm established the Provisional Government "with full authority to organize the forces of the country with the object of joining the Allies and fighting by their side against all their enemies."

HEAVIER ALLIED DEMANDS ARE MADE UPON GREECE.

Afterwards a conference called by the Entente at Boulogne gave the revolutionary government a qualified recognition. Only in the Peloponnesus and in Athens did the king's cause seem to prosper, and the Allies were laying increasingly heavy demands as a precaution against treason, for it was suspected that there was a royalist plot afoot to send forces to Thessaly to co-operate with a German army in an attack upon Saloniki. Early in October Admiral Dartige du Fournet presented an ultimatum demanding that Greece should hand over the Greek fleet entire, save for the armored cruiser Averoff and the battleships Lemnos and Kilkis, by 1 o'clock of the 11th, and even the vessels retained were to be disarmed and their crews reduced to one-third, while the forts on the seacoast must be dismantled and the two commanding the moorings turned over to the Admiral. At the same time the Allies took control of the police and demanded that Greek citizens be prohibited from carrying arms, that the sending of war munitions to Thessaly be stopped, and that the embargo on the exportation of Thessalian wheat should be raised.

A period of suspense and delay followed. The royalists put off fulfilment of the conditions prescribed and, encouraged by their success in evasion and the Bulgarian victories in Rumania, grew more and more insolent, while the nation in general, because it was ignorant of the king's German intrigues but felt the effects of block-

ade and of the Allied demands, grew more anti-Entente. On account of a slight collision between royalist and nationalist troops on the frontier, General Sarrail and the Greek Government established the Neutral Zone between the territories of the Provisional Government and Old Greece, but it is all of a piece with Entente diplomacy in the Near East that Thessaly and Epirus, which devoted to Venizelos were only waiting the appearance of Saloniki contingents to rise, were thus prevented from doing so. On the 17th of November Admiral Dartige sent M. Lambros a new note demanding the surrender of eighteen field batteries, sixteen mountain batteries with a thousand rounds of projectiles per battery, as well as of 4000 Mannlicher rifles, 140 machine-guns and 50 automobile trucks, to make up for the war material which it had surrendered to the Bulgarians in August. Three days later the diplomatic representatives of the Central Powers were ordered to leave Greece, and on the 22nd an ultimatum demanding the cession of ten mountain batteries before the 1st of December and the rest before the 15th was delivered to the Greek Government. Athens seethed with excitement, especially when it was learned that the Venizelos government had declared war on Bulgaria and Germany.

King Constantine Hopes to Arouse Popular Sentiment.

By December 1, nothing had been done towards surrendering the guns and Admiral Dartige after an interview with King Constantine went away with the impression that a show of force was all that was necessary to bring about compliance, and that no resistance was contemplated. It is evident now that the king was luring the Allies to their own destruction by causing them to formulate and enforce demands irritating to the popular pride, and influencing them to defeat their own ends by neutralizing the efforts of the Venizelists by the creation of the Neutral Zone. On the night of the 29th the troops of the garrison of Athens left their barracks and took up position in the environs of the city, and a decree was published authorizing voluntary engagements.

The military authorities were ordered not to hinder the Allies in disembarking but to follow them in equal numbers and to prevent the execution of the Admiral's commands. As Anglo-French detachments advanced from the sea along the roads to Athens the Greek soldiers blocked their way and opened fire. The landing forces, unprepared for resistance, suffered cruel losses. All through that day the fighting continued for through lack of preliminary arrangements the Allied fleet remained almost inert. Only a few shells were fired into the garden of the Grand Palace. Finally, on December 2, at 2 A. M. in the morning, the king proposed to surrender six mountain batteries instead of ten, and the Allied troops withdrew from the city. The day was spent by the Royalists in hunting out the Venizelists whom they massacred, tortured and imprisoned, and also destroyed newspaper offices of the Liberal press.

The King and His Party Yield to Superior Force.

On December 7, the Entente announced a blockade of the Greek coasts, and on the 14th presented a note ordering complete demobilization of the army, restoration of control by the Allies over posts, telegraphs and railways and the release of the Venizelists who had been imprisoned; failing compliance, the Allied Ministers were instructed to leave Greece and a state of war would begin. The Greek government thus found itself compelled to choose between peace and war and accepted the ultimatum, but true to its nature, began to quibble about the construction of the terms. On the 31st, a Second Allied Note was delivered, containing their demands for military guarantees and for reparation for the events of the 1st and 2nd of December, but agreeing not to allow the Venizelist troops to profit by the withdrawal of Royalist troops, or to pass over the Neutral Zone. The Greek government objected to certain provisions, especially that referring

to the immediate release of the Venizelists, but on January 9, the Allies answered the protest by giving forty-eight hours in which to comply.

This ultimatum was drafted by the Allied War Council, then sitting in Rome, and was due to the decision of Premiers Lloyd George and Briand to enforce fresh vigor in the handling of the Greek situation. An important development was that Italy now came into full agreement with Great Britain, France and Russia, in regard to the whole course of action in the Balkan Peninsula. Shrewd as ever, the king recognized that he had reached the limit of Allied patience and he accordingly accepted their terms. The transfer of Greek troops to the Peloponnesus as demanded in the Note began, and on January 24, the Greek government formally apologized to the Allied Ministers, and in front of the Zappeion the flags of the Entente were solemnly saluted.

THE UNDIGNIFIED ALLIED DIPLOMACY KEPT GREECE NEUTRAL.

The Allied diplomatic quibbling, undignified and unworthy though it seems, yet succeeded in keeping Greece neutral. An attack from the rear on Saloniki was held suspended as long as Constantine did not openly join with the Central Powers. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the Allies were hampered in their actions in that they were by no means united in their views of the situation. Italy disliked Venizelos, because she feared the increase of Greek power in the Mediterranean, and imperial Russia branded him as revolutionary. So he was to some extent blocked by the temporizing of the Allies with Constantine and his advisers. Yet he held on to his purpose, ready to change his means as the occasion demanded. "I have tried," he said, "not to cause any difficulties for my friends. I am told to evacuate Katerini—I evacuate Katerini. I am told to abandon Cerigo—I abandon Cerigo. The Neutral Zone is imposed on me, I respect the Neutral Zone. I am asked to bring my movement to a standstill—I bring it to a standstill."

Thus a seeming peace lay over Greece in the opening months of 1917, but it was false and hollow. Constantine and M. Lambros were employing every artifice to avoid the execution of the conditions laid down by the Entente. "Soldiers transported to the Peloponnesus made their way back again in citizen's dress or on military leave of absence; lies were told about the contents of cases of weapons, and arms were cached in the earth. Meanwhile, the Royalist newspapers invented calumny on calumny against the Allies," and as these were the only newspapers that did appear the public was kept in an abnormal state of ferment by the organs of King Constantine.

GREATER UNITY NOW APPEARS IN THE ALLIED COUNCILS.

In the third week in March the Briand Cabinet resigned in France and was succeeded by the Ribot ministry which promised stronger handling of the Greek situation. At the same time revolution broke out in Russia, and Constantine lost valuable support. In April the United States entered the war, taking up the sword against absolutism and autocracy. "The ground began to fail beneath the feet of the slayer of Venizelists, the constitutional king who had been transformed by the grace of William II into the Lord's Anointed, accountable to God alone." Throughout the months of April and May one by one the Venizelist journals appeared, more of the Ionian Islands gave in their adherence to the Provisional Government, and rumor filled the court of Athens with uneasiness. M. Lambros resigned and on May 3, the ineffective but respectable M. Zaïmis took upon himself the prime ministry once more. General dissatisfaction with King Constantine's rule was spreading throughout Greece. The end of May saw Venizelos with 60,000 men at his command. Thereafter things moved swiftly. On June 3, the Italians proclaimed the independence of Albania, and occupied Janina, thus cutting the last line of communication open between Athens and the Central Powers.

THE ALLIES DEMAND THE ABDICATION OF KING CONSTANTINE.

On June 6 M. Charles Jonnart, a French senator invested with the rank of High Commissioner of the protecting powers, arrived in Greek waters. A great movement of Allied warships in the bay of Salamis, and the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs took place. From Salamis the High Commissioner sailed to Saloniki. On the 10th he returned and on the 11th the blow fell. He summoned M. Zaïmis to his warship and in the name of the three protecting powers demanded the abdication of King Constantine and the nomination of his successor, with the exclusion of the Crown Prince. M. Jonnart informed the Premier that he had troops at his disposal but would not land them until King Constantine had given his answer. A Crown Council consisting of former premiers was summoned, and a hue and cry filled the streets of Athens; 2,000 Reservists formed a cordon of defense around the palace, and a deputation headed by Naval Commander Mavromichaelis was received by Constantine and pledged the devotion of the army and the people to his cause. On the day following, that is, June 12, M. Zaïmis communicated the king's decision in these words:

"The Minister and High Commissioner of France, Great Britain and Russia: Having demanded by your note of yesterday the abdication of his Majesty, King Constantine, and the nomination of his successor, the undersigned, Premier and Foreign Minister, has the honor to inform your Excellency that his Majesty the King, ever solicitous for the interests of Greece, has decided to leave the country with the Prince Royal, and nominates Prince Alexander as his successor."

ZAÏMIS.

THE DOWNFALL OF AUTOCRACY

A French sentinel on guard in Athens on the day that King Constantine and his family departed. Though disorder was expected none came for the reason that while M. Jonnart's proclamation strove to allay uneasiness, yet it promised, on the other hand, severe action against any who broke the peace. Allied warships in the Gulf, and Allied troops in the capital did much to make the change pass off quietly.

THE KING PROMPTLY YIELDS TO THE INEVITABLE.

The following day two royal proclamations were posted in the streets;

the first that of ex-King Constantine read:

"Obeying the necessity of fulfilling my duty towards Greece, I am departing from my beloved country with the heir to the throne and am leaving my son Alexander my crown. I beg you to accept my decision with calm, as the slightest incident may lead to a great catastrophe."

The second proclamation was from the new king declaring he would follow in the steps of his illustrious father—a determination for which he was required to apologize and declare his willingness to respect the constitution. At the same time military measures were being taken by the Allies in Thessaly which are fully described in another chapter. On June 13, the ex-king and his family embarked at the Piræus on a British warship for his summer palace at Tatoi, and the next morning started from thence for Italy, whither one of his private secretaries had preceded him to look for a large villa suitable for the exiled royalties.

THE ALLIED EXPLANATION AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE ACTION.

M. Jonnart, who had brought about his deposition, published a note to the Greek people explaining the stand taken by France, Great Britain, and Russia who "are here to checkmate the manœuvres of the hereditary enemies of the kingdom. They will put an end to the repeated violations of the Constitution, of treaties, and the deplorable intrigues which led up to the massacre of soldiers of the Allies." After outlining the overthrow of German influence in Athens the proclamation closes: "Hellenes, the hour of reconciliation has arrived. Your destinies are closely associated with those of the protecting powers, your ideals are the same as theirs, your hopes are identical.

"Today the blockade is raised. Any reprisal against Greeks, to whatever party they belong, will be pitilessly repressed. No breach of the peace will be tolerated. The liberty and prosperity of everyone will be safeguarded. This is a new era of peace and labor which is opening before you. Know that, respectful of the national sovereignty, the protecting powers have no intention of forcing upon the Greek people general mobilization. Long live Greece, united and free!"

VENIZELOS RETURNS TO ATHENS TO TAKE UP HIS TASKS.

In the absence of Constantine, M. Venizelos started for Athens and on the 19th of June a committee of four was appointed, consisting of two representatives of the Athenian government and two of the Saloniki government to consider methods of reconstruction. In less than a week M. Venizelos was called upon to form a cabinet and set about the laborious task of building up again that which King Constantine had destroyed. In July Greece formally declared war against Bulgaria and the German Empire. When "the vision and the fact, the poetry and prose of life find a rare union in a single soul, they provide a combination which in the long run is as irresistible as the forces of Nature." By his superhuman patience, no less than by his ardent patriotism, Venizelos, in spite of the Allies, had saved Greece from going down into the abyss of self-destruction.

A Squadron of Cossacks Passing in Review

CHAPTER XLIV

Military Operations During the Russian Revolution

THE PROGRESSIVE DEMORALIZATION OF THE ARMY AND THE NAVY DURING THE YEAR

AFTER the heavy activities which resulted in the conquest of Rumania, the fighting which occurred along the Russian fronts was of a purely local character for many months. During the fall of 1916 the Austro-Germans had developed unexpected strength and the Russian government had deliberately utilized the Rumanians as a shock absorber. Therefore, the Russian armies had not suffered so severely as they might otherwise have done.

THE RUSSIAN MILITARY LEADERS LOYAL TO THE ALLIES.

As stated elsewhere in this volume, there could be no doubt as to the loyalty and the patriotism of the fighting generals at the front. Though they suppressed expression of their opinions in public, according to military ethics, there could be no doubt that they were in sympathy with those loyal Russians who were represented in the Duma by what was known as the "Progressive Bloc."

When Rodzianko, President of the Duma, sent his telegrams to the army commanders along the front announcing that the Duma had defied the Government, on March 11, the army commanders were inclined to accept the situation hopefully, for with the Duma in full control there was a new possibility of bringing the united effort of the whole people to bear in support of the military operations against the enemy. Protopopov's interference with the social organizations which were working behind the lines had turned the military commanders bitterly against him and, incidentally, the autocracy he represented. When the Provisional Government was finally established in Petrograd and recognized by the whole country, the General Staff accepted the situation with undoubted sincerity.

EQUALITY AND MILITARY DISCIPLINE SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTORY.

What the military commanders did not foresee, however, was the importance of the Socialists in the new situation or the extent of their influence among the rank and file of the Army. However desirable democratic principles may be in time of peace, they are ill adapted to warfare. Discipline is the first essential in a large fighting organization, and discipline is only possible where the command is centred in one head. Successful warfare can only be waged as men are willing to merge their individual identities into the supreme will of their commander.

This fact such leaders as Alexander

Kerensky and Plekhanov were intelligent enough to realize; and as they recognized the supreme necessity of defeating German Imperialism before establishing Socialism in Russia, they believed that the principles of equality should, for the time being, be suspended, so far as the Army was concerned at least. But their simple followers, who constituted a large part of the rank and file of the military forces, remembered only that their leaders had preached democracy, the brotherhood of man, equality and fraternity. Now that the ideas of these preachers of Socialism were triumphantly embodied in the new revolutionary government, they could not all understand why they should not immediately be applied everywhere.

THE SOLDIERS GIVEN REPRESENTATION IN THE PETROGRAD SOVIET.

This powerful sentiment had to be met and placated. The soldiers were given representation behind the lines in the Soviet, and through the Soviet they demanded the right of discussion. The members of a company in the front lines would meet to discuss the political situation. This gave the ultra-radicals, the pacifists, who did not believe in any further fighting, an opportunity to make themselves heard and to carry on agitation. Thus demoralization was spread. Then came the abolition of the death penalty, and when these ultra-radicals refused to fight during the desultory skirmishing which was all this time going on with the enemy, they could not be punished.

Thousands of others took advantage of the situation and deserted, openly returning to their homes. Next they demanded that the salute be abolished as incompatible with equality. That was granted. Again, in some sectors the sentiment in favor of "the brotherhood of man" led to fraternization with the enemy, though often this was done in the hope of being able to spread revolutionary propaganda among the Austrian and German troops, that it might lead to the overthrow of their autocracies. The German commanders encouraged such intercourse at first, for in this way they gained much valuable information and were able to observe more closely the progress of the demoralization which was going on among the Russians.

THE SOLDIERS DEMAND SOVIETS AT THE FRONT.

Week by week, as the Soviet in Petrograd increased in power, the demands continued progressively. In some army organizations the soldiers insisted that every command from their superior officers was to be obeyed only after having the approval of a general meeting of the members of the company, or regiment. That this would destroy both promptness and unity of action so essential in a fighting organization is plain enough. Finally it was even demanded that all the officers should resign and the vacancies be filled by election from the ranks. That was done later, under the Bolsheviki, but at this time, under the régime of the Provisional Government, it was firmly refused. Even the ultra-radicals in the Executive Committee of the Soviet realized the utter impossibility of carrying out such a principle, if the Army was to maintain its fighting efficiency.

Had the Germans attempted to take advantage of the situation by initiating a general offensive, it is probable that they would have defeated their own ends. The impending danger might have roused the patriotic spirit of the Russians to fighting heat again, as the war itself had brought together the radicals and the conservatives. But the Teutons were too wise to commit any such blunder. Time was their strongest ally, and they refrained from any aggressive operations, waiting for the disintegration of the Russian Army.

KERENSKY STRIVES TO MAINTAIN THE MORALE OF THE ARMY.

For two months the army commanders fought this deterioration of morale of the troops. Finally, in the middle of May, they forced the issue by resigning simultaneously. They refused longer to assume the responsibility of command if discipline were undermined by the authority of the Soviet which, consisting in large part

of the soldiers' delegates, was inclined to grant all that the soldiers demanded. Kerensky, though himself an ardent Socialist, realized the oncoming danger as keenly as the army commanders. He was able to impart some of his apprehensions to his more radical associates, with the result that the Soviet agreed not to interfere further in the army organization, near future. Alexiev, as commander-in-chief, was displaced by Brusilov, who had so distinguished himself in his offensive in Galicia the year before.

During all this period a certain amount of fighting had been going on. It was notably in such defensive fighting that the Russians showed themselves at the best. Wherever the Germans did initiate local attacks,

"CARRIED AWAY INTO CAPTIVITY"

These are Russian prisoners being sent to Germany on a freight train. They only heard rumors—purposely distorted by the Germans—of what was happening in their own country while they were in captivity, and found it difficult to adjust themselves to the new conditions when they were at last allowed to return to their homes.

though given stronger representation in the Provisional Government. For the time being, the fatal tendency was checked and the commanders were again given a firm grip on their commands. Kerensky himself went to the front and exhorted the soldiers to adhere to the rigid discipline demanded for a continuance of the war against Germany.

Kerensky had at this time been made Minister of War. Realizing, perhaps, that the old tendencies must inevitably assert themselves again, he rushed the preparations for a strong offensive against the Germans in the they were repulsed. The Russians, on the other hand, attempted very few offensive operations.

AN ATTACK IS PLANNED FOR THE SUMMER.

In the early part of June the reports indicated a strengthening of the Russian fighting spirit. On the 20th of that month the All-Russian Soviet, representing the soldiers on all the fronts, as well as the workingmen throughout the country, passed a resolution in favor of an offensive against the enemy as soon as it could be undertaken. At this time German reports indicated greater activity of

artillery and more raiding parties from the Russian lines than for many months past. Fraternization came to a complete and abrupt end; parties of Germans approaching the Russian trenches with white flags were everywhere fired upon.

On the last day of June reports indicated that the Russians had begun fighting on a larger scale than at any time since the previous year. After heavy artillery preparation, lasting all day, the Russians on the upper Strypa began an advance along an eighteen-mile front. This attack was eventually forced back by the destructive fire of the Austro-German machine guns, but the Russians had persisted so strongly that they suffered heavy losses. On the same day a similar attack was delivered by the Russians in the region of Brzezany and west of Zalocz, with the same result.

During that night artillery roared up and down almost the entire length of the Eastern Front. The next morning the Russians began another infantry advance on a thirty-five mile front west of Lemberg. Press reports stated that Kerensky himself was in this region, exhorting the soldiers to make a supreme effort. During this day of fighting the Russians not only made some slight advance, driving the Teutons out of their first line trenches, but claimed to have taken 160 officers and nearly 9,000 men prisoners. The Germans, on their part, reported that the severity of the engagements exceeded anything that had taken place for a year and that the Russians suffered severely. How seriously the Germans took these operations may be judged from the fact that Field Marshal von Hindenburg and General von Ludendorff had hastened to Austrian field headquarters.

GERMAN DUG-OUT UPON THE EASTERN FRONT

Examples of German comfort in dug-outs became the wonder of the Allied soldiers who saw them. This is a typical underground home, comfortably stocked with provisions and drink, and æsthetically decorated with tapestry-hung walls and a picture of the Kaiser. One queries if the tall wine-glasses and graceful candlesticks were issued by the Army.

Ruschin

THE OFFENSIVE IS SUCCESSFUL DURING THE EARLY DAYS.

During the first few days of July, 1917, it became obvious that the Russian offensive was not only in full

swing, but was pressing the Austro-Germans hard at many points. Gradually the fighting was widening over a broader zone. The Czecho-Slovak brigade, organized from prisoners, especially distinguished itself, sweeping over three lines of German trenches, and capturing nearly 4,000 prisoners.

Above the Pripet Marshes toward Riga, the Germans held their own, though their counter-attacks were hurled back. But in Galicia the Austro-Hungarians were everywhere being pressed back. On July 4, German reinforcements made some attempts to regain lost ground in Galicia, without success. On July 5, an artillery battle developed with unusual violence between Zborov and Brzezany, in Galicia. Here Turkish troops for the most part held the Teuton lines. These showed better morale than the Austrians and Hungarians, and all that day were able to repel the repeated Russian infantry attacks.

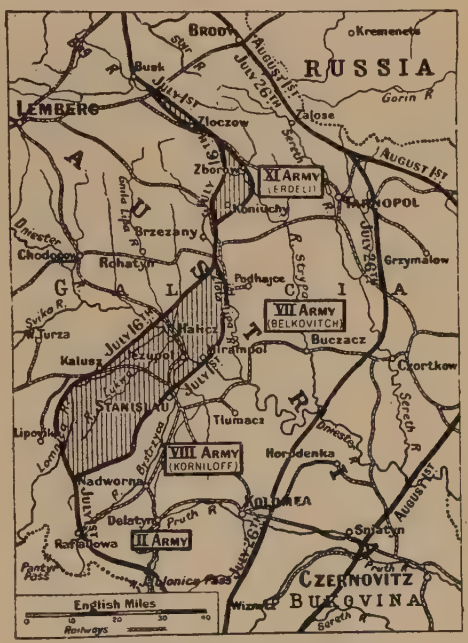
HALICZ AND STANISLAU ARE BOTH THREATENED.

By the 7th the Russian lines had advanced so far westward that Halicz, only sixty miles southwest of Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, was within range of the heavier Russian guns. Here the Russian offensive covered a front of more than thirty miles, along the Narayuvka River. On this same day there was heavy fighting near Stanislau, where one wave after another of Russian infantry stormed the Austro-Hungarian trenches, engaging the enemy in hand-to-hand combats.

By the end of the first ten days of the offensive it became evident that the Russians had concentrated their efforts against the Austrians and Hungarians in the south, whose lines they seemed to consider the weakest. Toward the Baltic, they had not attempted any determined forward move, being satisfied to check the German attacks. So far their strategy was proving eminently successful; so far the Russian morale showed itself as strong as ever.

GENERAL KORNILOV, THE COSSACK, IS SUCCESSFUL.

On July 10, Petrograd was able to announce the first really notable achievement of the general offensive—the capture, on the day before, of Halicz, an important railroad point on the Dniester. General Kornilov, the Cossack leader, was in command of the Russian army in this sector, and the Austrians defending the town were unable to withstand his attacks. Within two days the Teuton positions, to a



THE LAST RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE

depth of seven miles and fortified during a two years' occupation, had been overrun by the Russians.

In the direction of Dolina, in the region west of Stanislau, General Kornilov continued his offensive operations successfully. Here the Russians advanced toward Lemberg, on the heels of the retiring Austrians, along a front of nearly twenty miles.

On the 10th the troops which had captured Halicz crossed to the left banks of the river. By evening they had reached the valley of the River Lomnitza. They were now threatening the approaches to the passes in the Northern Carpathians. In this region the Russians took over 10,000 prisoners during three days of fighting, as well as seventy field pieces and a dozen guns of heavy calibre.

THE BATTLE LINE SWAYS BACK AND FORTH.

Fighting now grew more intense in the northern stretch of the Eastern Front toward Riga, where the Russians became suddenly more aggressive. But the main offensive still continued in the south, especially between the Dniester and Lomnitza rivers. On July 11, Kornilov's troops fought a very stubborn battle, with the result that the enemy was forced out of the town of Kalusz, which had normally a population of 10,000. This gave the Russians a hold on the important railroad running between Stanislau and Lemberg. The Russians holding Kalusz, however, were soon attacked by enemy reinforcements and were compelled to retire. Again they returned with a stronger force, and reentered the town, and once more the Austro-Germans counter-attacked, supported by an armored train. Back and forth swayed the battle line, in and out of the town, until dark, when the Russians, by hand to hand fighting in the streets, finally drove the enemy out and remained in possession.

On the following day the Austro-Germans counter-attacked at Kalusz again, but the Russians were now in such strong force that they not only repulsed them, but resumed their advance. After heavy fighting they occupied the village of Novica, southwest of Kalusz. But now a heavy rain began falling and swelled the rivers and rendered the ground so marshy that further operations were considerably hampered.

The Russian operations up to this point, in the middle of July, had been efficiently conducted, and preeminently successful. Two important strategic centres had been taken, Halicz and Kalusz, and the Austro-German lines, driven back many miles. During this period the Russians had taken nearly 36,000 prisoners, 900 of whom were officers, and large quantities of guns and other war material.

AUSTRIAN LANDSTURM GOING TO FIRING LINE

Good examples of the southern temperament with its abandon to the mood of the hour and inconsequent lightheartedness are these soldiers of the Austrian landsturm en route for the front. Mercifully, in these tragic days men learned to live in the present and he who whiled away a tedious hour never lacked a following. Ruschin

THE RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE BEGINS TO SLACKEN.

But it now became daily more evident that the Russian strength had reached its maximum of effort and that it was beginning to slacken. Added to that, the Austro-Germans were bringing up heavy reinforcements from behind the lines. Thus they were able to bring their superior transportation facilities to bear in their favor. On July 15, these reinforcements began showing their presence by a perceptible stiffening of the Teuton defense along the whole front. On that day there was exceptionally heavy fighting, but the Russians made no further advances. On the contrary, they were thrown back slightly at several points.

On July 16, the Austrians, reinforced by Germans, resumed their counter-attacks against the Russians about Kalusz. The latter were driven back across the river and the town abandoned. The weather was clearing now, but with the renewal of operations the Germans were obviously gaining the advantage.

During the next few days the fighting raged more violently than ever. From all along the whole front came reports of strong attacks and counter-attacks. East of Brzezany the Russians suffered a serious set-back, being driven out of their trenches along a length of several miles. Then came the first signs of the fundamental deterioration of the Russian soldier as a fighting unit.

SOLDIERS LEAVING THE FRONT AND GOING HOME

Arrival at a point in the interior of Russia of a train seized by panic-stricken troops who have fled before the Germans. For the most part the enemy refrained from attack, knowing such action would tend to unite the soldiers in a common defense. They recognized that socialism in the ranks could do more deadly work.

Central News Service

THE FIRST WHOLE REGIMENT ABANDONS THE TRENCHES.

After a thorough artillery preparation the Germans had attacked the Russians near Barbutzov, twenty miles south of Brody. During the morning (July 19), the Russians successfully drove the German attacks back. But shortly before mid-day the 607th Mlynov Regiment, stationed between Batov and Manajov, deliberately left its trenches, at a moment when the enemy was not pressing the attack, and

retired to the rear, refusing to fight any further. The Russian lines on each side of the regiment had, in consequence, also to retire to prevent the Germans pouring in through the breach at the next attack. The Russian reports blamed this incident to the agitation of a number of Bolshevist members of the regiment.

Unfortunately this was typical of dozens of such incidents, which happened during the operations of the next few days. Everywhere men were refusing to obey their officers. Under the strain the Russian spirit was broken, not so much by attacks on the front as from the rear. Russian reports now admitted that Russian army organization was collapsing, that disaffection was spreading like a prairie fire. Speaking of the Russian retreat before Tarnopol, the Petrograd report said:

"On the whole our soldiers did not show the necessary determination to win. Some regiments deliberately refused to obey their commanders. Consequently our lines were forced to retire."

BARBED WIRE CONSTRUCTION IN POLAND

Instead of the bindweed, barbed wire—twisted around and darting from stakes which covered the ground for miles "over hill, over dale" as a first line defense. The work of setting up these entanglements and of destroying them was hazardous in the extreme, and the Italians called their bodies of wire-cutters "Death Companies." This is German wire but the line of battle was moved.

Pictures from H. Ruschin

KORNILOV GIVEN COMMAND OF THE WHOLE GALICIAN FRONT.

Hastily the Provisional Government attempted to check the demoralization by a change in the command of the Russians operating in Galicia. Kornilov, who had shown such brilliant results in the capture of Kalusz with the Eighth Russian Army, was given command of the whole front in Galicia. Kornilov was unpopular with the radical elements, on account of the almost ferocious disciplinary methods he sometimes employed, but Kerensky was willing to risk the displeasure of the Soviet, if only the German advance could be stemmed. But neither Kornilov nor any other general could have accomplished that with the material at his disposal. The soul of the army had vanished. Regiments with glorious records now fled before the enemy, or refused to advance.

The German General Staff understood the situation, and was now determined to take full advantage of it. The German offensive was pushed with extreme energy. Again and again, day by day, the Austro-Germans struck at the Russian lines, pushing them back mile after mile. The main point of their offensive was at Tarnopol, and here the Russians were completely routed. In the afternoon of July 21, the Germans and Austrians forced their way forward from Tarnopol to a point as far as the Sereth bridgehead. The town of Tarnopol and a number of neighboring villages were soon a mass of flames. By the end of the day the entire Russian front from the Zlota Lipa to the Dniester was retiring before the pressure of the enemy.

RUSSIAN TROOPS DRINKING FROM A STREAM

Spring comes late in northern Russia and the ice in the rivers and snow take a long time to thaw. In this picture Russian soldiers are refreshing themselves by a drink of water on the way to Germany. It is a typical scene, for who can think of Russia without recalling snow and plains?

THE WHOLE RUSSIAN LINE IS BADLY DEMORALIZED.

Hoping to create a diversion, the Russians now attempted to take the offensive in the north. From Smorgon to Krivo a general infantry attack was launched, but broke up before the German fire. In the direction of Vilna a succession of Russian infantry attacks succeeded in penetrating the German lines over two miles and taking over a thousand Germans prisoners. But this and similar slight successes could not be sustained, largely through the apathy of the rank and file of the Russian troops. In the south the Teutons advanced more and more swiftly, along a line almost 170 miles in length, from the River Sereth to the foothills of the Carpathians.

By the 23rd the Teutons had crossed the Sereth, near Tarnopol, and advanced beyond Halicz. Some Russian divisions here offered a resistance noteworthy in contrast with the general demoralization of the Russians as a whole, but they did not succeed in doing more than temporarily delaying the German advance. Southwest of Dvinsk several Russian regiments succeeded in taking and occupying the German front line trenches and then,

without any pressure from the enemy, they threw down their guns and retired to the rear. The gains of 1916 and more had been lost in a week.

BRUSILOV RESIGNS AND IS SUCCEEDED BY KORNILOV.

On August 1, the Russian Commander-in-chief, Brusilov, handed in his resignation, and the Provisional Government immediately appointed Kornilov in his stead. Kornilov immediately made certain "conditions" on which depended his acceptance of the supreme command. First of all, he refused to be responsible to anybody in his direction of the military operations, except to "his own conscience." He also insisted that "the measures adopted during the past few days at the front shall also be applied behind the lines," which meant that he had re-established the death penalty. Kerensky has since stated that the members of the Government found the substance of these demands more acceptable than the form in which they were presented and, had he followed his own will, he would not have accepted them. Kerensky had a fixed belief that wars could be won by words, but the other members of the Cabinet felt that Kornilov was the only man capable of maintaining a front against the enemy, if any man were capable of that gigantic task.

But if Kornilov succeeded in accomplishing any good by his severe methods, it was not obvious in any stiffening of the Russian lines. From all points came only reports of retreat. In the Carpathians the Austro-German forces pressed back the Russians west of the River Putna, about thirty-five miles southwest of Czernowitz. On August 3, the Russians gained a local and a temporary success, driving the Austrians out of a number of villages south of Skala, in Galicia. But this was more than offset by the Austrian advance further south in Bukovina, where they drove the Russians out of Czernowitz and across the Pruth. The capital

TRENCHES ON THE EASTERN FRONT

These are Russian trenches supposedly bomb-proof, built with thoroughness and method. Besides their value for safety, they were warm during the long snowy winters. Where the trenches were anywhere permanent Russians and Germans vied with one another in their elaboration, though the latter were as a rule better fitted up inside.

of Bukovina was once more in the hands of the Austrians.

From now on, however, the Austro-German offensive in Galicia and further south slackened. Conditions such as those which had existed during the early part of the year began to prevail again. The Russians had been thoroughly beaten, and the Germans could remain satisfied with what they had

RUTHENIAN BLACKSMITH AT WORK

The Ruthenians, as subjects of the Austrian Empire, were impressed into the armies and forced to fight in a quarrel about which they knew little, and cared less. This blacksmith, a fine sturdy type, is plying his trade in a quiet field behind the lines with the primitive appliances with which he has always worked.

Picture, H. Ruschin

won while the Bolshevist agitators with the weapons of propaganda continued the war for them.

THE REMNANT OF RUMANIA IS SAVED FOR A TIME.

Meanwhile lower down the Rumanian front was held by the First and Second Rumanian Armies, and the Fourth Russian Army under General Scherbachev. During the latter part of July there was some sharp fighting in the Susitza valley. The Austro-German forces were driven back, though various units of the Russian forces were evaporating and disappearing. Von Mackensen came to the rescue and attempted to cross the river Sereth.

In spite of the wholesale desertion of whole Russian regiments the Rumanians stood firm. If they gave way all Rumania was lost, but the First Army did not give a yard. The battle centred around Marasesti, the greatest battle in Rumanian history. On August 19, the last desperate assault failed. The attack against the Second Army, around Ocna was hardly more successful, and the remnant of Rumania was preserved until the complete demoralization of Russia left it surrounded by enemies.

THE GERMANS NOW TAKE RIGA WITHOUT DIFFICULTY.

Toward the end of August the Germans showed increasing activity in the northern section of the Eastern Front. They had decided that they wanted Riga, and set out to obtain it. On August 22, they began to advance, and in two days they had reached the River Aa and several points on the

Gulf of Riga. On September 1, 1917, the Germans delivered persistent infantry attacks, about fifteen miles above Riga. They successfully crossed the Dvina and drove the Russians back. On the morning of September 3, the Russians were compelled to evacuate the city of Riga, blowing up the bridges across the river and the fortifications as they retired. Already

his Cabinet strove heroically to restore the discipline of the Army by a reestablishment of those measures which had been demanded by General Kornilov. The latter remained dissatisfied, however; he wished the death penalty to apply behind the lines as well, especially in the transport service and in the munitions factories.

Then, encouraged by the conserv-

ANOTHER COMMON USE OF BARBED WIRE

Types of Russian prisoners in a German detention camp at Zossen, a town just south of Berlin. The men are warmly clad and, so far as their clothes and boots are concerned, are in good condition. When prisoners were captured in an advance they were taken to the rear and left in wire compounds until final disposition could be made of them.

Pictures from Henry Ruschin

German shells from large calibre guns were dropping into the heart of the city and causing much destruction. That same evening the German troops entered and took possession. They found little in the way of war material, however, for the Russians had had time to remove everything of military value.

THE QUESTION OF A DICTATORSHIP IS NOW DISCUSSED.

The fall of Riga caused proportionately a greater shock in Russia than anything that had befallen the Russian armies during the retreat after the middle of July. Kerensky and

ative elements, he decided to take the situation entirely into his own hands and proclaim himself dictator, that he might autocratically apply his disciplinary system in full. But it was now too late. The rank and file of his armies had drunk too deeply of the Socialist doctrines to be willing to support him. He could depend only on the semi-barbarian regiments from the Caucasus and Asiatic Russia, and even these, including his own Cossacks, showed no enthusiasm for a dictatorship. On the other hand, the rank and file rallied to Kerensky's call for help. For a short period the workers in the

munitions factories worked day and night, believing that thereby they were helping to suppress Kornilov.

THE ARMY NOW ONLY AN ARMED MOB.

After Kornilov's arrest, in the middle of September, even Kerensky realized that the Russian Army was no longer a factor in the war against the Central Powers. Kornilov's successor, General Dukhonin, was an honest and sincere supporter of the Provisional Government, but he had not the genius to affect in the slightest the situation at the front.

It was now that the Bolshevist propaganda began to make rapid strides within the army itself, shown in the sudden majority given the Bolshevist faction in the Soviet. Fear of a counter-revolution in favor of the autocracy, rather than a genuine belief in the doctrines of Lenin, was the cause. Fighting, except of the most sporadic kind, ceased on the Russian front, and the soldiers gave themselves up almost entirely to holding meetings and discussing politics. Many officers were killed or degraded. Only to repel German raids or local attacks would they take up their guns, and these acts of aggression the Germans soon ceased almost entirely. The artillery regiments for a long time showed themselves least susceptible to the Bolshevist agitation, and for some time the Russian guns did continue bombarding the German lines, but even while the artillery continued hostilities, the infantry would fraternize with the enemy in the trenches. This was strongly encouraged by the Bolshevist agitators, who had leaflets and pamphlets printed in German, which were passed over to the German soldiers in the hope of converting them to the

OPERATIONS AROUND THE GULF OF RIGA

Bolshevist doctrines of pacifism. As later events were to prove, the Germans were little affected, though it was the policy of the German officers to encourage a belief to the contrary among the Russians.

THE GERMANS TAKE WHATEVER THEY WISH.

Before the final collapse of the Kerensky régime, however, Russian patriots were to suffer another blow from an enemy success. On October 12, 1917, under cover of strong naval detachments, the Germans landed marines and soldiers on the shore of Tagga Bay, north of the Island of Oesel, in the Gulf of Riga. An engagement took place between the German ships and the Russian ships and shore batteries, in which the former prevailed through their greatly superior force, though here the Russians showed a determined resistance. During the next few days the Germans also occupied Oesel and Dago islands, and still later, Moon Island. In the naval operations which took place during this period the Russians lost several large ships, though the Russian official reports claimed that the Germans lost two dreadnoughts, one cruiser, twelve torpedo boats and a number of smaller craft.

As a contrast to these German successes, the German lines in the Riga sector were withdrawn considerably for the purposes of straightening out the front. This at least relieved the fear of the Russians that Petrograd was to be made the object of immediate attack. Only a few weeks intervened, however, between then and the final collapse of Russia as an enemy of Germany, when the Bolsheviki were to open the negotiations which were to culminate in the humiliating peace of Brest-Litovsk.

SOME SLIGHT OPERATIONS TAKE PLACE ON THE TURKISH FRONT.

Of the operations on the Russo-Turkish front during the Kerensky régime only a few words are necessary. In April the Russians had been forced to retire from Mush. During the rest of the summer practically no reports came in from this front. On November 4, only three days before the Bolshevist revolution, there was a slight revival of activity against the Turks. In the Black Sea Coastal region, in the Kalkit-Tchiflik sector, the Russians began a sudden offensive and penetrated the Turkish lines to their third line trenches. But this slight success was not sustained. Later in November further hostilities were continued, in co-operation with the British forces north of Bagdad, for apparently the Russians in this more distant theatre of the war were the last to be affected by the wave of Bolshevist propaganda.

The White House at Washington

CHAPTER XLV

The United States Enters the War

UNRESTRICTED SUBMARINE WARFARE BRINGS THE NATION INTO THE CONTEST

BY the close of 1915 American diplomacy seemed to have won a victory in the submarine controversy. Germany had agreed that no passenger vessels should be sunk without provision being made for the complete safety of the passengers and crew. The feeling of relief which this agreement brought was soon disturbed by the controversy over the arming of merchant vessels. (See p. 275.)

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT DENIES RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SUSSEX.

Pending the settlement of the dispute the country was aroused by the news of the sinking of the cross channel steamer Sussex on March 24, 1916. The Sussex was not armed and had never carried troops. The attack was without warning and resulted in the injury or death of eighty passengers, among them several Americans. This was a violation of an explicit promise. The German government, while admitting that a vessel had been sunk at the time and place indicated, contended that the vessel was not the Sussex. To substantiate this claim the authorities submitted a sketch of the vessel sunk, made by the commander of the submarine, differing in shape and construction from the Sussex. It is difficult to believe that even the German officials took this "evidence" seriously.

THE AMERICAN NOTE AMOUNTS TO AN ULTIMATUM.

Secretary Lansing despatched a note to Germany in the nature of an ultimatum. Recalling the previous promises made by the German authorities and indicating that the sinking of the Sussex clearly violated these pledges, he declared that unless the Germans should immediately abandon their "present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels" the United States would have no other recourse than to break diplomatic relations with Germany.

The German reply was received on May 4, 1916. It stated that the commanders of submarines had received the following instructions: "In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance."

AMERICAN RIGHTS NOT DEPENDENT UPON BRITISH ACTION.

It was stated, however, that the United States was expected to insist that Great Britain should abandon her blockade of Germany and her

interference with neutral trade. Should the British government fail to do so the German note stated that "the German government would then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision."

Mr. Lansing replied that the United States would expect Germany to carry out scrupulously its announced change of policy and "cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval

THE GERMAN BLOCKADE OF EUROPE

The area declared blockaded is indicated by diagonal lines, and the lanes through which passage was permitted are indicated.

authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative." No reply was received to this note.

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES UNRESTRICTED SUBMARINE WARFARE.

Once more the people of the United States breathed more freely as a result of what appeared to be a final settlement of the submarine problem. For nine months, from May, 1916, to February, 1917, German submarines generally observed the promise which had been made to comply with the rules of cruiser warfare. The relief proved to be but temporary, as this pause in submarine frightfulness was not due to any change of heart on the part of the German authorities, but to policy. Admiral von Tirpitz' Memoirs show the conflicting forces in Germany at this period.

On December 12, 1916, the Teutonic alliance without previous intimation or explanation proposed that the belligerents "enter forthwith into peace negotiations." The military situation and the internal conditions in Germany will explain the reason. The war map showed the Teutonic powers in possession of large areas of enemy territory. Belgium, Northern France, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania and Russian Poland and some of the Baltic lands of Russia had been overrun. All of these were valuable pawns with which to negotiate if the Entente should agree to enter upon peace discussions. It seemed improbable that the situation would ever be more favorable for the Teutonic powers. But these notable gains had not been won without great sacrifices by the German people. Two years of warfare had made great inroads upon the man power and material resources of the Teutonic allies. The blockade was making it increasingly difficult for the German authorities to obtain essential war materials, to say nothing of food and clothing for the civilian population.

THE REASONS FOR THE GERMAN OFFER OF PEACE.

In these circumstances something was needed to strengthen the morale of the German people. By making a peace offer which they knew would be rejected by their enemies, the German leaders hoped to be able to convince the German people that they were fighting a defensive struggle and thus to reconcile them to greater sacrifices.

As was anticipated the Entente Allies refused to consider the German proposal, which they stated was "empty and insincere." Mr. Lloyd George declared that "to enter on the invitation of Germany, proclaiming herself victorious, without any knowledge

of the proposals she intends to make, into a conference, is putting our heads into a noose with the rope end in the hands of the Germans."

PRESIDENT WILSON ASKS FOR A STATEMENT OF WAR AIMS.

When the German peace offer appeared President Wilson had already prepared a communication to the various belligerents. In this note the President directed attention to the fact that each side professed to be fighting a defensive war; each claimed to be "ready to consider the formation of a League of Nations to ensure peace and justice throughout the world." The objects for which both sides were fighting "stated in general terms seem to be the same." The President felt justified, therefore, in asking the belligerents to state "the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people."

In reply the German government evaded the question but renewed its offer to enter upon peace negotiations. The Entente powers replied more to the point. While they were unwilling to declare their objects in complete detail, certain fundamental conditions were set down. These included the restoration of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro with compensation; the evacuation of France, Russia and Rumania with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe on a stable basis which involved the liberation of the subject nationalities in Germany, Austria and Turkey. At the same time it was stated that it was not the purpose of the Entente allies "to encompass the extermination of the German people and their political independence."

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

In requesting this information from the belligerents the President indicated that he was not proposing mediation or even the calling of a peace conference. He was seeking information by which the United States could be guided in formulating its future policy toward the war and more particularly in regard to the peace which should end the war. In a remarkable address delivered before the Senate on January 22, 1917, President Wilson developed more fully this idea. He stated that it was inconceivable that the United States should not play a part "in the days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among nations." In such an enterprise the people of the United States had a great service to perform. "That service is

WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

nothing less than this; to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world." If the people of the United States were to be asked to join in this great enterprise he felt that it was necessary to formulate the conditions upon which he "would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a League for Peace."

While the United States would have no voice in determining the actual terms of peace it was greatly interested in what the terms of peace shall be. "We shall have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or

not by the guarantees of a universal covenant; and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards when it may be too late."

THE IDEA OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS PRESENTED.

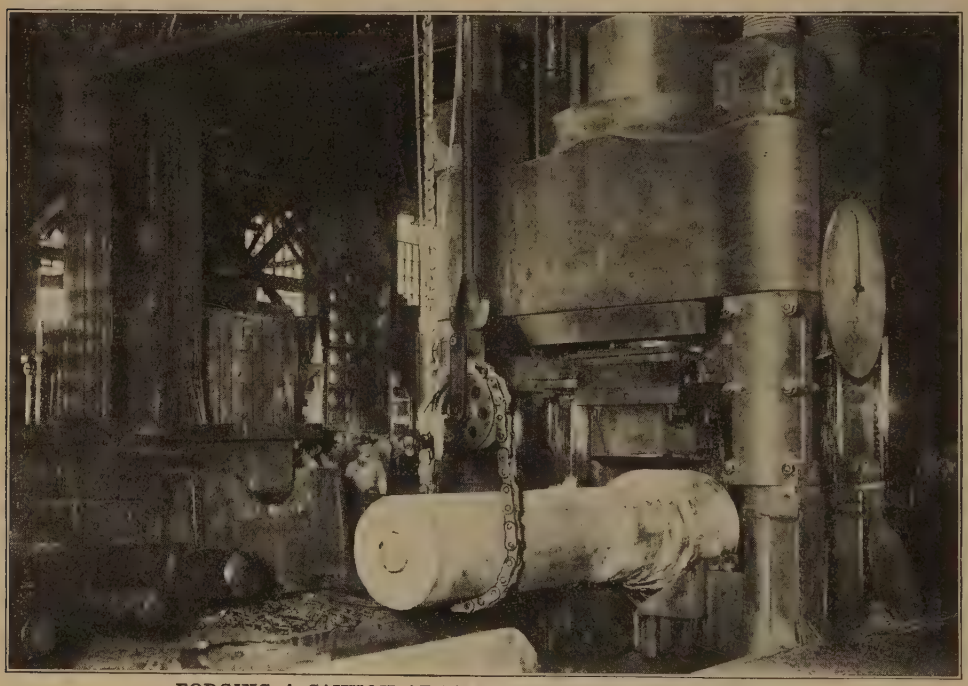
"First it will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it."

But the terms of the peace must be such as to warrant such a guarantee. "The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power? If it be only for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized, common peace."

PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY A NECESSITY FOR PERMANENCE.

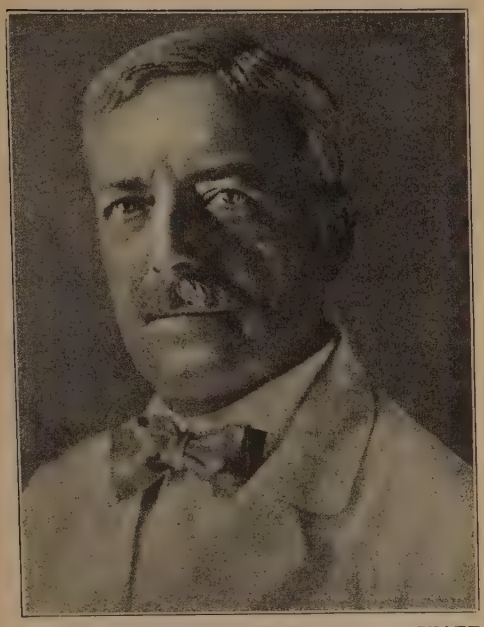
Furthermore a permanent peace must be based upon an equality of nations and national rights. "It must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. . . Only a peace between equals can last. . Equality of territory or of resources there, of course, cannot be; nor any sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the people themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights."

Of even greater importance was the



FORGING A CANNON AT THE BETHLEHEM STEEL WORKS

In making a heavy cannon the great ingot of cast steel is forged into shape by continual blasts of heavy hammers before it is entirely cool. Here we see an ingot under the hammer. The Bethlehem works had been engaged in making munitions for the Allies on a large scale before the United States entered the war.



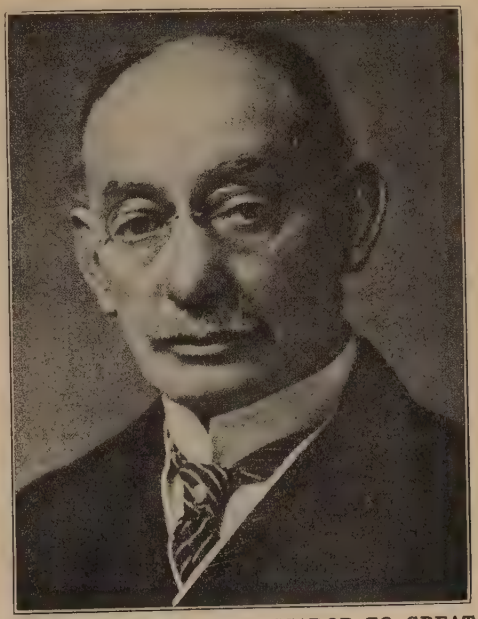
ROBERT LANSING, SECRETARY OF STATE

recognition of the rights of peoples to formulate their own political institutions. "No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just rights from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.....Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset."

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS AND LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS.

A further principle which President Wilson considered of vital importance was the freedom of the seas. "The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and coöperation." Such freedom contemplated "the free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations" on the high seas. In the case of nations whose territory did not touch the high seas a guaranteed and neutralized right of way should be provided. The problem of the freedom of the seas involved the limitation of naval armaments which in turn "opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programmes of military preparation." These questions are difficult and "they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation, if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice."

These were the conditions upon which the President felt that the United States might be asked to join with the nations of Europe in guaranteeing the peace of the world. While speaking as an individual he was "confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say." Moreover he expressed the hope that he was speaking "for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have had as yet no opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and homes they hold most dear.....I speak with the greater boldness because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for. I am proposing, as it were, that the nations



WALTER H. PAGE, AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN

should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful."

out the country the President's words made a deep impression, and excited much discussion. It is significant that there was so little popular dissent from the bold stand. Such criticism as appeared was directed chiefly to the demands of a "peace without victory." A few objected to the idea that the United States should assume any position in settling European quarrels. Senator

GENERAL PERSHING AND STAFF ON BOARD THE BALTIC

General Pershing and his staff arrived at Liverpool June 7, 1917, and after a short stay in England crossed over to France and established headquarters there, first in Paris, but later at Chaumont. Though the staff was subsequently much enlarged, and changed in harmony with General Pershing's idea of giving every man service with troops, some of these officers retained their positions until the Armistice.

THE UNITED STATES TO ABANDON THE POLICY OF ISOLATION.

This speech gives striking evidence how greatly two years of war in Europe had influenced political thinking in the United States. Probably no American president had ever before so frankly proposed such a fundamental change in the foreign policy of the country. It was a clear call to the people of the United States to abandon their traditional isolation from the affairs of Europe and to assume among the nations of the world that position of leadership which their material and moral strength warranted. Through-

Borah was thus early voicing loud opposition to any change in the policy of the Nation. Many expressed the view that a lasting peace would not come until the military power of Germany was crushed. Ex-President Roosevelt was particularly bitter.

Scarcely time enough was allowed for the country to realize the full significance of the change which this address contemplated before it was called upon to face a situation which transformed the United States from a deeply interested observer into a full participant in the great world drama.

NEWTON D. BAKER, SECRETARY OF WAR

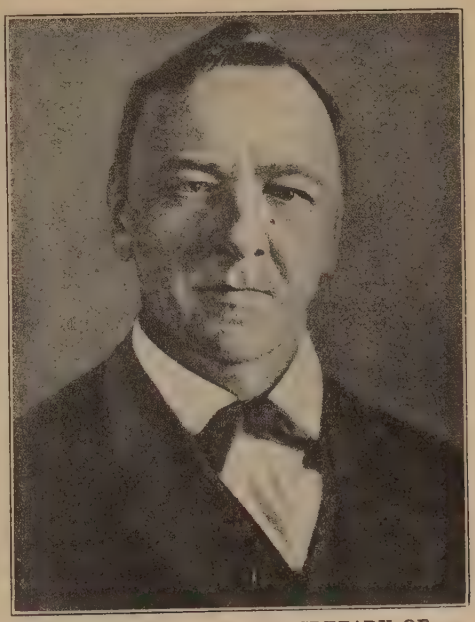
WHY UNRESTRICTED SUBMARINE WARFARE WAS RESUMED.

For nine months the German authorities generally observed the promise that merchant vessels should not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives. All at once without the slightest warning, on the 31st of January, 1917, they served notice that they proposed to resume unrestricted submarine warfare.

The war had lasted much longer than the German military leaders had anticipated. The strength of the Teutonic allies had reached, if it had not passed, its maximum. Every month that passed brought added strength to their enemies. A war of attrition could only end in a German defeat. The resources of the United States were aiding the Entente. There appeared to be but one hope and that was to force Great Britain to capitulate by a policy of submarine terror. The elements which were willing to risk a rupture with the United States grew stronger. In the event of a break the German leaders assumed that a country so unprepared for war could do little damage, at least not before the submarine had starved Great Britain into submission. Events were to prove that they miscalculated as badly in this instance as they did in the invasion of Belgium.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE GERMAN EMPIRE ARE SEVERED.

The new war zone extended from a point four hundred miles west of Ireland and ran to a point nine hundred miles west of Bordeaux. Lanes of safety in the North Sea, along the Spanish coast and in the Mediterranean Sea were designated in order that access might be had to neutral states. As a concession to the United States one ship a week was to be permitted to sail to England, provided it sailed on a specified day, over a designated course to the port of Falmouth, and displayed certain distinctive markings. Moreover the United States government must guarantee that such ships carried no contraband. In submitting these proposals the German government hoped "that the United States may view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality and assist, on their part, to prevent further misery and avoidable sacrifice of human life." Both the remarkable character of the German proposals and the arrogant method of



JOSEPHUS DANIELS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING, COMMANDING AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

their presentation created amusement as well as resentment throughout the United States.

The German proposals were so clearly a repudiation of the Sussex pledge that President Wilson immediately ordered the recall of Ambassador Gerard from Berlin and sent Ambassador von Bernstorff his passports. At the same time he stated that he did not believe that Germany would really do what she threatened to do. In closing his address to Congress he said: "We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government that speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people.... seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!"

OTHER NATIONS HESITATE TO BREAK OFF RELATIONS.

President Wilson immediately notified all other neutral governments of the action of the United States and suggested that they take similar action. Though none followed the example of the United States, all the European nations, the majority of the South American republics, and China also, sent vigorous notes of protest to the German government.

There is little doubt that the President expressed the feeling of the majority of the American people. It is true that there were some who felt that the United States should have entered the war at the time of the sinking of the Lusitania, while on the other hand there were some German-Americans and pacifists who maintained that the President was leading the country into a war which might be avoided. The most conspicuous of the latter was Mr. Bryan who urged the people

VICE-ADMIRAL WM. S. SIMS, COMMANDING IN EUROPEAN WATERS

THE FIRST AMERICAN TROOPS DISEMBARKING IN FRANCE

The first American troops that landed in France in June, 1917, belonged to the First Division. The French were much interested in their appearance, their uniforms and their methods, all of which were quite different from those of the French Soldiers. Here they are in line waiting to carry their impedimenta from the transport.

THE FLAG OF THE SIXTEENTH REGIMENT IN PARIS

Some of the regiments of the American Army have a long and honorable history. This is the regimental flag with the national colors, and the color guard of the Sixteenth Regiment of the Regular Army. This regiment paraded in Paris on July 4, 1917, where the American troops attracted much attention. The size of the men was one of the causes of wonder and almost of astonishment.

to telegraph the President and Congressmen not to involve the country in a war "on European soil in settlement of European quarrels."

AMBASSADOR GERARD IS HAMPERED IN LEAVING GERMANY.

Leaving German interests in the hands of Dr. Paul Ritter, the Swiss Minister, Ambassador von Bernstorff sailed from New York on February 14, accompanied by the embassy officials and a number of prominent Germans. After some delay at Halifax, where the British authorities made a thorough search of baggage despite protests, the party arrived safely at Copenhagen. The American ambassador was not so fortunate in his efforts to leave Germany. Upon presenting his demand for his passports he was assured that they would be promptly furnished. Subsequently, however, the German authorities submitted to him a number of proposals which they suggested should be added to the existing treaty between the United States and Germany. These proposals provided that the personal and property rights of the citizens of each nation should remain undisturbed and that such citizens should not be interned or otherwise molested. Mr. Gerard firmly declined to transmit any such proposals and renewed his request for his passports. After a delay of four more days the German authorities complied with his demand and he was able at last to leave for Switzerland. Thence he returned to the United States by way of France and Spain. The Spanish Ambassador and the Dutch Minister took over the affairs of the United States.

With the break in diplomatic relations the German authorities tried to induce the President to enter upon another long diplomatic discussion. Through the Swiss Minister it was proposed that the United States indicate how the submarine warfare might be modified to satisfy our demands. To this suggestion the President returned a flat refusal to enter upon any discussion unless the German authorities repealed the decree of January 31 with its threat of unrestricted submarine warfare.

THE EFFECT OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT ON AMERICAN SHIPPING.

In American shipping circles the German threat aroused serious concern. Owners refused to allow their vessels to leave American ports and underwriters declined to insure the cargoes unless adequate protection was assured. As a result there was a practical embargo on American shipping. To meet this situation President Wilson went before Congress on February 26 and asked for authority to place arms on American ships and to use "any other instrumentalities and methods" that he might deem necessary to protect American ships and property on the high seas. In Congress a bill was introduced appropriating $100,000,000 to provide armament for merchant ships but that body was unwilling to grant the President the additional power which he requested. The bill passed the House of Representatives by a large majority. In the Senate a small but determined group of Senators conducted a filibuster to prevent the passage of the bill before the expiration of the session on March 4. They were Senators La Follette, Norris, Cummins, Gronna, Clapp, and Works, Republicans; and Stone, O'Gorman, Kirby, Lane and Vardaman, Democrats.

THE INTERCEPTED GERMAN NOTE SEEKING ALLIANCE WITH MEXICO.

While the debate in the Senate was proceeding the State Department issued an intercepted dispatch from Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, then German Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to the German Minister in Mexico which gave a striking illustration of the utter stupidity of German diplomacy. The Zimmermann dispatch was as follows:

"On the first of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral with the United States of America. If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico. That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support and it is understood that Mexico is to

reconquer the lost territory of New Mexico, Texas and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

"You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan, suggesting adherence at once to the plan, and at the same time to offer to mediate between Japan and Germany. Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months."

THE LANDSHIP "RECRUIT" IN UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK

One of the most interesting and effective aids to recruiting for the Navy was the landship "Recruit" in Union Square, which remained during the whole war. It was a reproduction in wood of one of the great steel battleships, lattice masts, ship's bell and all. Prospective recruits could see sailors going about their daily tasks.

New York Times Photo Service

THE PRESIDENT REBUKES "THE LITTLE GROUP OF WILLFUL MEN."

The disclosure of this effort on the part of Germany to embroil the United States with its southern neighbor aroused bitter resentment throughout the country, but it did not have the effect of overcoming the opposition in the Senate to the President's proposal and the session closed without action having been taken. Seventy-five of the ninety-six members of the Senate signed a protest in which they indicated their desire to vote for the measure but were prevented from doing so because of the Senate rule allowing unlimited debate. Others would have signed had they been present.

The day following the close of the session of Congress President Wilson issued a stinging rebuke to the "little group of willful men" who had defeated the will of the great majority of the members of Congress. He declared that it was a situation "unparalleled in the history of the country, perhaps in the history of any modern government.....More than 500 of the 531 members of the two houses were ready and anxious to act; The House of Representatives had acted by an overwhelming majority, but the Senate

was unable to act because a little group of eleven Senators had determined that it should not.....The Senate of the United States is the only legislative body in the world that cannot act when its majority is ready for action. A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible.....The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall can be brought to a vote when two-thirds of the members so order.

Having accomplished his purpose President Wilson then obtained an opinion from the Attorney-General that he had the authority to place armament on merchant vessels without further authorization from Congress. Acting upon this opinion it was announced that armed guards would be placed on all American vessels passing through the war zone. This condition of armed

FLEET OF AMERICAN TROOPSHIPS OUTWARD BOUND ON THE ATLANTIC

At a distance of about a mile, in order to be able to manœuvre freely, steam the second and third ships of this fleet. The men, wearing their life-belts, are prepared for submarine attack; the guns in readiness for training on the difficult mark of the elusive periscope; the life-boats swung out for quick launching.

© International Film Service

be so altered that it can act. The country can be relied upon to draw the moral. I believe that the Senate can be relied on to supply the means of action and save the country from disaster."

ARMED NEUTRALITY MOVES ON TOWARD OPEN WAR.

The response of the country to the appeal of the President was immediate and impressive. Mass meetings were held to condemn the action of the "willful" Senators. Societies adopted resolutions of protest and the legislatures of a number of states pledged their support to the President. Impressed by this outburst of public feeling the Senate, in special session, modified its rules so that a measure neutrality could obviously not continue any great length of time. Either Germany must abandon her policy of submarine ruthlessness or a clash was certain to result. On March 19, news was received that three American ships had been sunk within twenty-four hours with the loss of fifteen lives. From all parts of the country came demands for immediate and decisive action.

Fortified by these expressions of public opinion the President, on March 21, summoned Congress to meet in special session on April 2 "to receive a communication from the Executive on grave questions of national policy which should be taken immediately

under consideration." As the momentous day approached there was increasing evidence of popular enthusiasm. Mass-meetings were called for the purpose of adopting patriotic resolutions. Numbers of prominent persons went to Washington for the historic event. On the other hand a group of pacifists also appeared to make a final demonstration against

"With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people

THE FIRST UNITED STATES SOLDIERS IN LONDON

For the first time in history United States soldiers marched through London on August 15, 1917. They were reviewed by the King, the War Cabinet adjourned to observe the spectacle, and the streets were crowded with interested and friendly spectators. Here they are seen marching through Bird Cage Walk to their camp.
© London Daily Mail

entering the war. At 8:30 in the evening of April 2, the President entered the hall of the House of Representatives. He was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm. Nearly every member in the great audience carried an American flag. With an earnestness and dignity which the gravity of the occasion called for the President read his war message.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S MEMORABLE WAR MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Reviewing Germany's acts since the renewal of unrestricted submarine warfare and characterizing them as "warfare against mankind," he said: of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and to end the war."

The President then indicated some of the things which he considered essential to be done in order to make our participation in the war effective. These included the extension of financial aid to the nations at war with

Germany, the development and organization of our industries to make them most effective for conduct of the war, the strengthening of the navy and the expansion of the army to at least five hundred thousand men at once with additional forces to be raised "upon the principle of universal liability to service." In defraying the expenses of the war the President suggested that as large a proportion as possible should be borne by taxation.

WAR ONLY A STEP TOWARD A NEW WORLD ORDER.

While the illegal actions of the German Government were a sufficient justification for our entrance into the war the President desired to look beyond questions of self interest to the more fundamental question of the defense of democratic ideals and the organization of a new world order. Turning to these objects he said:

"My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of these principles.

"Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states."

"WE HAVE NO QUARREL WITH THE GERMAN PEOPLE."

The President made it clear that our quarrel was with the German government not the German people. "We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering the war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellowmen as pawns and tools.

"We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe of liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience.

"THE WORLD MUST BE MADE SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY."

"The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of mankind. We shall be satisfied when these have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.....

"It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.

had taken. The alliance of the Russian autocracy with the democracies of the west had been an anomaly. It had weakened the contention of the Entente that they were fighting to maintain democratic ideals. But the Russian Revolution, which occurred some two weeks before the entrance of the United States into the war, left Germany as the one great stronghold of autoc-

GENERAL PERSHING ARRIVING AT BOULOGNE

On his arrival at Boulogne, June 13, 1917, General Pershing was met by a delegation including M. Besnard, Under Secretary of State for War, and the one-armed veteran, General Pelletier, who had been designated to attend him. General Pershing is here passing in review the sailors assigned as part of the guard of honor.

© Picture, Kadel & Herbert

"But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ADDS FORCE TO THE MESSAGE.

Events in Russia had given added force to the position which the President

racy in the world. With truth could the President then proclaim that the struggle was between the two antagonistic principles of autocracy and democracy.

CONGRESS VOTES FOR WAR BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY.

Following the reading of the President's Message resolutions were introduced in both houses of Congress declaring that a state of war had been thrust upon the United States by Germany. The resolution passed the Senate April 4, by a vote of 82 to 6. The six negative votes were cast by Senators La Follette, Gronna and

Norris, Republicans; and Stone, Lane and Vardaman, Democrats. In the House of Representatives after an all day debate the resolution passed April 6, by a vote of 373 to 50, nine members not voting. Of the negative votes 16 were Democrats, 32 Republicans, 1 Socialist, and 1 Independent. The resolution was signed by President Wilson the same day.

Among the nations at war with Germany the entrance of the United States into the struggle created a profound impression. From both official and private sources came expressions of deepest feeling and appreciation. President Poincaré declared that "the great American Republic" had proven "faithful to its ideals and its traditions." Mr. Asquith, speaking before the House of Commons, said, "I do not use language of flattery or exaggeration when I say it is one of the most disinterested acts in history."

The effect of the declaration on the United States.

Throughout the United States the news was received with a calm dignity which befitted the momentous character of the action. There was neither tumult nor hysteria, but everywhere there was evidence of a deep and sincere patriotism.

The immediate effects of the entrance of the United States into the war were moral rather than material. Not for many months were the tremendous resources of the country fully prepared to make their force felt in Europe. But the moral value of the action was immediate and profound. To the war-weary British and French it brought new hope at a time when the situation was particularly discouraging.

Following the declaration of war against Germany, Austria-Hungary broke diplomatic relations with the United States, April 8, but the United States did not formally declare war against her until December 7, 1917. With the other two members of the Teutonic alliance, Turkey and Bulgaria, no declaration of war was made, and diplomatic intercourse was not suspended with the latter. Turkey broke relations on April 20, 1917.

The action of other states of the western hemisphere.

Influenced by the action of the United States, Cuba immediately declared war without a dissenting voice. The President of Panama had previously been given authority to declare war when he should deem it advisable, and at once issued a proclamation, placing Panama beside the United States. Brazil severed diplomatic relations on April 10, and declared war in October. Haiti declared war in September, and Guatemala, Nicaragua and Costa Rica followed in 1918.

Bolivia severed relations on April 13, Honduras in May, San Salvador and Santo Domingo in June, Uruguay and Peru in October, and Ecuador in December. Mexico declared for neutrality, but was really unfriendly to the United States. Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, Paraguay and Colombia for various reasons remained neutral, though public sentiment in some of these countries, so far as it was articulate, was strongly against Germany.

French and British missions visit the United States.

Soon after the Declaration of War, several Allied Commissions visited the United States. The British, headed by Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, which reached Washington April 22, and the French, headed by ex-Premier Viviani and Marshal Joffre, which arrived April 25, excited the greatest enthusiasm. Both M. Viviani and Mr. Balfour addressed the House of Representatives by invitation and the former addressed the Senate also. Both Commissions visited the tomb of Washington at Mt. Vernon where impressive exercises were held.

Both then made visits to some of the principal cities of the country and were everywhere received with great enthusiasm. Marshal Joffre was greeted with especial warmth and his frank honesty deepened the regard in which he was already held in Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Springfield, Ill., and Philadelphia. In New York the city was elaborately decorated to receive the missions, and dinners and receptions were offered.

"LAFAYETTE! WE ARE HERE"

On the afternoon of June 15, 1917, General Pershing with members of his staff and French officers visited the tomb of Lafayette at the Picpus Cemetery, and laid a wreath upon the grave of the man who had left home and family and crossed the ocean to fight for the freedom of the struggling American colonies.

RECEPTION GIVEN TO GENERAL PERSHING IN PARIS

After showing himself to the people of Paris from the balcony of the Military Club, this picture was made. General Pelletier is seen immediately behind Madame Joffre, who is seen between General Pershing and Marshal Joffre. On the other side of General Pershing is General Foch, not yet recognized as the man of the hour. General Dubail and his little son are to the right of Marshal Joffre.

Upper picture © Kadel & Herbert

Meanwhile the technical members were at work with the corresponding American officers, or officials, giving them the benefit of the knowledge they had gained in the hard school of experience. This instruction was of untold benefit, and enabled the War and Navy Departments to avoid making many mistakes, and at the same time showed how they could best co-operate with their associates in the war. Several of the officers remained as technical advisers after their chiefs had returned home by way of Canada. Later M. André Tardieu and Lord Northcliffe were appointed special commissioners by France and Great Britain respectively.

WOMAN'S MOTOR CORPS DRILLING

The women of the United States sought ways to help, and numerous motor corps were organized to drive ambulances, act as chauffeurs for officers, carry messages, or transport soldiers. This picture shows the Woman's Motor Corps in their smart uniforms drilling at Fort Totten, under direction of Lieutenant Colonel Paul Loesser.

Times Photo Service

WHAT WERE THE MOST IMPORTANT NEEDS OF THE ALLIES?

The extent and form of American participation was next to be settled. Some had supposed that food and raw materials, together with perhaps some naval co-operation would be all that would be expected from the United States. President Wilson soon indicated, however, that all the resources of the country would be thrown into the scale. The Allied needs were stated as, first, money, second, food, third, raw materials (both of these dependent upon shipping) and finally, men.

Congress at once went to work upon the problems. The first loan act providing for a popular loan of seven billion dollars passed the House April 14, and the Senate on April 17 without a dissenting voice. Of this, three billion dollars was to be loaned to the nations of the Entente. Two billion dollars was offered for popular subscription on May 15, and was oversubscribed by fifty per cent. The first loan to an Entente nation was $200,000,000 to Great Britain, one of the largest checks ever drawn, and before the middle of July the total loans to Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy and Belgium amounted to more than $1,300,000,000, and these loans were continued. Meanwhile the House Committee on Ways and Means worked upon a revenue bill greatly increasing taxation.

THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE BEGINS ITS WORK.

A Council of National Defense had been created consisting of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and of Labor, with an

ON THE WAY TO CAMP UPTON AT YAPHANK

Selective Service men from New York City were sent to Camp Upton at Yaphank, Long Island. These men were sent by Local Boards 174 and 175 and their expressions show the spirit in which the great majority of the young men of the United States approached the duty laid upon them. New York Times Photo Service

SELECTIVE SERVICE MEN FROM CHICAGO PARADING

The term "conscript" has never been popular in the United States. In this war, the term Selective Service men was used in preference and every effort was made to do them honor. Here are shown men of some of the early drafts from Chicago on their way to camp, parading before a crowd which packed the sidewalks. The National Guard is drawn up on the left of the picture. Underwood & Underwood

Advisory Commission consisting first of Daniel Willard, chairman, Transportation and Communication; Howard E. Coffin, Munitions and Manufacturing (including standardization) and Industrial Relations; Julius Rosenwald, Supplies (including clothing), etc.; Bernard M. Baruch, Raw Materials, Minerals and Metals; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, Engineering and Education; Samuel Gompers, Labor, including conservation of health and welfare of workers; Dr. Franklin Martin, Medicine and Surgery, including general sanitation.

MEN IN TRAINING BUILDING ROADS

The heavy trucks carrying supplies soon cut the roads around the camps into holes and mud. One of the first things to be done was to construct permanent roads which would stand up under the traffic. Many of the men were not accustomed to manual labor. These are members of Company D, 22d Engineers.

Int. News Service

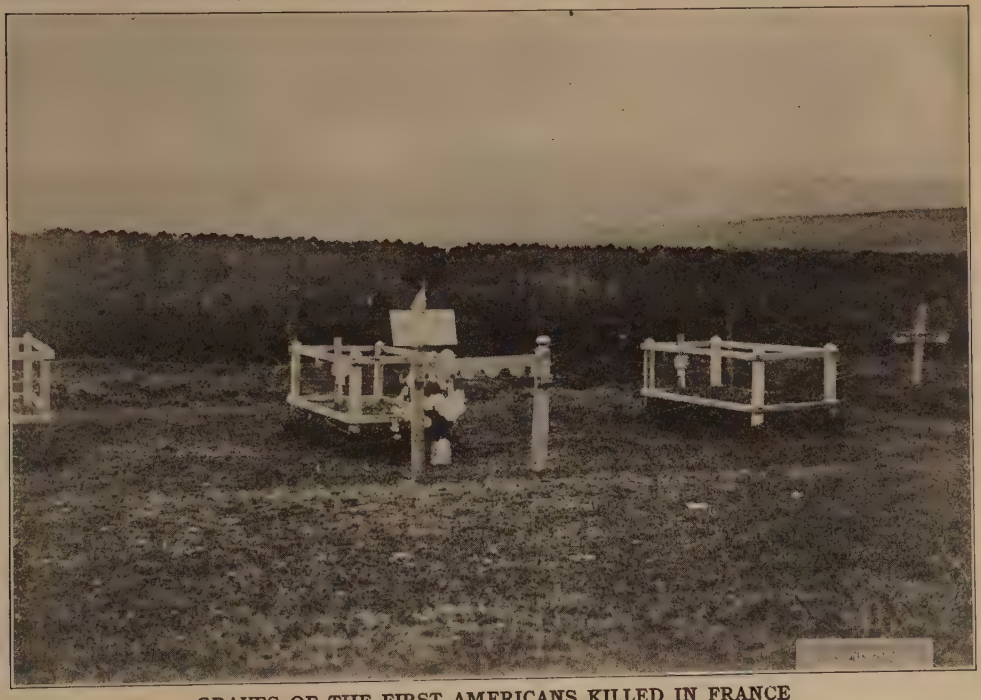
This body began immediately to make a survey and to organize the resources of the country. They called business and professional men of the country to their aid and thousands responded to the call. Then began an interesting feature of the war. Many men left their private affairs and sought to serve the government gratis. In order to be enrolled it was necessary that a salary be attached to the position. Therefore we have the thousands of "dollar-a-year" men, many of whom rendered services of inestimable value. The office of Food Controller was filled by the appointment of Herbert C. Hoover, who had won fame by his administration of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, and President H. A. Garfield of Williams College, himself a son of President Garfield and formerly an attorney, was appointed Fuel Administrator.

THE SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT BRINGS THE WAR TO ALL.

After some hesitation, Congress passed the Selective Service Act on May 18. The authorized strength of the regular army was increased to 293,000 and the National Guard to 625,000 men, and men might enlist for the war and not for a fixed term. More important, however, were the provisions calling for a registration of all men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one. From these a first draft of 500,000 men was to be drawn for the new National Army and a

THE FIRST AMERICAN GUN FIRED IN FRANCE

Early in the morning on October 23, 1917, this gun, belonging to Battery C of the 6th Field Artillery, was drawn forward and fired. The shot was aimed in the direction of Berlin—not at any definite target. The gun then ranked as an historic "relic," and was shipped home to West Point for preservation and exhibition.



GRAVES OF THE FIRST AMERICANS KILLED IN FRANCE

The first American battle losses occurred in a German trench raid on the night of November 3, 1917. Three men, Corporal Gresham of Indiana, and Privates Enright, of Pennsylvania, and Hay, of Iowa, were killed. They were buried with the honors of war at the village of Bathlemont, and the French erected these temporary memorials over their graves.

second instalment of the same size when needed. Men might also be drafted into the Regulars and the National Guard. Local and district boards composed of civilians appointed by the President had entire control of exemptions, in accordance with the provisions of the law. The President fixed June 5 as Registration Day, on which day the young manhood of the country was to report. The total registration was 9,659,382.

The drawing to determine the order in which the registrants should be called before their Local Boards was held in Washington on July 20, 1917. The plan was simple. The registrants in each district had been numbered in order as they appeared. Since the largest district had registered something less than 10,500 men, that number of capsules each containing a number had been prepared. From a large urn, blindfolded tellers drew capsules until all were exhausted. The first number drawn was "258". This meant that Number 258 in every district in which so many had registered was to be the first man called before his Local Board for examination. The second number was 2,522 and the third, 9,613. Where these high numbers did not appear in the smaller districts they were ignored, and the next number which did appear taken. These "master sheets" containing the numbers in the order in which they were drawn governed absolutely the order in which men were called. The quota which each state and district was to furnish depended upon the population.

THE OFFICERS' TRAINING CAMPS GRADUATE THOUSANDS OF CANDIDATES.

Meanwhile sixteen Officers' Training Camps where candidates for commissions could undergo a period of intensive training for three months were established in different parts of the country corresponding to the districts into which the country was divided for the purpose of training. They were soon filled with 40,000 young men of whom more than 27,000 received commissions. A second series immediately followed. In January, 1918, a third series drawing candidates chiefly from the army itself was held, and later a fourth series.

Camps to train the citizen soldiers were established, sixteen for the National Guard and the same number for the National Army as the forces raised under the Selective Service Act were called. In the National Guard camps the men were housed in tents, though warehouses, mess halls and the like were of wood. The National Army camps or cantonments were wooden cities, each of which housed nearly forty thousand men. The number of men in a division was increased, and a whole division was trained in each. For reasons of climate the National Guard camps were generally placed in the South, and the National Army camps were placed as far South as the limits of the department would allow. They were named for former military leaders of the United States. It may be stated here that August 7, 1918, an order was issued abolishing all distinctions and consolidating Regulars, Guard and National Army into the United States Army.

WHY WERE TROOPS SENT TO FRANCE SO EARLY?

It had been understood to be the plan of the General Staff to train a large army upon this side and transfer it to France as a unit. Suddenly it was announced that Major-General John J. Pershing, who had won a reputation in Cuba, in the Philippines, and as the leader of the force which pursued Villa into Mexico, had been appointed commander of the American Expeditionary Force, and had arrived in England, June 8. Soon the news came that American troops had arrived in France, June 26, 27, and that others would follow. It was later learned that special units of Engineers and other technical troops had preceded these.

For this sudden change of plan Marshal Joffre was largely responsible, as it was learned later. France was at that time struggling with that phenomenon known as "defeatism" which has been discussed elsewhere (Chapter XXXI). The French people had suffered cruelly and were war-weary and despondent. Marshal Joffre declared

that the sight of American troops, no matter how few, as tangible evidence of America's intentions would have a tonic effect upon French morale. The troops sent were the First Division of Regulars and a regiment of Marines. Their parade in Paris on July 4, excited great enthusiasm and the expected effect was produced. Before the end of 1917 the First and Second Divisions of Regulars and three Guard Divisions had reached France and were in training there. These were the Twenty-sixth, or New England Division, the Forty-second, or Rainbow, drawn from every section of the country, and the Forty-first or Sunset, drawn from the Far West. American soldiers entered the trenches in a quiet sector on October 22, 1917, and the next morning Battery C of the Sixth Field Artillery fired the first shot. Two Americans were wounded on October 28, and on November 3 the first casualties were suffered. Three men, Corporal James B. Gresham of Evansville, Ind., Thomas F. Enright of Pittsburgh, Pa., and Merle D. Hay, of Glidden, Iowa, were killed. Eleven others were wounded and the same number taken prisoners.

ENGINEERS ERECTING A CANTONMENT IN FRANCE

Housing two million men is a difficult task. Here a cantonment for special purposes is being erected in France by the engineers. The lumber was cut to fit in the United States and properly marked. Where possible, without taking up more space on shipboard, the pieces were fastened together before shipment. Times Photo Service

American destroyers appear at once in European waters.

Immediately upon the recognition of a state of war, preparations were made for naval co-operation and on May 4, the first flotilla of destroyers, under Commander J. K. Taussig, arrived at Queenstown, Ireland, and took their share of patrol, convoy and anti-submarine work. They were followed by other ships of various kinds, the story of which is told elsewhere. Before formal declaration of war, Rear-Admiral William S. Sims, President of the Naval War College, had been sent to Great Britain to act as the representative of the United States Navy. When the United States entered the war he was raised to the temporary rank of Vice-Admiral and given large authority. Meanwhile recruiting for the Navy was brisk.

The Shipping Board sought to increase the tonnage by building both wood and iron ships, in new yards and in old ones which had been revived. On December 1, 1917, the Emergency Fleet Corporation (the construction agency of the Shipping Board) had under construction 884 ships.

By the end of 1917 nearly two million men were in training in France or the United States, and the industries of the country were making every effort to provide for the wants of these young men. In spite of the submarine, American troopships sailed in safety to Europe, and at no time did the menace seriously interfere with supplies and food for them, or for the Entente nations. The American people had recognized that the war was their own, and acted accordingly.

A NATIONAL GUARD REGIMENT LEAVING FOR CAMP

The Twelfth Regiment, National Guard, of New York is shown parading on Fifth Avenue on its way to Camp Wadsworth, Spartanburg, South Carolina, where it became a part of the Twenty-Seventh Division. Later this division won glory over its service along with the Thirtieth, as a part of the British Army.

ANOTHER NATIONAL GUARD REGIMENT ON FIFTH AVENUE

The Seventh Regiment has a long and distinguished record in New York. For a long time it wore a special uniform very much like that still worn by the West Point cadets, but later adopted the blue and then the khaki. This regiment also became a part of the Twenty-Seventh Division, commanded by Major-General John F. O'Ryan, who was in command of the New York National Guard before the war.

Pictures, Times Photo Service

A Ghurka Draft in Mesopotamia

CHAPTER XLVI

The Capture of Bagdad

KUT IS AVENGED AND THE GREAT CITY OF THE CALIPHS IS TAKEN

IN another chapter we left the Mesopotamian Army, at the end of 1916, fully equipped for whatever advance its commander-in-chief might determine upon. "Briefly put," wrote General Maude in his official narrative of the fighting, "the enemy's plan appeared to be to contain our main forces on the Tigris, while a vigorous campaign, which would directly threaten India, was being developed in Persia. There were indications, too, of an impending move down the Euphrates towards Nasiriyeh. It seemed clear from the outset that the true solution of the problem was a resolute offensive, with concentrated forces, on the Tigris, thus effectively threatening Bagdad, the centre from which the enemy's columns were operating."

THE TURKISH DEFENSES ALONG THE TIGRIS STRENGTHENED.

During the autumn the enemy had not been idle but had strengthened his defenses, particularly the Sanna-i-yat position, where he judged attack would come. In addition to his six lines there he had drawn a regular network of defenses stretching back fifteen miles to Kut. On the right or south bank of the river he deemed himself impregnable by reason of a bridgehead on the Shatt-el-Hai. Nevertheless, the British Army had the advantage, for if an attack were delivered on Sanna-i-yat its right flank would be protected by the Suwaicha Marsh, and if the attack were made on the line of the Shatt-el-Hai the enemy would be fighting with his "communications parallel," which would imperil his retreat. Maude decided on this latter course, and to mislead the Turk opened with an assault on the position at Sanna-i-yat. Then, when the Turkish troops massed here, the weight of the offensive swung against the defenses covering the Shatt-el-Hai.

GENERAL MAUDE'S PLAN OF ATTACK IN TWO COLUMNS.

The attacking troops were in two columns: those on the left bank under Lieutenant-General Sir A. S. Cobbe, V.C.; those chosen to make the surprise march on the right under Lieutenant-General Sir W. R. Marshall. Cobbe opened a bombardment of the Sanna-i-yat positions December 13, and the following night Marshall's column concentrated before Es-Sinn. The next morning the Hai River was crossed in two places and the column moved north on both sides of the river to within three miles of Kut. Heavy rain fell during the latter part of December, but activities were not suspended; the light railway was extended to the Hai, more pontoon bridges thrown across, and successful raids made upon Turkish communications. Though the bom-

bardment of the Sanna-i-yat positions continued, the foe was alive to the threat against his right rear and made dispositions to guard against it.

Maude's first objective had been attained; his next step was to clear the remaining Turkish trench systems on the right of the Tigris. Kut lies in a

THE CONQUEROR OF BAGDAD

Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Stanley Maude, was greatly beloved of the staff and men of the Mesopotamian Force, whose gallantry and endurance ensured success in the campaign so thoroughly organized by their commander.

loop of the river which, immediately above and below the city, makes two deep curves known respectively as the Dahra and Khadairi Bends. Across both of these, and especially at the point where the Hai enters the Tigris the Turks were strongly intrenched. General Maude described the Dahra Bend as "bristling with trenches." At Khadairi the enemy had three lines across a 2,400-yard loop so that both flanks rested on the river, and the guns on the north bank could sweep the assault with enfilading fire.

THE REMAINING TURKISH DEFENSES ON THE RIGHT BANK ARE TAKEN.

The British attack began January 5 on a narrow front of some 600 yards and lasted for a fortnight. The Turk fought stubbornly and with great courage, his sole communications, the flooded Tigris in the rear, bridged only by a few pontoons. No attempt was made to rush his positions, for it would have wasted men, but slowly the British artillery pounded out his trenches and threw forward their own, until at last the restricted area became untenable under fierce gunfire and what was left of the defenders slipped across the river on the night of January 8-9. Found upon a prisoner were the picturesque words of the Turkish commander congratulating his troops upon their steadfast valor in the face of bloody losses sustained under bombardment: "The Corps Commander kisses the eyes of all ranks and thanks them."

There still remained upon the right bank of the Tigris the Turkish trenches astride the Hai River and those across the Dahra Bend, strongly made and protected on three sides from over the river by artillery and nests of machine guns. It took twenty days of obstinately contested fighting to force these lines, for the Turk was battling as one resisting the invasion of his soil. The British and Indian troops were possessed however with the grim determination to wipe out there on that site, beneath the walls of Kut, the memory of their tragic failure to succor the garrison, ten months before. February 15 there was an almost general surrender of two enemy brigades,—2,200 men, a large amount of artillery, war material and medical equipment.

THE MAIN EFFORTS ARE NEXT TO BE MADE.

In two months' strenuous fighting the preliminaries had been successfully

carried through: now the Turks held only Kut and the left bank of the river. The Sanna-i-yat lines were the key to the city, and the Mesopotamian Army had experienced the cost of frontal attacks against these—even before they had been reinforced in the autumn. Rather than pay this price again the British commander determined, if possible, to cut the Turkish communications above Kut, and so to imperil the enemy's retreat that he would be forced to evacuate the town. For the success of this action it was necessary to divert some of the Turkish strength and activity to Sanna-i-yat. To make this diversion effective, a feint was not sufficient. No mere knocking at the front door would cause the wide-awake owner of the house to leave his back door open. Accordingly, dispositions for concerted and simultaneous action were made against Sanna-i-yat and upon the Shumran Bend immediately above the Dahra loop, and curving in the opposite direction.

WHERE THE POPULATION IS AMPHIBIOUS

Tigris and Euphrates unite their waters to form the Shatt-el-Arab and it is at the mouth of this waterway that the troops are seen disembarking. In Mesopotamia as in Egypt football "shorts" were regulation wear, and the soubriquet of "red knees" applied to the new arrival recalls the "red-necks" of the Boer War.

To take the latter first. The Turks were, of course, keenly alive to any attempted crossing of the Tigris. Their guards patrolled the low banks, their artillery swept every yard of the opposite shore, and the current was running strongly downstream. The odds against traversing a wide stretch of water in open pontoons were serious, and General Maude made elaborate feints at crossing the river at Kut and Magasis, and allowed his preparations to be covertly observed by the enemy who duly noted the creaking of carts and splashing of pontoons—in the wrong places. By day and night, too, the guns thundered against Sanna-i-yat, then paused significantly as though to allow of infantry advance, while time after time the Turk braced himself to repulse the bayonet charge which never came. Uncertainty then as to direction, a diverting of troops, and a certain lowering of morale were obtained before the actual onslaught was made.

THE ATTEMPT TO CROSS THE TIGRIS AT SHUMRAN BEND.

The crossing at the south end of the Shumran Bend was to be made at three points. At No. 1 Ferry the Norfolks made the attempt. All night the pioneers labored to prepare the ground, and at early dawn, before the mists disappeared under the hot sun, the pontoons were lifted over the embankment and took the water silently. Not until they were within fifty yards of the opposite shore were they discovered by a sentinel whose rifle shot across the desert silence gave signal for a fusillade. Soon the watchers on the right bank were drawing in the first returning pontoon with its freight of wounded, while others took their places in the boat and shot out across the current under a hail of bullets which raised spray upon the water. Meanwhile, at No. 2 Ferry, a thousand yards downstream, the 2nd and 9th Ghurkas were having a still hotter crossing. If enough of the crew survived to bring the boat to land they had then to face the Turks who lined the banks and threw grenades as the landing was made. "One could read the story afterwards in the mud," wrote Mr. Edmund Candler, Official Eye Witness. "Wherever a keel had scored the Turkish shore there were Ghurka dead and dead Hants rowers who had been lifted from the boats. Many of the pontoons still lay stranded in the mud. One had a hole in its side, a direct hit by a shell, and nine dead in it. And dead Ghurkas lay tumbled about the parapet; some had pitched forward and lay sprawling over it with the impetus of the fall. Beyond were dead Turks who had counter-attacked from inland."

Tekrit
Kifri
Kasr-i-Shirin
Ana
Samarra
Kizil Robat
KIRMANSHAH
Karind
Kangavar
Bakuba
Ramadiya
Hit
BAGDAD
Ctesiphon
KERBELA
HILLA
Babylon
KUT-EL-AMARA
Kut el H.
Nedjef
Ali esh Sharqi
Shaikheb
Zurbatiya
Badra
Bagh-i-Shahi
Bisha Qarez
Kaleta
Essin
Sheikh Saad
Imam Hamza
Sidjub
Khor el Afadj
Sak el Afadj
Diwanie
Deli Abbas
Sindiya
Mansuriya
Mushediya
Akarkuf
Feluja
Habbaniya
Sama
Diala
Kanatir
Dujan
Kowet
Sheikh Jaad
Baghela
Mahawil
Hindiya
Nakaila
Hamad
Masalla
Shumahiya
Atash
Abdi Gerid Binak
Chem Abadi
Shirwan
Arkavaz
Saidmarra
Pul-i-Madjan Rud
Kasr-i-Shirin
Sarpul
Qasr-i-Shirin
Karind
Harunabad
Mahidasht
Zaiian
Sahna
Bisitun
Kermanshah
Tyuserkhan
Chashme Kabud
Bamber
Kebir
Pul-i-Dalan
Khushkadul Kush
Kush Ab
Kermanshah
Mumundi
Mamanebad
Mt. Pirdawan
Mt. Tamall
Kebeisa
K. Khubbaz
K. Baghdadiya
Alus
Haditha
Tekrit
Mukashafa
Jebel Hamrin
Kara Tepe
Satha
Tuz Khurmatli
Kifri
Jemishan
Karadjan
Balisht
Sanghur
Khuruabad
Kangavar
Sahna
Bisitun
Harunabad
Tyuserkhan
Chashme Kabud
Bamber
Pul-i-Madjan Rud
Kebir
Kush Ab
Kermanshah
Mumundi
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Karadjan
Balisht
Sanghur
Khuruabad
Kangavar
Sahna
Bisitun
Kermanshah

EN ROUTE TO BAGDAD BY CAMEL TRAIN

Vehicular transport being impossible in this country, the British forces organized camel convoys modeled upon the caravans which from time immemorial have assured communication in the east. Water transport of course is much easier in Mesopotamia than land, and was chiefly relied upon to supply the armies.

AT RAMADIYA DUMP

British soldiers inspecting material left behind by the Turk when he hastily evacuated in September, 1917. When the enemy retreated from Bagdad part of his force had established itself at Ramadiya upon the Euphrates, whence in the general clearing operations undertaken around the city he was dislodged after the hot months were over.

British Official

enemy before them. The dead in the rudderless pontoons swept on down the Tigris towards the great waters, but their sleep was peaceful, for their sacrifice had not been made in vain.

THE SUCCESSFUL ATTACK UPON SANNA-I-YAT.

Meanwhile, in concerted action thirteen miles downstream, the assault against Sanna-i-yat had begun. To dug themselves in an old water-course awaiting the counter-attack, which swept forward three times and left dreadful harvest of death on the burning alkaline soil.

On the 23rd, the British pushed on to the fourth line, already a veritable shambles—the dead and dying half-buried in choking sand and gun-evoked litter. It was evident that the foe was

A STORY-TELLER IN THE BAZAAR AT KUT

Shows an Arab boy telling local Arabs of the anniversary of the British recapturing Kut town. In all probability the tale lost nothing in the relating for the Arab is gifted with vivid imagination and indulges in flowery diction. It is evident from the faces of his listeners that he is possessed of some histrionic power.

the "Chinese bombardment" of several weeks succeeded, on the morning of February 22, the real attack delivered by the 19th Brigade. The first and second line of Turkish trenches were only forty yards apart. The third, some two hundred yards behind, was lightly held on the day of attack, but behind this again there ran a succession of lines with a clear field of fire. To ensure surprise the barbed wire was all standing in front of the Seaforths' and 92nds' trenches, ready to be swung back as they advanced. They found the first trench deserted, and the second filled in. They hastily in retreat; the fifth and sixth lines fell with barely a casualty on the 25th, and the brigade swept unresisted on to Kut, which they found empty. When the Shumran Bend was captured and his left wing in danger of being cut off, Khalil Pasha ordered a withdrawal towards Bagdad, and to ensure the retirement from Sanna-i-yat formed a strong flank guard to hold the northern end of the peninsula in the Dahra Bend until his men had passed upstream.

THE TURKS IN RETREAT TOWARD BAGDAD ARE PURSUED.

Pursuit followed. The enemy's forces were on the whole well-handled, and he

BRITISH TROOPS ENTER BAGDAD

The entry of the British forces into the "City of the Caliphs" was undramatic. The populace lined the streets and acclaimed their coming, but the British soldier had experienced the treachery of the native of the East and his vociferous clamor rang hollow to the paraders through the dim and blue city. Central News Service

WHILE SOME WORKED OTHERS FOUND TIME TO PLAY

Some of General Marshall's men bathing near Narin Kupri Bridge while sappers repaired it. The enemy as he retreated had blown up the central span in an effort to hold up pursuit. One of the alleviations of the trials of the men in this hot and dusty land was the bathing in the Tigris and tributary streams which was encouraged by official provision.

escaped destruction (though he lost severely in prisoners and abandoned material) by fighting strong rear-guard actions in fortified *nullahs*. In that flat country he had the advantage for his gun-pits were hidden, while those of his pursuers were in the open. When Sanna-i-yat fell, the British naval flotilla was able to come upstream and formed the left wing of the advance column, in towards the river, and the machine guns played havoc with the transport and gun-teams. More guns were abandoned. Our horse artillery got on to them at the same time. The next morning we found Turkish dead on the road. There was every sign of panic and rout—bullocks still alive and unyoked, entangled in the traces of a trench motor carriage, broken

IN ANCIENT BABYLONIA—HOME OF A VANISHED CIVILIZATION

The ruins of Ctesiphon, scene of General Townshend's victory in the first advance upon Bagdad, but from which he had to retire because the Turks were strongly reinforced. In the second advance the British found Ctesiphon strongly fortified, but it had been evacuated by the enemy who had fallen back behind the Diala River.

while the cavalry spread out to the north. The gunboats lengthened the striking arm of the offensive considerably, firing first at the Turkish Army on the bank and then reserving its ammunition to destroy the Turkish shipping. On the morning of February 26, H. M. S. Tarantula, Mantis and Moth passed the infantry at full steam and came under sharp fire at the Nahr Kellak bend, so that the casualties amounted to one-fifth of the forces engaged.

"Swinging round the bend at sixteen knots," writes Eye Witness, "the fleet reached a point where the road comes

wheels, cast equipment, overturned limbers, hundreds of live shells of various calibres scattered over the country for miles. Either the gunners had cast off freight to lighten the limbers or they had been too rushed to close up the limber boxes. Every bend of the road told its tale of confusion and flight."

THE BRITISH OUTRUN THEIR GUNS AND SUPPLIES.

About the middle of the afternoon the fleet broke off its firing at the retiring army to save its ammunition for the enemy's shipping. Of these several surrendered when they came under

range, including the armed tug Sumana, captured at Kut, and the Firefly, taken in the retreat from Ctesiphon. Thus the intervention of the naval arm changed the Turkish retreat into a rout and soon his troops were spread out rabble-wise on a wide front instead of in column of four.

At Aziziyeh, half-way to Bagdad and fifty miles from Kut, pursuit was broken off, for the three days' advance had Ctesiphon, strongly intrenched, was left unoccupied as the Turk fell back on the Diala river, destroying the bridge which crosses it at its junction with the Tigris. At this stage the pursuit divided, the cavalry and 7th Division and 35th Brigade crossing to the right or west bank to work around Shawa Khan, where the enemy had a force covering the approach to Bagdad from south and south-west.

INDIAN TROOPS IN BAGDAD

As was perhaps inevitable when the Turks evacuated the city there was much looting in the bazaars. For a long time the municipal affairs and finances of Bagdad had been in parlous state. With the advent of the conquerors looting was stopped, firm local administration under military supervision set up, reconstruction of streets and reorganizing of sanitary affairs begun.

completely disorganized the transport and left all light railways behind. For a week the army paused until March 5, when General Marshall advanced to Zeur, some 18 miles, and the cavalry rode on to Laj, where in a blinding dust-storm they attacked the enemy rearguard which had intrenched. When the pursuit began it had been hoped that in open fighting at last the cavalry would come into its own. These hopes were disappointed because of the hidden guns and fortified *nullahs*. In their place, however, the light armored motor-cars, or "Lambs" as they were christened, achieved some success. That night the enemy withdrew.

General Marshall forces the crossing of the Diala.

Experience had demonstrated the value of surprise in storming a river position and Marshall hastened, on the night of the 7th and 8th of March, to make an attempt to cross the Diala. The Turks had posted machine guns very cleverly in the houses on the far bank and sharp moonlight rendered concealment impossible. The first five pontoons were riddled with bullets and drifted downstream. On the following night the houses on the shore were first pounded into dust and then under this blinding pall an attempt was made to ferry troops across at four separate

points. Only one crossing succeeded—a detachment of the North Loyal Lancashires establishing themselves in a *bund* on the far shore, where for twenty-four hours they lay under constant fire. The third attempt was successful on the morning of the 10th, and by noon the bridge was completed, and troops moving on faced the enemy's last position at the Tel Muhammad Ridge.

Although the force which was assaulting the left bank defenses was delayed by numerous *nullahs* which had to be ramped, it was almost continually in touch with the Turkish rearguard, which on the 10th was considerably aided in its withdrawal by a choking dust-storm. Nevertheless, early on the morning of the following day, advance guards of the Black Watch occupied Bagdad railway station and the suburbs on the west of the river, and the enemy was in full retreat upstream. On the 12th, Marshall's column from the right entered Bagdad and was greeted with acclamation by Christian and Jew alike.

WHAT THE CAPTURE OF BAGDAD MEANT IN THE EAST.

To the man in the West the talk of "prestige" has little meaning. Yet it is no exaggeration to say that the most valuable result of the capture of the "city of the Caliphs" was the restoration of British prestige in the bazaars and through the length of the caravan routes in the East. Bagdad was the greatest and most historic city that had yet been taken by the Allies: it had fallen to an army that had suffered and retrieved a great disaster—to an army that from being the most ill-equipped had become perhaps the best. In addition, the material loss to both German and Turk was great: to the former it sounded the knell of a far-reaching ambition, to the latter the loss of a valuable base and of wide territories.

General Maude issued a proclamation to the inhabitants emphasizing the fact that the British entered the city as liberators, not as conquerors. Under their Turkish rulers they had seen the wasting of many of their resources, which it was the hope of the new rulers to conserve. The commercial tie between the merchants of Bagdad and of Great Britain was old-established, peaceful. The Germans and Turks, on the contrary, had used the city as a centre of intrigue and as a base for political penetration. In other places—notably in Hedjaz and Koweit—the Arab had cast off the Turkish and German yoke, and ceased to be their dupes. Instead of the setting-up of one house against another for selfish aims, the newcomers hoped that in new-gained unity the Arabs might attain self-expression and the fulfillment of their national aspirations.

GENERAL MAUDE PROCEEDS TO MAKE HIS POSITION SECURE.

There had been looting in bazaars and houses as the Turks hastily retired but order was quickly established under the new occupation. With the capture of the city Maude's task was by no means ended. His position had to be secured. To achieve this, four things were necessary: the capture of the railhead of Samarra, the rout of the 18th Corps retreating north of Bagdad, the control of the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates north of the city, and the cutting off of the 13th Corps, which was retreating before the Russians from Hamadan. Leaving only sufficient forces in the city to garrison it, the commander-in-chief sent a column up both banks of the Tigris, dispatched a third westward to the Euphrates, and a fourth up the Diala towards Khanikin. The fortunes of the third column may be very briefly told. As the British entered Bagdad the Turks cut the dam above the city, so that the water burst through Akkar Kuf Lake and overflowed to the *bund* which protected the suburbs and railway station on the west of the Tigris. Fortunately, the river was low for the time of year and the *bund* held; the pursuing column entered Feluja, March 19, just too late to cut off the Turkish garrison, which fell back on Ramadiya, twenty-five miles upstream.

Meanwhile, after a seventeen-mile march, the 21st and 28th Brigades of the 7th Division on the right of the Tigris attacked the Turks at Mushadiya.

A PICTURESQUE BRIDGE OF BOATS

This boat bridge, 250 metres long, connects both banks of the Tigris at Bagdad. In the foreground, the gufars—circular boats whose usage dates back to pre-historic days—are nothing but enormous baskets of reeds coated with tar. They serve as ferries from one bank of the Tigris to the other. In the city there are wonderful monuments, vestiges of ancient splendor: mosques with gilded cupolas, fretted minarets, high walls moat-encircled. The most animated part of the town is the bazaar, for Bagdad, situated on the caravan route between Aleppo and Damascus on one side and the Persian Gulf and India on the other, is an important industrial and commercial centre.

After a stiff fight, with severe casualties and great suffering from thirst (for the troops had had thirty hours' marching and fighting with only the water they had started with), they drove the enemy from the place in precipitate retreat so that airmen on the morning of the 20th reported them spread over a depth of twenty miles. Further advance along the railway, however, was impossible until left General Baratov just east of Hamadan. As General Maude advanced, the Turks fell back from Hamadan in an endeavor to reach Khanikin, and the Cossacks followed hard upon them. Maude's eastern column advancing up the Diala captured Bahriz and Bakuba. The former place was the end of a mountain road necessary to the Turkish retreat, and by his manœuvre they were forced to

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TWO AND A HALF YEARS IN MESOPOTAMIA

In this map may be followed the story of the Mesopotamian operations from the landing of General Delamain's force in November, 1914, up to General Maude's triumph at Bagdad, March 11, 1917. In it, too, may be seen where Russian pressure on the retreating Turks was exercised from Persia and the Caucasus.

operations on the left bank were equally advanced, and there the Turks were concentrating in order to ward off attack upon their railhead.

THE COMBINED RUSSIAN AND BRITISH EXPEDITION FAILS.

It was hoped that the Russians advancing from Persia and the British up the Diala might seize the 13th Turks Corps in a nutcracker. This hope was not realized. It failed because the political situation that had developed in Russia left Baratov's force starved of reinforcements and supplies, and because of the fine generalship of the Turkish general in charge of the retreating forces. In a former chapter we abandon their guns and endeavor to cross the mountainous country between Karind and the Upper Diala. In this *impasse* their leadership saved them. Strong rearguards or screens were placed by the Turkish Commander against the weaker Russian forces in the Pia Tak Pass, and against the British on the ridge of the Jebel Hamrin range. While these rearguards held off attack, the main body by way of Khanikin was making for the crossing of the Diala and the road to Mosul.

Thus Maude in the torrid heat of the desert was attacking at Kizil Robat and Deli Abbas, while seventy miles

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COMMUNICATIONS IN MODERN WARFARE

This map illustrates the advantage possessed by the Central Powers over the Allies in respect of communications with the forces fighting in Mesopotamia. From Zeebrugge to Nisibiu, above Bagdad, Germany had 3,000 miles of railway secure from all save an attack. From London to Basra the steamship route is 7,680 miles, all exposed to submarine dangers.

away Baratov's Cossacks were struggling amid the snows of the Pia Tak Pass. By the end of the month the 13th Corps had eluded their vise: Maude had carried Deli Abbas, and Baratov his pass, but this was because the screens were being withdrawn as the main army crossed the Diala. Baratov reached Khanikin and, April 2, an advance sotnia of Cossacks joined hands with the British force at Kizil Robat. Persia was now cleared of the Turk and there was no enemy east of the Diala. Nevertheless, the 13th Army Corps had been extricated from grave peril. If the Russian force had had half of the vitality it had had eighteen months previously the enemy could not have got away as he did. In purport the advance on Bagdad was a two-fold operation; in reality the heavy end had fallen upon the

British forces. A Turkish counter-attack delivered by the 13th Corps developed about the 7th of April, and fierce fighting which began in a mirage lasted until the 13th, when the Turks were driven back into the Jebel Hamrin range once more.

THE LAST TURKISH POSITIONS ARE TAKEN AT THE END OF THE SUMMER.

The column on the west bank of the Tigris had made good progress, and reinforced by the Diala troops who left the Russians to hold this sector, were ready by the 17th for the final attack on Samarra. After six days of uninterrupted fighting the railhead was captured. Khalil made a last effort. The 18th Corps intrenched 15 miles north of Samarra; and the 13th Corps on its left flank emerged from its hill fastnesses, striking against the two forces of the British on the Tigris which had now joined. It was driven back but again emerged—to meet the same fate. The 18th Corps fell back on Tekrit; in every direction Bagdad was cleared of the enemy for a radius of 50 miles, while the enemy corps was driven back on divergent lines.

General Maude could afford to take a rest in the terrible summer heat—the season was the hottest known for years, the temperature often rising above 120° Fahrenheit. It was unfortunate, in view of the hot season, that a campaign was planned on the Euphrates in July. The Turks were comfortably established at Ramadiya and the Arabs downstream, encouraged by their proximity, made hostile demonstrations against the British at Feluja. The operation failed for the troops could make no headway in a blinding dust-storm and intense heat and the enterprise was abandoned. Two months later, in September, a successful attack had as its objectives not only Ramadiya but the capture of the whole enemy force—and attained them.

GENERAL MAUDE FALLS A VICTIM TO HIS COURTESY.

The Turks had designs for the recapture of Bagdad, and two German divisions reached Aleppo early in November. Just then came news of Sir Edmund Allenby's victories in Southern Palestine (November 7, 1917) and General von Falkenhayn, then acting as the Turkish military adviser in Asia, drafted the divisions to that front. On the 19th of the month the Mesopotamian Army lost its great commander, General Maude, who fell a victim to the cholera—his courtesy forbidding him to refuse a draught of cold milk offered by a native.

So perished a great soldier and a great organizer. Bagdad was won by gallantry and endurance, but equally by organized transport, commissariat and medical departments. With a gift for detail and a tireless energy, Maude had also the rarer faculty of vision which could see the whole situation in true perspective. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Sir William Marshall, who had already rendered valuable service in the campaign against Bagdad. The Palestine victories had changed the plans of the Turkish Staff, and henceforth the chief task of the British commander-in-chief was to continue to strengthen his position. The danger of a Turco-German offensive was now slight, although unable to withstand the summer heat in the Diala triangle, Baratov's Cossacks had withdrawn to the Persian hills.

Bridge of Vidor over the Piave, Where Italy Halted the Invader

CHAPTER XLVII

The Italian Disaster at Caporetto

THE ITALIANS LOSE WHAT THEY HAD GAINED, BUT RALLY AND HOLD FAST

STERN, silent, immutable, amid the shifting tide of human concerns, the Julian Alps have looked upon strange scenes. Long centuries ago, barbarian hordes of Goth and Hun and great imperial armies battled in their gateways. Yet, in all the flow of years, perhaps no stranger spectacle of man's ingenuity and endeavor can be conceived than that which was staged over and around those wardens of the Isonzo region in 1917, leaving them with new scars which they must carry for the rest of time.

THE ALLIED NATIONS PROMISE TO SEND AID TO ITALY.

In January, during the mid-winter lull in fighting operations, a conference of distinguished military and political representatives from the four leading Allied nations met for three days at Rome. There Italy was promised assistance by the French and British. As a consequence, France sent guns, to be manned by Italian gunners, and England sent batteries of six-inch howitzers, with 2,000 men.

Until May the Italian High Command had to wait until the late spring floods subsided. There were evidences that their opponents were preparing for a new offensive; therefore, General Cadorna laid plans for an attack to anticipate it. The main attack was to fall on the middle Isonzo. A supplementary movement in the Carso had for its aim to gain new territory on that forbidding plateau in the direction of Hermada.

THE ITALIAN ATTACK IS DELIVERED ON THE ISONZO.

The Italian artillery bombarded the whole Isonzo front, from May 12 until the morning of May 14, in preparation for an infantry attack from Plava and Gorizia upon Kuk, Monte Santo, and the hills along the edge of the Bainsizza Plateau. After the first day, General Capello, commander of the Second Army, placed the artillery command of the 2nd Corps in the hands of Major-General Badoglio, whose plans for taking Sabotino had been so successful. Under his direction, the Italian guns seemed to be "driving nails along given lines" of the Austrian positions, "and the hammerstrokes were delivered with unfailing skill."

On the night of May 15 a diversion was created about eight miles south of Tolmino, where Bersaglieri and Alpini forced a passage across the Isonzo and improvised a bridgehead on the east bank. They held it under fearful odds until the eighteenth, when, deeply chagrined at having to abandon the attack, they were withdrawn, as the purpose of the action had been accomplished. In the first stage of the offensive, sections of Kuk, Vodice, and Santo

were taken, as well as several hamlets and hills east of Gorizia and Plava. The Plava bridgehead had by this time been strengthened by the building of the "Badoglio Road," the "road of the thirty-two hairpins," which dropped by successive zigzags down from Monte Corada. As to Kuk, a distinguished English author writes: "A few days after its capture I saw on the top of Monte Kuk some Italian 'seventy-fives' that had been dragged up, Heaven knows how, by sheer strength of arm and will during the mêlée itself."

THE ITALIANS SUFFER VERY HEAVY LOSSES ON THE ISONZO.

"The Italian losses were, of course, very heavy. The attacking troops had carried positions that might well have been thought impregnable, and they had paid the price. When the Avellino and Florence Brigades were taken out of the line to rest and re-form after three and four days' fighting respectively, the Avellino had lost over 100 officers and nearly 2,700 men, out of 140 officers and 5,000 men; and though the casualties in the Florence Brigade were not quite so heavy, they lost nearly 50 per cent of their strength." The Austrians attempted a diversion on the Trentino at this juncture, opening heavy fire in the Val Sugana, on the Asiago Plateau, and in the Adige Valley. There was vigorous fighting on Monte Colbricon and the "Dente del Pasubio."

Necessity for economizing in military supplies forbade General Cadorna's attempting to attack simultaneously on two sectors of any great width. Consequently, the stroke upon the Carso was not delivered until May 23. It fell with such overwhelming force that in a few hours the Austro-Hungarians had been driven back nearly a mile beyond their immensely strong front lines from Kostanjevica to the sea, and had yielded Hudi Log ("the Evil Wood"), Lukatic, Jamiano, and several hills. At the southern end, on the coast, Bagni was taken in a battle that engaged 130 airplanes and a group of the Royal Navy seaplanes. The first day's contest gave the Italians 9,000 prisoners. By May 28, the line had moved still farther east, across the Timavo River to San Giovanni, at the southern end; and proportionately all the way. Hermada was nearly taken. Unhappily, the Italian supply of shells was falling so low that the advance had to stop at the very moment when it seemed most likely to break through the opposing line.

THE AUSTRIANS STRIKE BACK IN THE CARSO.

The inevitable counter-attack, occupying the first week in June, was most violent from San Marco southward. From Fajti Hrib to Jamiano, the bombardment and infantry drives did not make much impression; but farther south the Italians fell back from one-third of a mile to a mile and a quarter on a three mile front, recrossing the Timavo and dropping behind Flondar. The fighting was fierce and terrible. Yet there was one strange stain on the great record of valorous endeavor. A brigade, engaged on the slopes of Hermada, surrendered without any attempt at real resistance and so made way for the enemy. It was composed of men newly drafted from a region where pacifist propaganda was astir. A danger from within, more baleful than any host of tangible warriors however armed, had begun to raise its head. General Cadorna at once wrote to the Government with warning and appeal.

In the whole spring offensive the Italians lost nearly 130,000 men, of whom about 6,000 were prisoners. They had taken, in return, 24,260 Austro-Hungarian prisoners, and had reduced the enemy fighting forces by something less than 100,000 in killed and wounded. In mid-summer, the glacier-fed flood of the river was rushing through gorges between lofty cliffs, or rolling beside occasional narrow plains. Far to the north, it passed towering Monte Nero, overlooking Caporetto on the west, with its peaceful Italian garrison, and Tolmino on the southeast, with its unmolested Austrian inhabitants.

HERMADA SHAKEN, BUT NOT CAPTURED BY THE ATTACK.

Less than twenty miles farther down the stream, close behind the Italian

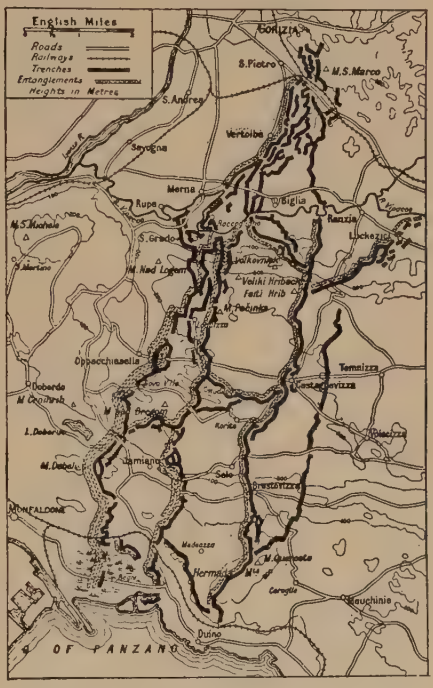
position at Gorizia, rose the sheer precipice of Monte Santo, on whose summit, lifted "like a church spire," lay the ruins of a shrine. There, at the outbreak of hostilities, the aged emperor of Austria-Hungary had been carried in a sedan chair, to pray for the success of his Imperial arms. Now, Franz Josef had passed beyond the bounds of human history, and the shrine had crumbled into a heap of white marble under shell-fire from Sabotino, only a half-mile away across the river. Still farther southward, where Isonzo meets the sea, across the blue gulf one could gaze along the Carso to "ugly turtle-backed Hermada Mountain blocking the road to Trieste." But the boast of Hermada was partly silenced. Not all its guns could speak as they had done.

After the unavoidable check in the vigorous Italian offensive of May, 1917, General Cadorna was unable to press for further progress until summer had begun to wane. His allies could not spare him sufficient aid for a great offensive movement, while his adversaries were enabled to build up their resistance by transferring troops from the demoralized Russian front, no longer formidable since the collapse of the Russian government in the spring.

THE BATTLE RESUMED ON THE ISONZO IN AUGUST.

After mid-summer had passed in comparative quiet, a month of continuous and intense conflict was inaugurated on August 18 by a great bombardment from Tolmino to the sea. North of Gorizia, where the Isonzo makes a bend that points westward, lies Plava, which had been steadily useful to the Italians since its capture in June, 1915. Again it was to be employed as a starting place for an important attack,—this time, upon the Bainsizza Plateau. Fitting into the angle of the river and stretching eastward as far as the Chiapovano Valley, the Bainsizza is an elevated region with surface broken by rock masses, glens, and *doline*, or depressions, somewhat in the same way as that of the Carso.

The Second Army, under General Capello, was operating from Gorizia northward, with General Badoglio in command of the left wing near Santa Lucia and Tolmino. In that position there was such concentration of Austrian artillery that General Badoglio's forces were compelled to leave the enemy in possession of the Lom Plateau, a stronghold whose strategic value was startlingly revealed a few weeks later.



AUSTRIAN DEFENSES ON THE CARSO

BRIDGES CONSTRUCTED AT NIGHT UNDER GREAT DIFFICULTIES.

But from Plava, on August 18, a sally was made to the northeast, resulting in the seizure of a valley situated between Kuk and the Bainsizza. A short distance farther up the river, where as yet the Italians had found no foothold upon the eastern bank, a crossing was accomplished on the night of August 19. In preparation for this feat, the river had been nightly diverted from its channel until ten foot-bridges had been constructed. By day the stream flowed as usual, showing no sign of change. On the evening of the nineteenth, four pontoon bridges were added, though the cliffs were so abrupt that the boats had to be dropped

on skids, and ladders had to be used to get the men to the level of the river and up again on the opposite side. To screen the movements on the river, a great battery of search-lights, ranged along the heights of the western shore, was turned upon the Austrian gunners, and heavy firing covered the sound of work upon the bridges.

By their impetuous and unexpected rush up the declivity, in the face of machine guns, the heroic fighters of Capello's army drove their way through the front lines of the enemy, then pushed on north and east across the plateau until, by August 24, they could look across to the edge of Lom in the one direction, and were within range of the Ternova batteries in the other. On the Bainsizza they soon were beyond all points where artillery or trucks and ambulances could accompany them. The engineers followed as fast as was possible, in an effort to keep communications open; but the Austrians had not made good roadways leading to their own front lines and the poor approaches were now ploughed up or encumbered with wreckage. Therefore, there were several days during which the advance of the Italian army could be supplied only by carriers on foot, and the wounded had to be borne back for miles over the rough ground by their companions. Water also was lacking. It was a time of great danger, but the venturous battalions held their own until the paths had been leveled sufficiently for guns, lorries, and ambulances to carry them relief. Always the reliable Fiat cars, with their intrepid drivers, and the British Red Cross units arrived as near the front as might be and at the earliest moment possible. Further relief was furnished by a diversion in the form of attacks in the middle Isonzo region, around San Gabriele.

MONTE SANTO SURROUNDED AND FORCED TO SURRENDER.

In that sector, northeast of Gorizia, on August 23, Monte Santo had been threatened from the rear, and its garrison isolated by the capture of Sella di Dol, "the saddle" connecting Santo with San Gabriele. Thus cut off and surrounded, Monte Santo yielded, on the twenty-fourth. Above its summit, more than 2,000 feet high, the Italian tricolor floated out, while regimental bands celebrated there the victorious hour, playing under the direction of the great Toscanini.

During this first week of the offensive, the Duke of Aosta and the Third Army had been doing admirable work on the southern Carso, where the 23rd Corps, under Diaz, demolished the Austrian 12th Division and secured Selo. Very quickly the ground that had been lost in June was recovered, and the Austrian line forced back from Kostanjevica (Castagnevizza) across the Brestovica Valley. Nearer the sea, an advance was made beyond San Giovanni and Medeazza, and attacks on Hermada reopened.

In that sector, British and Italian monitors took part in the bombardment. The Italian monitors, it is said, were of a sort never before used in war, and employed shells of greater calibre than had ever before been fired from warships. Around the head of the Adriatic and on the Bainsizza as well Caproni airplanes, too, furnished admirable assistance in the offensive, flying forward by swarms, in advance of the infantry, and dropping tons of bombs upon the enemy positions.

THE SAN GABRIELE RIDGE THE NEXT OBJECT OF ATTACK.

The first week of September, 1917, marked the beginning of "a fight for a natural fortress within as narrow limits of movement as any old battle for town or castle." It was a struggle for the possession of San Gabriele ridge, which, by the fall of Santo, had become an Austrian salient surrounded by Italians everywhere except on the northeast. For ten days the contest seethed. A correspondent writes:

"When first I looked down (from Santo) upon the battle for San Gabriele I seemed to hang directly over the crater of a volcano. A matter of 40,000 Italian shells on a daily average are bursting over San Gabriele's crest. In addition are the Austrian shells, for the lines on San Gabriele are now so close that the topmost positions

have been taken and retaken half a dozen times."

THE AUSTRIANS DECIDE TO CONCENTRATE THEIR FORCES.

By September 7, the losses were so appalling that the Austrians called a War Council, where they decided to hold the eastern ridges of the Bainsizza and concentrate attacks against the army of the Duke of Aosta. Over 30,000 Austro-Hungarian prisoners, of whom 848 were officers, had been taken in the engagements of August and September; 145 cannons, 265 mitrailleuses, and great quantities of other guns and *matériel* had fallen into the hands of the victors. But on the opposite side of the account were written 155,000 Italian casualties.

Under the Austrian counter-strokes, the Italians fell back from Hermada and San Giovanni, though they relinquished no ground in the vicinity of Kostanjevica. San Gabriele was still divided. Not yet was the road from Gorizia to Trieste opened, when in mid-September the offensive died away. General Capello's Bainsizza position had been reinforced, but it was a salient of peculiar difficulty and peril, since it had reached a depth of 7½ miles on an eleven-mile front. In reviewing the situation, on September 15, 1917, one correspondent wrote, "The Isonzo, *excepting one little portion opposite Tolmino* at the northern extremity of the offensive line, is now well within Italian possession." Scarcely more than a month passed before that "one little portion" began to loom into a significance that made the world catch its breath in astonishment and suspense.

SAND-BAG TRENCHES ON THE CARSO TABLELAND

That forbidding plateau, the Carso, "yields as little shade or water as the Sahara." Its stunted vegetation reminded the South Africans of their veldt. In places, great natural hollows in the rock furnished ready-made shelters for men and guns; but in other parts, where digging was an impossibility, sand-bag trenches were used.

WAR IS FINALLY DECLARED UPON THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

Not until August, 1916, was the last link of the Triple Alliance formally severed. Up to that time, Italy had declared war against Austria-Hungary, against Turkey, even against Bulgaria, but not against Germany. The situation was anomalous and compromising, for there was no question that Germany stood behind Austria-Hungary with support and direction in her warfare upon Italy. Moreover, the Prussian power was continually committing unfriendly acts, in violation of all agreements with its Latin ally. The atmosphere was cleared by

the Italian Government's denunciation of the Commerical treaty with Germany, which had been made on May 21, 1915, and finally, on August 27, Victor Emmanuel made proclamation that Italy declared war upon Germany. No change of plans was involved. The only difference in the situation was that, in name, as well as in fact, Italy and Germany were thenceforth at war.

ITALIAN DOCTOR INOCULATING BERSAGLIERI AGAINST DISEASE

Italian soldiers are for the most part sound and tough in physique, especially the mountain troops. And the Bersaglieri are particularly uncomplaining when wounded and in pain. In modern warfare no precautions are spared to prevent epidemics; so inoculation, quarantine, careful supervision over food, drinking water, hygienic conditions of barracks, etc., are part of the duty of the Sanitary Department. Picture from Henry Ruschin

Three months later, when, on November 21, Franz Josef came to the end of his long career, the hostile feelings of the Italians for their German antagonists grew more intense. The old emperor, nicknamed "Cecco Beppe" by his southern neighbors, had long held the rôle of their traditional oppressor and evil genius. At his death the heritage of hatred passed, not to his young successor, Karl, but to the German Empire. Caricatures of "Cecco Beppe" were then given Prussian lineaments and crowned with Prussian helmets. The natural animosity of the race had been transferred "from the mask to the face behind it." Yet, the war had gone on without bringing forward any German army upon the Italian frontier.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ITALIAN PEASANT SOLDIER.

At the eastern end of that frontier, after the terrific strife of August and September, 1917, "both sides settled down exhausted on the ground where they found themselves." The Italian Third Army, under the Duke of Aosta, rested along the line they had established on the Carso, facing the extreme left wing of the enemy from Gorizia to the sea. Flanking them, from Gorizia and San Gabriele northward over the Bainsizza to beyond Tolmino and Caporetto, stood the Second Army, commanded by General Capello, whose area of control had been considerably extended since 1916.

Many in these two armies had sustained the heavy strain of war for months, had borne the "heat and burden" of long days of furious fighting, the cold and depression of weeks of

winter vigil. With the patience characteristic of their peasant natures they had toiled and climbed and endured, although they little comprehended the purpose and meaning of the conflict in which they were involved. They came, for the most part, from country villages where life was simple and where they had almost no touch with great affairs of state and of the world at large. Education had never opened for them the paths of understanding and large enterprise. Some could indeed read and write; some could not. The explanations of the war and of political questions to which they listened were conflicting and confusing. Which should they believe? After all, government and politics belonged to the towns. It was in the towns that the decision for war had been made. They themselves had had no part in that decision.

AGITATORS APPEAR AND SOW SEDITION IN THE RANKS.

The patriotism of these sons of Italy was natural and spontaneous rather than a thing of reason and conviction. Tradition taught them to hate the Austrians. Against such foes they would follow their gallant officers with spirit and devotion, because in some vague way they knew that their country needed them. They saw their brothers and companions suffer or die. It was somehow a necessary sacrifice.

AN AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PATROL

The jagged peaks and crags of the Dolomites called for great mountain prowess. Alpine clubs had been encouraged by the German, Austrian and Italian governments, as the skill acquired and the routes discovered were assets in war.

With no apparent need for guarding against treason among such troops, no precautions were taken and danger crept in unnoticed. Propaganda which, in the months of neutrality, had been actively at work to prevent Italy's entering the war, was still abroad up and down the land sowing seeds of unrest. Socialist and pacifist agitators talked in terms of brotherhood and amity, making use of the Vatican Peace Note to support their arguments for ending the war. When the Russian millions, lost in anarchy, had scattered from their place in the Allied ranks, some members of the Soviet had pushed in among the Italian armies to spread unsettling doctrines there. The Italian soldier heard that the Russians had been wise in abandoning their arms and going home to seize land that they might live upon it in peace.

THE ITALIAN AUTHORITIES REFUSE TO SEE THE DANGER.

Although General Cadorna had sought to arouse the government to take some action toward checking the insidious growth of such pernicious influences, nothing had been done. Signor Orlando, Minister of the Interior, did not favor adopting stern methods of repression; and Signor Boselli, the Premier, a

veteran statesman, had undertaken to shoulder the burden of Government in wartime at the age of eighty. Warnings of trouble passed unheeded, though they flamed out in such startling manifestations as the bread riots in Turin in the month of August, where the enemy's hand was plainly at work. Turin, one of the most important centres in the country for the production of munitions, had been strangely open to the propaganda of anarchy. Even the troops who were set to restore order became infected with the spirit of mutiny. Turin was threatened with martial law before there was an end to the disturbance.

Thus the enemy operated within the gates. At the same time he was laying plans to creep up outside the gates and force them in with a crushing blow. By the breaking down of the Russian front there had been released Austrian and German forces, ready to be used on the southern frontier. Thereupon a composite army, the Fourteenth, was formed, including six German and seven Austrian divisions. Under Ludendorff's direction they were drilled and equipped for fighting in the open in hill country. Half of the field artillery was displaced by mountain guns, and among the German divisions was a Bavarian Alpenkorps. Ostensibly, the Austro-Hungarian Staff continued in control as before; but the actual authority and direction had passed over to the German General Staff. "It was a thoroughly German outfit and had been prepared in the usual thorough German fashion."

THE GERMAN HIGH COMMAND SELECTS THE WEAKEST SPOT.

The Italian Command failed to perceive these ominous preparations. Ludendorff, on the other hand, seems carefully to have studied their own arrangements and to have placed his finger upon the weakest spot, between Plezzo and Tolmino, where the same Austrian and Italian divisions had for months been pacific neighbors and had begun to fraternize, encouraged in their friendly tendencies by Socialist agents. The position was considered so safe that it received little attention from General Capello, even after the mutinous contingents from Turin had unfortunately been sent there by way of punishment. By these combinations of circumstance it came about that a "whole sequence of great events" has been called "by the name of a little Alpine market-town"; for Caporetto was the centre of the vulnerable spot opposite which Ludendorff slipped in his Fourteenth Army, under the command of Otto von Below. Around Gorizia and on the Carso, the Austrian armies remained, with Prince Eugene at their head.

Upon that quiet, little-noticed corner far north on the Isonzo, with the sharpness and suddenness of complete surprise, German strategy flung its attack. The Monte Nero salient there made an abrupt eastward-reaching loop in the Italian line, which crossed the river a little southwest of Plezzo and again just northwest of Tolmino. A similar loop in the river, at Tolmino, enclosed Santa Lucia, which furnished the Austrians with an excellent bridgehead, protected on the south by Lom. It will be recalled that Lom, on the northern border of the Bainsizza, had resisted all attacks in August, and that consequently the enemy position at Santa Lucia west of the river had remained unshaken. Hence a way to the Italian position lay open through the Isonzo Valley itself from Tolmino and from Plezzo. Halfway between, on the left bank of the river, little Caporetto was situated, in the shadow of Monte Nero but too far below to find protection from the Italian positions on its heights.

THE GERMAN TROOPS BREAK THROUGH WITH A RUSH.

Bombardments, by the enemy, opening on October 21, soon narrowed to the stretch between Saga and Auzza. In courtyards and on roadways where all had been secure and peaceful hitherto, shells burst and confusion awoke. Under cover of the artillery, on October 24, the German divisions broke through, seeking by three routes to reach the plains below:—from Tolmino and Santa Lucia through the valley of the Judrio; from Plezzo over into Saga and thence down the Isonzo to the

Natisone; lastly, around Nero and across the Isonzo to Caporetto, whence a good road and newly finished railway followed the valley of the Natisone to Cividale.

The attacks at both ends of the salient were met with sturdy resistance. But the centre drove through at Caporetto, where were stationed the newly-drafted, untried elements of

THE GAP AT CAPORETTO FORCES RETIREMENT OF OTHER FORCES.

When the first day ended, the Italian position from Saga to Auzza had been carried. The Monte Nero garrison, thus isolated, with characteristic determination fought on for days, until none were left. Not all the Second Army failed, in that awful test. There were those who would die rather than

THE RETREAT FROM THE ISONZO FRONT TO THE TAGLIAMENTO RIVER

From the northeastern section opposite Tolmino the disorganized Second Army fell back in confusion, crossing the Tagliamento at Codroipo on October 30. On the thirty-first, the Third Army began to cross at Latisana, having made a masterly retreat from the Carso region. Meanwhile, the Fourth Army was moving southwest from the Carnic front, to join hands with the Third Army. About forty miles lie between the Isonzo and the Tagliamento.

Capello's Army and the disaffected spirits from Turin. If, as has been narrated, deluded Italian soldiers sprang forward to grasp the hands of their expected Austro-Hungarian brothers, they had little time to wonder before they fell under the blows of Prussian steel. Panic, surrender, flight, were the natural sequence. General Capello was ill with fever at the time, and General Montuori was acting as his substitute. The weather, with storm and mist, and, on the mountains, snow, made for the advantage of the invaders. The very atmosphere of disaster seemed to envelop the whole sector.

step back from their hard-won battle-front. And yet, there were those for whom war-weariness and ignorance and discouragement proved too severe a strain, so that they inevitably became infected with the spirit of helplessness and desertion. Unhappily there were two corps in the Caporetto section which "melted away" before the first blast. Neglect, thoughtless complaints of the uninstructed, and hostile propaganda had worked together to shake the morale of these men.

The falling in of the salient on the north left the troops on the Bainsizza exposed. If the enemy moved on down

the valleys in their rear, they would be cut off from communication and supply. There was but one thing they could do to avoid being outflanked. On the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth they withdrew from the whole plateau, relinquishing, as well, Kuk and Santo and San Gabriele. During that time, too, the headquarters of General Cadorna, which had been at Udine, were removed to Padua, since Udine could be reached directly by rail from Cividale, only ten miles away and already seriously threatened.

A DISORGANIZED THRONG POURS INTO THE PLAINS.

On the highroads that led to the plains a mixed, disorganized, and wretched throng trailed slowly onward, hour by hour, through mud and rain. Exhausted, famished, dispirited, they moved toward the southwest, with the enemy, almost at their heels, kept back only by the heroic rear-guard efforts of regiments that held together and strove to retard the on-sweeping German lines. There were among the multitude soldiers whose Socialist tutors had instructed them to lay down their arms, since the war was over. They were simply "going home." There were civilian refugees from the districts through which the sad train was passing, and so the company was constantly augmented. Carts, horses, motor-vehicles, ambulances, lorries, without official control or guidance, traveled by tedious degrees, side by side with the crowds on foot, ever in one direction and "the slowest set the pace." Now and then an aeroplane swooped near, with terrifying menace, but the storms provided some protection from air attack, and the Italian aviators were valiant in combating enemy airmen, so preventing much possible horror and devastation.

The German divisions under von Below began to pour out upon the plains, at the mouth of Natisone Valley, on October 28. They entered Cividale that day, and left it in ruins. Then they pushed upon Udine, where the Arditi disputed their entrance and withstood them until the twenty-ninth. The Austrian forces, who had recovered the Bainsizza, took possession of Gorizia on the twenty-eighth, when it was reluctantly evacuated by the last of its defenders.

THE THIRD ARMY SAVES THE DAY BY ITS ORDERLY RETREAT.

As the position of the Third Army, with the Duke of Aosta, on the Carso, had become untenable before the loss of Gorizia, it had withdrawn across the Vallone and started on the brilliant and orderly retreat toward the Tagliamento. This river, some forty miles west of the Isonzo, was the goal toward which the whole retiring mass looked with hope. A host of fugitives, including what was left of the Second Army, crossed at Codroipo on October 30. On the west side of the Tagliamento they found "a more hopeful and active world, where officers and Carabinieri were sorting out the men as they arrived over the bridge, and orders were being given and obeyed."

The next day, at Latisana near the coast, the greater part of the Third Army crossed to the west side of the river, with 500 of their guns, and began to take positions there. "The Duke of Aosta's retreat was one of those performances in war which succeed against crazy odds, and which, consequently, we call inexplicable. It made the Italian stand possible, and deprived the enemy of the crowning triumph which he almost held in his hands."

The British guns had all been saved and carried from the Carso. "Heaven knows how it was done," observes one who took part in the retreat and who states that, owing to the efficient services of the British Red Cross Unit attending the Third Army, "no British sick or wounded fell into the hands of the enemy." The Austro-German Command was claiming the capture of 200,000 prisoners and 1,800 guns. Several thousand of the prisoners were non-combatant workmen who had been caught in the first rush.

A TEMPORARY HALT BEHIND THE TAGLIAMENTO RIVER.

The flooded Tagliamento furnished the Italians a temporary barrier, which gave opportunity for the restoration of order and the preparation of new plans.

The fighting, up to this point, had been done in detached sections with, "literally, hundreds of isolated encircling movements" by the enemy, resulting in the seizure of prisoners in large numbers. But the invading armies found greater difficulty in moving up their guns as they advanced farther over the plains and swollen streams, while the space between the Italian Third Army and the Fourth Army under De Robilant on the Carnic front was becoming narrower and narrower. The two would soon be "able to link hands across the gap" created by the disappearance of the Second Army.

With no prospect of holding firmly at the Tagliamento, nor at the Livenza River, next beyond, the banks of the Piave offered the first promising ground on which to make a stand. "There the right bank was protected by the most modern and approved practice trenches, constructed by 'rookies' before they had been allowed to go to the battle line." On November 3, the Germans and Hungarians crossed the Tagliamento at Tolmezzo, Pinzano, and other points. By the eighth they had pushed across the Livenza. At last, on November 10, the Italians stood along the Piave, ready to defy further Teutonic aggression and to protect Venice from disaster. In crossing the rivers, armored motor cars, with quick-firing guns in their turrets, held the bridges until all others had passed across. Then, following the cavalry rear-guards, they burned the bridges behind them.

GENERAL ARMANDO DIAZ

General Diaz, General Cadorna's successor in command of the Italian armies, was born and educated at Naples. He had fought in Africa. After brilliant success on the Carso, he was given command of the 23rd Army Corps on the Isonzo, where he added to his reputation.

THE LINE OF THE PIAVE RIVER IS TAKEN.

It was with utter reluctance and regret that the Fourth Army had retired from the Carnic Alps, and the First Army, under Pecori-Giraldo, from the peaks and passes in the Cadore region. They now took their places side by side with the reorganized Second Army and the Third in the line that sheltered Venice and her neighbor cities on the plains. On the Adriatic side Venetia had been laid open by the withdrawal of the naval batteries along the Northern Adriatic coast, consequent upon the loss of the Carso and the region between the Isonzo and the Piave. The Allied Navy was the whole length of the peninsula away, at Taranto.

With the realization that the offensive was a serious danger, requiring instant and vigorous action, on October 26 the existing Ministry had been overthrown as inadequate. The first of November found the government reconstructed, with Signor Orlando as Premier, Baron Sonnino at the head of the Foreign Office, Signor Nitti in charge of the Treasury, and Signor Alfieri as Minister of War. All parties,

except the extreme Socialists, laid aside party issues and devoted themselves earnestly to the task of saving the country from calamity.

Allied reinforcements and a new Italian commander.

The first step toward a united command for the Western Allies was taken when a council was held at Rapallo, near Genoa, on November 5, to consider how best to deal with the perilous situation in Italy. From England came Lloyd George, General Smuts, Sir William Robertson, and Sir Henry Wilson; from France, M. Painlevé and General Foch. Italy was represented by Signor Orlando, Baron Sonnino, and Signor Alfieri. Out of this council grew a triune General Staff, of which General Cadorna was made a member, together with General Foch and General Sir Henry Wilson. Headquarters were at Versailles. General Foch, at the time, held the post of Chief of Staff of the French War Office, and Sir Henry Wilson belonged to the British General Staff. As Commander-in-Chief of the Italian armies, General Cadorna was superseded by General Diaz, who had as his Chief of the General Staff, General Badoglio, and as Sub-Chief of the Staff, General Giordino.

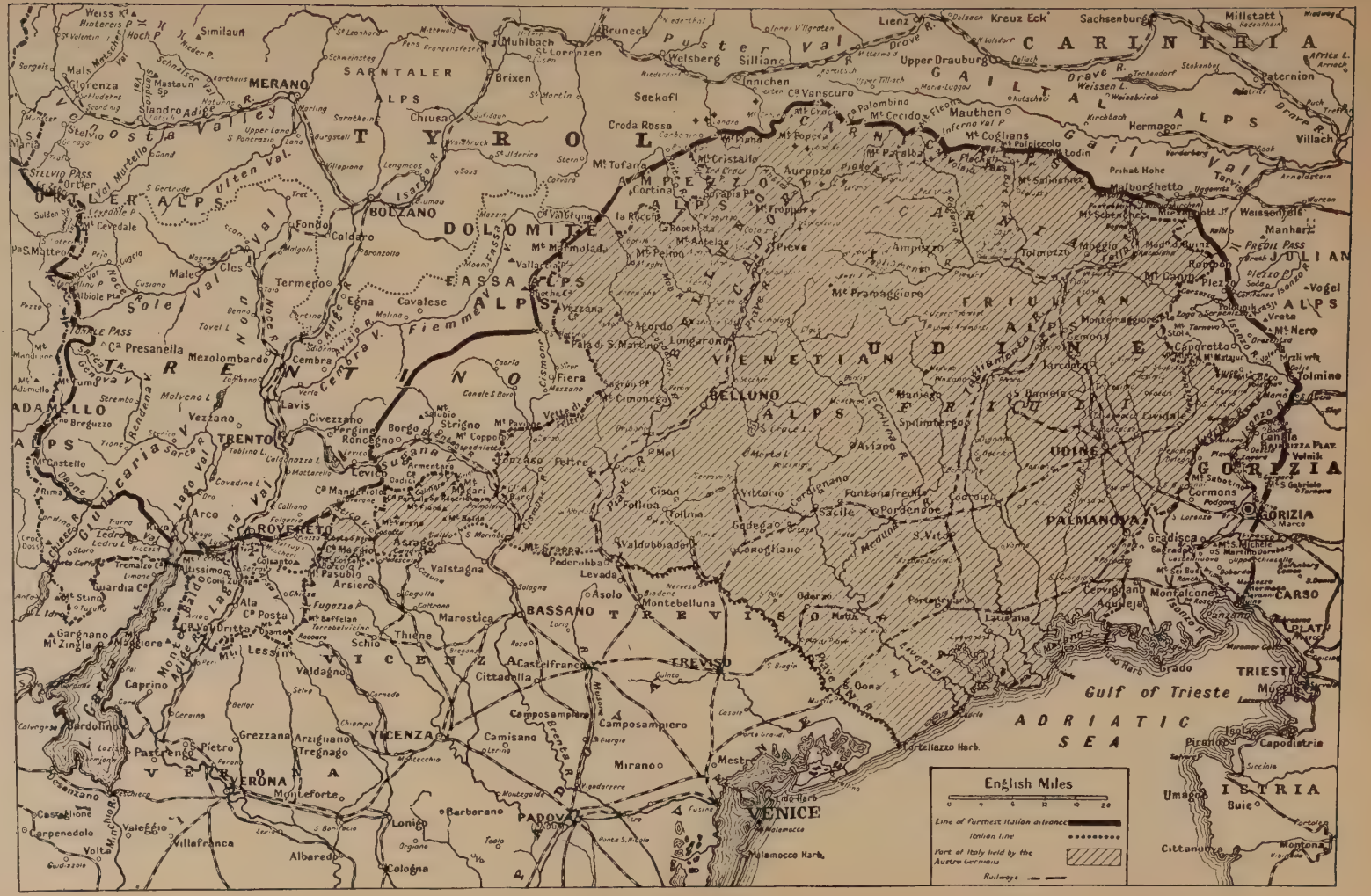
Reinforcements of French and British troops had already been hastened into the country, the French 12th Corps, under General Fayolle, first, followed, early in November, by a British corps, the 14th, under Sir Herbert Plumer. "One of England's best loans to Italy was General Plumer." He gave his influence strongly to the holding of the Piave if it could possibly be done, although at the moment the risk involved seemed so great that the French and British divisions were stationed near the Adige and on the hills around Vicenza, to form a reserve there in case the Italians should be forced back. Therefore, the Italians, alone, except for the British batteries rescued from the Carso, formed a line of defense before the Piave. The presence of the Allies, however, supplied a moral buttress for the spirits of the heavily-strained nation. Britons and Frenchmen met with a sincere and enthusiastic welcome.

The Italian people realize their desperate situation.

General Cadorna's *communiqué* of October 28 had revealed the very truth about the situation where the line gave way. In his rage, at that shocking instant, he had used the plainest terms, not hesitating at "treason" itself. Although the message was not made public until its language had been modified, rumor got abroad and was caught up without delay. The effect was that of an electric current shaking men and women into consciousness of their stupid or wilful failure to perceive the dangers they had been fostering instead of fighting.

"Now, in the souls of four-and-thirty millions from the Alps to Sicily, a decisive battle was waged in the secular conflict between the persistent materialism and the no less persistent idealism of the Italian nature. The very existence of the idealist principle in the common life of the race was threatened, and to some seemed already doomed. Italy, having striven for a hundred years to be a great and free country with traditions and memories of her own making, had not, it seemed, the necessary staying power. Was she, after all, fit only to be a 'museum, an inn, a summer resort' for German 'honeymoon couples,' 'a delightful market for buying and selling, fraud and barter,' as in the days before Mazzini? Had the fathers of the *Risorgimento* been mere sentimentalists, who tried to make the land of their dreams out of earthen clay? Had the true decision been, not in 1860, but in 1849, if only they had had the sense to accept it? Or had they perchance been right after all, those great ones of old, with that large faith of theirs? The world would soon know."

On the heels of the *communiqué* followed the Propaganda of the Mutilated, launched on the same day, October 28. Both officers and privates whose injuries had removed them from active service gave themselves to the work of reviving a burning spirit of patriotism in the country. Blinded, lamed, or


TYROL
CARINTHIA
DOLOMITE ALPS
CARNIC ALPS
JULIAN ALPS
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MERANO
BOLZANO
TRENTO
BELLUNO
UDINE
GORIZIA
GRADISCA
PALMANOVA
ROVERETO
BASSANO
VICENZA
TREVISO
VERONA
PADOVA
VENICE
MESTRE
CARSO
TRIESTE
ISTRIA
Gulf of Trieste
ADRIATIC SEA
Lake Garda
Lago di Caldonazzo
Lago di Levico
Lago di Molveno
Lago di Tovel
Lago di Tenno
Lago di Ledro
Lago di Tremalzo
Lago di Idro
Lago di Garda
Lago di Misurina
Lago di Dobbiaco
Lago di Braies
Lago di Anterselva
Lago di Landro
Lago di Carezza
Lago di Fedaia
Lago di Alleghe
Lago di Cavazzo
Lago di Barcis
Lago di Cornino
Lago di Sauris
Lago di Fusine
Lago di Predil
Lago di Raibl
Lago di Cave del Predil
Lago di Pesariis
Lago di Verzegnis
Lago di Tramonti

paralyzed, they yet had tongues to persuade their fellow-citizens to meet the country's need.

THE SITUATION OF THE OPPOSING ARMIES IN NOVEMBER.

On November 9, the day before the Italian armies reached their standing-ground behind the Piave, the ruined remnant of Asiago passed again into the hands of the Austrians. Two days later, the enemy line was a united whole, when the eastern and western ends were knitted together between the Upper Piave and the Val Sugana. In that sector, the Fourteenth Austro-German Army and the Tenth Austrian Army faced the Italian Fourth Army under de Robilant, which had moved southwest from the Carnic front. West of the Brenta, on the Asiago Plateau, Pecori-Giraldo, with the Italian First Army, was prepared to hold those heights and the Val Frenzela, against the Austrian Eleventh Army. In the "bottle-neck" between the Brenta and the Piave, the Italians occupied the ridges, of which the Monte Grappa and Monte Tomba massifs lay nearest the south. About ten miles southeast, beyond the Piave's bend eastward, on its right bank, Montello provided another ridge to fortify for defense at a distance of twenty-five miles from Venice. The Asiago Plateau, Monte Grappa, and Montello were the northern centres of the struggle that darkened the remaining days of November and the whole month of December, while the flood of the Lower Piave was being disputed hotly by the Italian right wing under the gallant Duke of Aosta. At the other end of the shortened Italian line, the Fifth Army with General Morrone did not change its position west of the Trentino; but its right flank was endangered by the enemy's presence in the Val Sugana.

THE AUSTRO-GERMAN FORCES MAKE SLIGHT GAINS.

Working down the Brenta Valley from the Val Sugana and pressing eastward from Asiago, the Austrian mountain troops and some Hungarian divisions, under von Below, drove the defenders of the uplands back toward the last ridges at Monte Tomba and Monte Grappa, and approached the upper end of the Val Frenzela. Meanwhile, the Italians eagerly watched the mountains for the first sign of the expected snows. The storms came late. "It was not the snow that saved Italy, but the valor of her sons."

On the Piave, Boroevic's forces crossed to the west side at Zenson, only eighteen miles from the sea, on November 13, and took a bridgehead farther up the stream. When, at the mouth of the river, Hungarian battalions crossed the canalized stream and started over the marshes to the old river-bed, Piave Vecchia, or Sile, the engineers opened the flood-gates which had been built to reclaim land in the delta and to control the rise of waters in the lagoons of Venice less than twenty miles away. Of the conditions after the floods were let loose on November 15, we have this account by a correspondent:

FLOODS DEFEND THE ITALIANS ON THE LOWER PIAVE.

"The water effectively holds the enemy at most exposed points and for fifteen miles on the west bank of the Piave. The flooded area is about seventy square miles, and the water is a foot to five feet deep and twelve miles in width at some points, making the district impossible of occupation or movement by enemy troops. The enemy clings to the west bank at Zenson, but is crowded into a small U-shaped position and relying on batteries across the river to keep the Italians back.

"The lower floors of the houses in such villages as Piave Vecchia are under water, and the campanili stick up from the mud-hued level of the flood like strange immense water plants; and here in the silence of the floods the enemy is moving in boats and squelshing over mud islands. Peasants, awaiting rescue from the inundation, see him arrive with feelings much like those of shipwrecked people who hail a passing sail and find it is a pirate craft."

THE AUSTRIANS ATTACK ON THE ASIAGO PLATEAU.

As December opened, there were indications on the Asiago Plateau that

a vigorous Austro-German offensive was in preparation. On a front of twelve miles no fewer than 2,000 guns were massed. General Plumer offered, in conjunction with the French, to take over some sectors in the foot-hills; but the Italian High Command feared the effect of the cold and snow upon troops unaccustomed to mountain conditions and not equipped for them. Therefore, danger of a break into the plains undoubtedly increased."

The anticipated attack on the Asiago began toward the end of the first week in December. Slowly the Italians yielded position after position, holding out so long that they sometimes lost many prisoners at a time. The number captured by the enemy soon mounted to 15,000. But he, too, was losing his

BRITISH TROOPS ON THE MARCH ACROSS THE PLAINS OF ITALY

The wise, sound strategic advice of General Plumer and the sense of support furnished by the presence of British and French troops helped to sustain the spirits of the Italians in their desperate stand at the Piave. The British, in their march across the historic northern plains, were greeted with enthusiastic demonstrations. They took up their position on the Montello height, between Montebelluna and the Piave, the first week in December.

the assisting forces were assigned to the Montello sector, which formed "a hinge to the whole Italian line." The aid was much appreciated as a means of relief for General de Robilant's army in its too-difficult position. To keep the sector supplied, boys no more than eighteen years old had been poured into the ranks after barely a month of drill in camp. Such was the sacrifice the country was offering up.

Yet, "December was an anxious month," Sir Herbert Plumer says. "Local attacks grew more frequent and more severe, and though the progress made was not great, yet the thousands. Already, since the beginning of the invasion, he had given up 150,000 in killed, wounded and captured.

ALPINI AND BERSAGLIERI FIGHT TO THE LAST MAN.

Both east and west of Brenta, heights were taken and retaken. "It was a saturnalia of killing. To realize what was then happening, you need a vision of death striding those misty valleys like a proprietor walking in his own fields. The hill of the Bersaglieri was held by front men who had fought since the offensive in August on the Bainsizza Plateau. They fought till

fighting availed no longer, and then fell back, fighting still and attacking at every opportunity with the bayonet." These are the words of Perceval Gibbon.

As so many times before, Alpini and Bersaglieri performed unheard-of feats of sheer daring, exhibiting that dash and spirit which are suggested by the very mention of their names. However, by Christmas Day, the prospect was still unlightened. The enemy had advanced into the Val Frenzela and had secured the lower summit of Monte Tomba, threatening to outflank Monte Grappa.

THE TIDE TURNS WITH THE END OF THE YEAR.

Then, on December 30, the French left, supported by British batteries, cleared the summit and slopes of Monte Tomba, taking 1,500 Austrian prisoners. With this success, the tide seemed to turn. The hills were aiding their defenders, at last, for wild storms had broken out. The Piave was rushing, swollen to a width of 1,000 yards or more in places, its waters icy and forbidding. In spite of the peril of wading or crossing on rafts, volunteers never were lacking for the raids that were made, from time to time upon the east bank. Before the first fortnight of the new year was gone, Zenson bridgehead had been retaken by the Duke of Aosta, and the Austrians driven back across the river.

Step by step, hour by hour, the Teuton forces lost ground and the Italian positions became less cramped. The counter-offensive was marked by some signal successes, as when on January 27, Col del Rosso and Col d'Echele were both taken and held and more than 1,500 prisoners captured; while, the next day, an attack on Monte di Val Bella resulted in carrying the summit and added over a thousand more Austrian prisoners.

Since the hope of getting down on to the Venetian plains had been frustrated, Ludendorff began to withdraw German troops for use on other battle-fronts where they were needed. In the Austrian command a change was made, when, about January 21, 1918, General Boroevic succeeded the Archduke Eugene as head of the entire front against Italy—an appointment which was considered "merely a sop thrown to the Slav element of Austria-Hungary."

THE NAVY HELPS IN THE DEFENSE OF VENICE.

On the side of the Allies there was increasing harmony and understanding. When British and French batteries were working in conjunction with those of Italy, an Italian Staff officer declared: "At last we have realized unity of command right in the face of enemy fire." But the Italians themselves bore the chief burden of the fighting. "The Italian Army could not only resist—that had been shown by the wonderful stand after the long retreat—but could already hit back hard and retake from the enemy very strong positions which had been in his hands for over a month. The recovery from the long trial was very quick; and it was of special significance that the brigade which took Col del Rosso and held it against all the furious counter-attacks of the Austrians was the Sassari Brigade, which had belonged to the Second Army and come through the worst of the great retreat."

In following the efforts of the Alpini, Bersaglieri, Infantry, Cavalry, and Arditi, we must not lose sight of the equally necessary and heroic part played by the Navy in the defense of Venice. The spirit of its men was manifested as soon as news of the Austro-German invasion reached them in the naval bases. Almost with one accord they asked to be transferred to the infantry and allowed to go to the front. As many as could be spared had their requests granted; but there was plenty of work to be done on the water. All through the retreat, the right flank of the army was protected by marines along canals and rivers. "Platoons of marines stood in the mud behind guns corroded by the inundations, holding back entire companies of enemy troops for days and nights without the possibility of obtaining relief or food. Some of the gun crews dragged not only the mounts and the guns by hand across very swampy ground, with

VENICE, WHERE ROMANCE AND BEAUTY ABIDE

Venice, whose islands offered a refuge from Attila and his Huns in 452 A.D., is a land of blue waters, radiant skies, flashing colors and lilting songs. She has picturesque, romantic charm, and encloses a store of artistic treasure. With her industries hard hit by the war, she made a patriotic and heroic readjustment. Then came the invasion, and the fair city waited silent, almost deserted, while her defenders strove for her safety.

FOR THE PROTECTION OF VENICE, THE BELOVED CITY

Among the provisions for the defense of Venice in the hour of invasion were the guns mounted upon pontoons in the marshes at the mouths of the Piave and other rivers. Disguised as islands or house-boats, the pontoons frequently shifted their positions and the guns furnished effective protection. Central News Service

the water up to their knees, but also the munition cases, without taking time for sleeping or eating." Submarine chasers ran up into the rivers to disperse Austrian patrols. Hydroplanes bombed bridges. And aviators were tireless in making bombing and observation flights and keeping the different sections of the army informed of one another's movements.

THE GULF OF VENICE PROTECTED BY MINE-FIELDS.

Two weeks after Monfalcone and Grado had been abandoned, "the work of forming the principal ring of defense around the city of the Doges was confided to the machine gunners of the navy." As, fifteen hundred years earlier, fugitives from the terrors of Attila's invasion had taken refuge in the marshes and founded there the city, Venice, again the safety of the Venetian people depended partly upon the waters. We have noted how the Lower Piave had been flooded. The whole region of the northern shore of the Venetian Gulf was inundated and protected by mine fields. The Gulf, therefore, was converted into an isolated sea. Secret channels in the bottom of the lagoons were known to none but war pilots, who alone could safely navigate even the smallest boats there. Moving about among the marshy islands, a great fleet of floating batteries furnished a strong defense. An eyewitness gives the following account of these batteries:

"Each is camouflaged to represent a tiny island, a garden patch, or a house boat. Floating on the glass-like surface of the lagoons, the guns fire a few shots and then change position—making it utterly impossible for the enemy to locate them. The entire auxiliary service of supplying this floating army has been adapted to meet the lagoon warfare. Munition dumps are on boats, constantly moved about to prevent the enemy spotting them. Gondolas and motor boats replace the automobile supply lorries customary in land warfare. Instead of motor ambulances, motor boats carry off dead and wounded. Hydro-aeroplanes replace ordinary fighting aircraft."

THE DARING EXPLOIT OF LIEUTENANT RIZZO.

There were, besides, stationary land batteries and armed ships of all sizes, including huge flat-bottomed British monitors carrying the largest guns. Swift little armored motor boats darted about, "the cavalry of the marshes," running up to the very trenches, where the enemy lines bordered a river, and attacking companies that attempted to cross the lagoons.

On the night of December 9, 1917, when the invasion was still swinging on, a spirited exploit was performed by Lieutenant Rizzo, of the Italian Navy. With two small launches he approached Trieste Harbor, which was carefully shut in by a network of steel wire studded with mines. In defiance of the danger from explosion, in case a jar should set off the mines, Lieutenant Rizzo and his men cut the wire cables that held the structure to the piers, until the "cobweb of metal and explosives" dropped down to the sands. Then they ran their boats into the harbor near the great vessels, Monarch and Wien, and launched their torpedoes. Both ships were injured, the Wien fatally, so that she sank to the bottom. The Italian launches escaped miraculously through a storm of shrapnel and gunfire, under the brilliant illumination of searchlights and bursting shells, while the Austrians sought to discover whence the attack had come.

SUMMARY OF THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT DISASTER.

When, under an unusual, sudden strain, a man's physical system suffers collapse, the breakdown is often reasonably accounted for by the discovery of a "complication" of disorders or circumstances. The same reasonable explanation applies to national catastrophes, although, in the immediate shock and confusion, this fact may be overlooked. So, for Italy's "Caporetto" there are reasons, military, economic, moral, and personal. The one most patent, and therefore most emphasized, at the moment, was the local break in morale, which in itself was due to a complex and intricate tangle of causes. The Russian failure,

the consequent spread of Bolshevist tenets, the unsatisfied demands of Socialists and pacifists, the exhaustion of mind and body resulting from months of terrible war conditions without relief or refreshment,—these are a few of the threads that wove the web to entangle unwary feet.

When we get close enough to see the military situation, the disaster is even more accountable. With General Capello's command, the Second Army, several times too large for one officer's efficient control, and its 4th Corps, poorly trained and filled up from new drafts, in a sector far removed from the commander's field of action, there was difficulty enough, had General Capello himself been able to direct affairs. But his illness had left control in the hands of General Montuori, who was unacquainted with the region. General Capello under the press of unusual circumstances resumed his responsibility before he was considered fit to "carry on."

A DARING NIGHT EXPLOIT IN THE HARBOR OF TRIESTE

Arrived at Trieste in torpedo boats on the night of December 9-10, 1917, Luigi Rizzo and some of his men made their way in on motor scouts, cut the mined wire entanglements and approached the vessels, Monarch and Wien, discharging torpedoes which sank the Wien and damaged the Monarch. Austrian search-lights swept the skies for air raiders while the seamen crept in unperceived. They escaped to their base in safety.

THE ITALIAN POSITIONS NOT SUITED FOR DEFENSE.

Another condition that explains what happened under the Austro-German blow is that the Italian positions were those suitable for offensive movements, such as the army had been developing along the eastern front, rather than for defense. The foremost lines were far the strongest and the guns had been pushed far forward. When the first lines were put under sudden bombardment and weakened by clouds from shells of asphyxiating and mustard gas, then attacked during an unexpected lull in the artillery storm, there was not a firmly held "battle position" behind them for support. Worse than all else, enemy troops, masquerading in Italian uniforms, carried out a "collective deception."

"It was Italy's misfortune to be attacked at the time of her weakness and at the place where she was weakest." More astonishing than the retreat was the immediate rally after such an experience. That the spirit of the army as a whole was far from being demoralized had ample demonstration before the year was over. And now, behind the army stood firmer walls of support than before, due to a newly aroused spirit in government and in people—even in the Allied command.

CAPTIVE BUT UNDISMAYED

French colonial troops awaiting roll-call in the German prison camp at Zossen, south of Berlin. The troops of the Fatherland had full proof of their valor in the recapture of Forts Douaumont and Vaux, and in the second battle of the Aisne when they flung themselves against the machine-gun-infested slopes of the Craonne plateau. Ruschin

RUSSIANS IN FRANCE

In 1916 a contingent of Russians were transported to France by the Trans-Siberian railway. A Russian brigade under General Lochwitsky was stationed in front of Courcy in the battle of the Aisne, and its members were burning to inspire by their conduct their liberated countrymen, and show what Russians could achieve when properly disciplined and led. In a day of fierce fighting they took all their objectives. French Official

Photo—Vandyk

M. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU
Premier of France, 1917-20

Russians in France in 1917

Chapter XLVIII

On the French Front in 1917

THE ATTEMPT TO SMASH THE GERMAN DEFENSES AND BREAK THROUGH FAILS

THE Allied offensive in 1916 had nowhere achieved decision. German attack at Verdun had held the French; British gains on the Somme had been limited to a depth of six or seven miles on a narrow front; Italy's blow at Gorizia had fallen short; and Russia's campaign after initial victories had broken down. In the winter, the High Command took counsel and decided upon a further general attack co-ordinated upon all fronts.

The German General Staff Surveys the Situation.

The enemy, facing the situation squarely, took stock of assets and liabilities and made wise provision to anticipate the offensive and thus secure—even to a limited degree—the initiative. He knew that as an ally Austria was failing, that he could rely upon Bulgaria only in the Balkans and upon Turkey merely in the east. On the other hand, he sensed the growing weakness of Russia, perceived the widening cracks in the framework of the mighty colossus whose shadow had hitherto darkened the fortunes of the Central Powers—and he determined to profit by its fall. Until Russia were out of action, Italy might safely be left, for the German Staff felt she was too much under the influence of England to make a separate peace, even if she were defeated. On the Western Front a difficult problem had to be faced.

Withdrawal to the Line of Defense Already Prepared.

The fierce conflict on the Somme had left the Germans with an awkward salient in their line. It was urgently necessary for them to improve their position or run the risk of being enveloped by the Allies. An attack against the enemy at the point where he had broken through was the most obvious remedy, but the German Chief of Staff could not venture a great offensive in the Somme region at a time when he knew attacks were imminent on other parts of the Western and Eastern fronts. There remained only the alternative of withdrawal, and Hindenburg decided to adopt this expedient and transfer his line of defense which had been pushed in at Péronne at one point and bulged out to the west of Bapaume, Roye and Noyon, at others to the chord position Arras, St. Quentin, Soissons. The retreat was a great blow to the German army, to the people at home, to their allies abroad. For the time, until its soundness as a strategical manœuvre was borne in upon them by bitter experience, it seemed a great triumph for the British and French, who hastened to exploit it for propagandist purposes.

Retreat began on March 16, 1917, and left in its wake a devastated and shell-scarred wilderness where rivers had been dammed to flood wide areas, where towns and villages lay in blackened heaps, where spectral shapes stood that once were trees, and where silence replaced the peaceful murmur of a smiling countryside. The British and French followed slowly for all railways, roads and bridges had been obliterated, and there was fighting with rear-guards until the fluid line crystallized into shape once more. By the first week in April, German dispositions in the new Siegfried (or Hindenburg) Line were complete and commanders could appreciate the foresight which had engineered such a great strategic "stand to," which, although it abandoned the initiative to the enemy for the time being, gave favorable local conditions and shortened the line in a way that made it possible to build up strong reserves.

WHERE AND WHAT WAS THIS NEW HINDENBURG LINE.

The new line hung like a cable between Vimy ridge and the Craonne plateau. In making it, the Germans, profiting from experience in earlier battles, had departed from their old pattern of defenses. "In future," writes the veteran Marshal von Hindenburg, so closely associated with its conception, "our defensive positions were no longer to consist of single lines and strong points but of a network of lines and groups of strong points. In the deep zones thus formed we did not intend to dispose our troops on a rigid and continuous front but in a complex system of nuclei and distributed in breadth and depth. The defender had to keep his forces mobile to avoid the destructive effects of the enemy fire during the period of artillery preparation, as well as voluntarily to abandon any parts of the line which could no longer be held, and then to recover by a counter-attack all the points which were essential to the maintenance of the whole position. These principles applied in detail as in general.

"We thus met the devastating effects of the enemy artillery and trench-mortar fire and their surprise infantry attacks with more and more deeply distributed defensive lines and the mobility of our force. At the same time we developed the principle of saving men in the forward lines by increasing the number of our machine guns and so economizing troops." In the maze of these deep lines before the many-angled fire of machine guns French attack was to experience tragic check at the Craonne plateau.

THE BRITISH AGREE TO FOLLOW FRENCH DIRECTION.

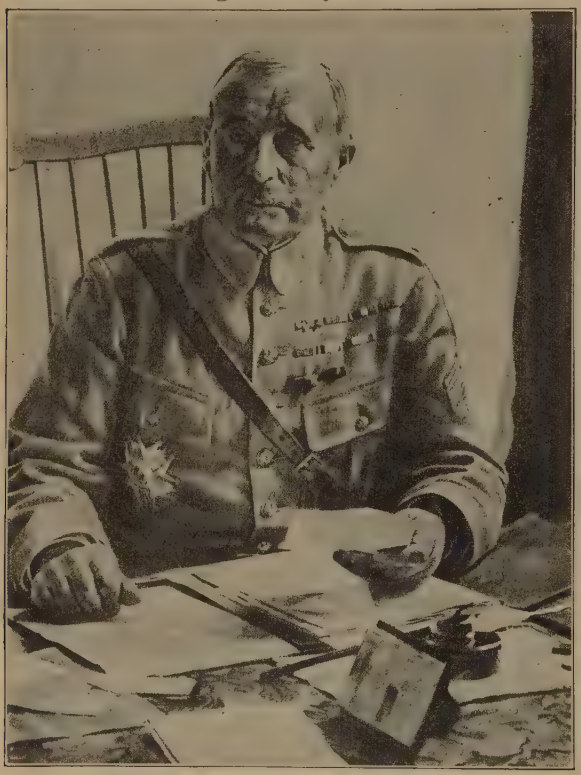
In the Allied plan of attack—a plan considerably modified by the Hindenburg retreat—it was arranged that combined British and French attacks should be made on the two pivots of the new German position. Thus, British operations against Arras on a lesser front were to be preparatory to more decisive operations by the French against the Craonne plateau, to be begun a little later on, and in the subsequent stages of which the British were to co-operate. If this combined offensive did not produce the full effects hoped for, it was arranged that the British should shift their attack to the Flanders area, and the French should lend their aid where it was most needed. To achieve such co-ordination, unity in command was essential and for the first time in the history of the war the British commander consented to place himself under a French generalissimo, Nivelle of Verdun fame. Sir Douglas Haig reserved to himself, however, the right of deciding when to break off his own action.

Nivelle's appointment to succeed Joffre, in preference to Pétain and Foch, had in it something of surprise. That he was an advocate of decisive action appealed to a more or less war-weary France, faint-hearted over the "nibbling" methods of Joffre, and the "limited objectives" of the Somme and Verdun fields. He was more popular than Pétain whose coldness and sarcasm made enemies among his equals, readier with a colossal scheme than Foch, at this time believed exhausted after a series of great actions. His war record was a distinguished one:

WANTON GERMAN DESTRUCTION OF MACHINERY DURING THE RETREAT OF 1917

Courtesy Red Cross Magazine

at the Battle of the Aisne in September, 1914, he had saved a portion of the VII Corps from destruction; at Verdun from command of the III Corps he had passed to the command of the Verdun army and had recovered considerable ground by the end of the year. It was his belief that artillery would decide the fate of the war; and he urged a decisive blow, not "to weaken but to crush," not to "break up" but "to break through." What Pétain had performed on a narrow two-three mile front at Verdun, Nivelle proposed to do with multiplied forces on a wide front of fifty miles from Soissons to Rheims, with the object of piercing into the plain and capturing Laon, the pivot of the Siegfried Line and the source of supplies for every man and gun around the *massif* of St. Gobain and the Chemin des Dames.



NIVELLE, SUCCESSOR TO JOFFRE

In the first battle of the Aisne, Nivelle performed brilliant service. He became division commander in February, 1915, and fourteen months later commanded the 3rd corps at Verdun. Later in the year he succeeded Pétain as commander of the Verdun army.

THE BRITISH BEGIN WITH GAINS AROUND ARRAS.

The first storm in the West broke just after the beginning of spring. On April 9, British attack at Arras gave signal for the opening of the great offensive. For days masses of artillery and trench-mortars pounded the enemy's lines and then the infantry moved forward with considerable success. The high-water mark was reached, April 14, when Sir Douglas Haig, but for his agreement with Nivelle, would have broken off the fight, but the French offensive had already begun—and begun badly—and the British were forced to continue fighting at a disadvantage to relieve the pressure upon the French army.

The French line from Soissons to west of Rheims faced enemy positions of extraordinary difficulty as attested by the fact that since the first struggle on the Aisne heights in September, 1914, little had changed in the sector. In the Hindenburg retreat only a short alteration of the line north-east of Soissons had been made. The first section of the front from Vauxaillon to Troyon, perhaps the most difficult and therefore most important, was the western end of the Craonne plateau descending on the south to the Aisne valley and on the north to the little Ailette river. A reference to the map will show that the German line ran just west of Laffaux, crossed to the south bank of the river at Missy-sur-Aisne and continued to a mile or two east of Chavonne whence it struck back across the river, north-east through Soupir to Troyon where it touched the Chemin des Dames. Southwards the plateau here breaks into five spurs intersected by ravines cut by brooks running into the Aisne. The thickly wooded sides afforded cover for innumerable nests of machine guns, so situated as to pour a deadly, many-angled fire upon the attacking infantry.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE AISNE

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THE CHEMIN DES DAMES AND CONTIGUOUS COUNTRY

The Chemin des Dames, constructed in the eighteenth century for the daughters of Louis XV, runs along the high ridge of ground between the Aisne and the Ailette. From its hard limestone rock was quarried much of the stone of which Rheims Cathedral was built. After intense fighting, the French stormed this position in 1917.

THE CHEMIN DES DAMES AND THE QUARRIES OF CRAONNE.

Where the spurs join the main ridge and along its summit runs the famous Chemin des Dames, before the struggle a beautiful shady highway made for his daughters by Louis XV. Next to Verdun the Chemin des Dames has witnessed more bitter fighting, perhaps, than any other region on the French front. To the north the plateau drops steeply to the narrow marshy valley of the Ailette. Northwards again rises a lesser plateau beyond which lie the plain and city of Laon—the goal of Nivelle's campaign. For hundreds of years the Craonne plateau has been quarried for building-stone and in its depths run countless passages, caves, and grottos which afforded secure assembly points for troops, and bomb-proof shelters against the French artillery. The Germans had literally lined these caverns with machine guns so constructed that they could be whirled behind granite walls whenever necessary to avoid concentrated French fire. A correspondent who visited the strongholds later in the year after the French had captured them, writes: "I went down into one of the quarries. The opening was a tiny hole in solid granite. I went down and down in pitch blackness. The officer and I stumbled along, fumbling at solid rock walls. A soldier came up to meet us with an electric lamp, and below we could see a line of wooden steps, at least a hundred of them. Then we came into a great arched cavern that led into another similar one, and then to another, and then into long galleries and through dark, narrow passages, where we had to stoop low, only to come into other caverns with exits leading in various directions and so on until, at least half a mile from the German rear, from where we entered, we walked out again into daylight. That quarry alone was big enough to secrete 5000 German soldiers who poured from a dozen similar exits when the French infantry advanced. Every gallery of these underground fortresses the Germans raked with machine guns when stormed." Above ground their trenches ran line upon line up the gentle slope to the summit; on the reverse side nestled their heavy artillery in safe positions.

NO LABOR SPARED TO SUPPLY NATURAL DEFICIENCIES.

The second sector of the line from Troyon to Craonne embraced the east end of the highway and plateau, narrowest at Hurtebise Farm where it measured only 100 yards but rose to 650 feet. Craonne at the eastern extremity towered over the rolling Champagne country below.

From Craonne to Bétheny the twelve-mile front in its course dropped to marshy woodlands below the plateau and then entered the level Champagne terrain, unbroken save for the Fresnes and Brimont heights. Southwestwards it continued to Rheims, north and east of which rise the hills of Nogent l'Abbesse and Moronvilliers respectively. This was the weakest part of the front, but the Germans had expended great labor on its defenses,

QUARRIES OF FRANCE IN THE HANDS OF THE GERMANS

Quarries in the occupied area might serve the invader as mines of wealth or as walls of defense. Where such excavations occurred on the line of battle they could be easily transformed into strong fortifications or stations for sheltering troops. On the Craonne heights the extensive quarries and natural caves were well utilized.

GERMANS AT WORK ON AN UNDERGROUND GALLERY

Trenches and galleries hewn from stone or solidly constructed of concrete are more enduring than walls of earth; but all kinds were made by the Germans in their miles upon miles of trench and tunnel. Here they are setting up supporting walls and roofing of timber in an earthen gallery. As the cut of a garment depends on the cloth, the style of trench is determined somewhat by the material at hand.

MODERN FACE ARMOR

French poilu equipped in steel mask to protect him against scattering shrapnel fire.

studding it with pill-boxes containing machine guns, and in the event it proved as great a barrier as the Aisne heights.

The French forces were still in three groups: the Northern under Franchet d'Esperey, the Central under Pétain, the Eastern under de Castelnau, with a fourth or reserve group under Micheler. Nivelle planned to put into action the centre and right of this last group between the Ailette and Rheims in the following order: the VI Army under Mangin from Laffaux to Hurtebise was to attack the German salient from west, south, and east; the V Army under Mazel from Hurtebise to Rheims was to pierce through the gap, Craonne—Berry-au-Bac, into the plain of Laon, and simultaneously turn the Rheims hills from the north. The day after the main attack, which Nivelle confidently expected would reach Laon itself, General Anthoine was to hurl the IV Army against the Moronvilliers heights to the east of Rheims, while Duchesne with the V Army was to be in reserve.

Against Micheler's group of armies were those of the Crown Prince, the VII German Army under von Boehn to the west of Craonne, and eastward the I German Army under Fritz von Below. They had been ordered to hold their ground at all hazards, and to retake at once any yard of ground lost.

THE WEATHER UNFAVORABLE FOR ARTILLERY ATTACK.

The winter of 1916–17 was an exceptionally bad one in Europe: it was followed by a late, cold and stormy spring. The English attack at Arras had been delivered amid hurricanes of rain and snow and sleet and the artillery work had been correspondingly crippled by the limitations of aerial guidance under such conditions. On the 8th of the month, Nivelle's artillery preparation began and grew in volume until the 16th, when at 6 A.M. amid stinging hail the infantry went over the top. Alas for their sanguine hopes of finding the enemy's lines broken and pulverized! Where their really furious bombardment had been effective the Germans had taken refuge in the caves and passages beneath, and swept down the advancing Frenchmen with deadly machine-gun fire.

Again and again the waves hurled themselves against the spurs: the day ended as it had begun, in driving sleet; though something in the way of local gains had been made—the crowning point of Hurtebise, a sentinel hillock of the gap between Craonne and Brimont, a position threatening Brimont and Fresnes, many prisoners, and many guns, yet no gap had been made. Nivelle had said, "Laon," and officers and rank and file realized that the ambitious plans had miscarried, that

CRAONNE, ON THE CHEMIN DES DAMES

At the western extremity of the plateau stands the town of Craonne, rising above the level Champagne country as the bow of a ship from the sea. In the Napoleonic wars it was the site of a great battle, and its crooked streets witnessed severe fighting during the great war as the battle line surged back and forth.

LAON, THE CAPITAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AISNE

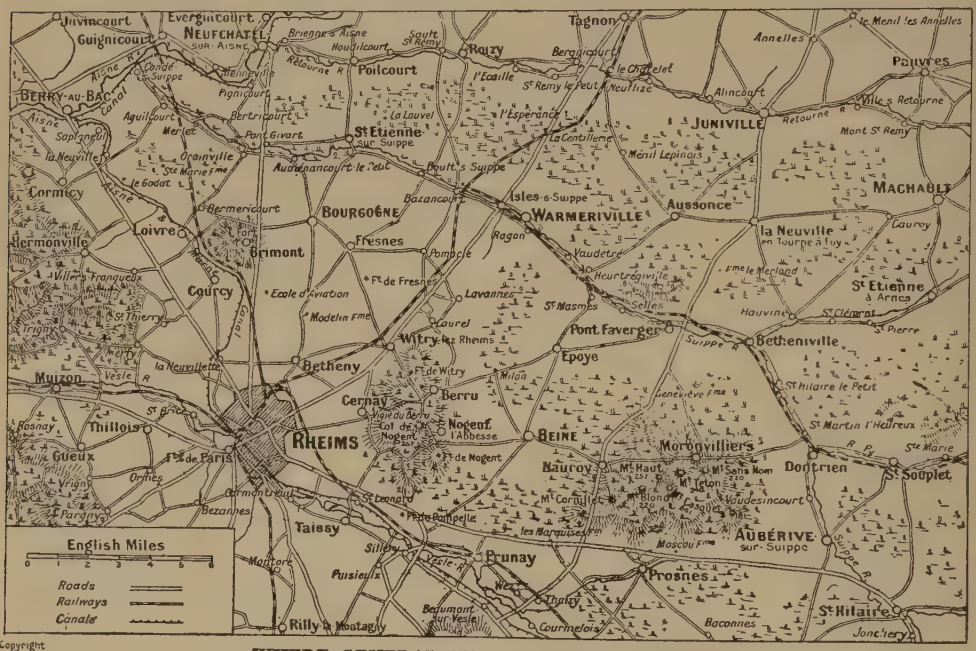
Before the war Laon possessed numerous ancient buildings and three gates belonging to thirteenth-century fortifications. The Romans fortified it, and it was important under the Franks, being the residence of the Carolingian kings in the tenth century. In modern times Napoleon was defeated here by the Germans under Blücher in 1814.

Ruschin

reverse was theirs instead of victory. This bloody repulse proved the bitterest, indeed the most overwhelming disappointment to the French leaders and their men.

THE FRENCH SOLDIERS THROW THEMSELVES AGAINST THE GERMAN DEFENSES.

On the second day the weather was equally bad, yet the battle line Ailette and Suippe it had captured 23,000 prisoners, 175 guns, 119 trench mortars and 412 machine guns. Territorially it now held the banks of the Aisne from Soissons to Berry-au-Bac, all the spurs of the Aisne heights and the centre of the tableland. But the dominating height of Craonne still resisted, the hills of Brimont and Fresne had not been turned, and in



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WHERE GENERAL ANTHOINE WAGED WAR

The western end of the area in which Nivelle waged the second battle of the Aisne, and the scene of the fight of General Anthoine's army. It was impossible to take Rheims without turning the enemy's strong positions on the Nogent l'Abesse and Moronvilliers hills to the west of the city.

lengthened as Anthoine's army passed into attack against the Moronvilliers hills with the object of broadening the entrance into the plain for Micheler's centre. For the next five days severe fighting raged on the whole front but everywhere along the line the "elastic defense," which had been a departure for the Germans, justified itself, as the machine guns in their hiding places survived the artillery preparation and kept the situation well in hand. The French had gained ground under surprising difficulties but they had not secured the key positions.

Twelve days after the battle started the French Headquarters published a summary of its gains: between the the Moronvilliers heights the gains were inconsiderable.

BITTER DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE FAILURE OF NIVELLE'S PLANS.

There was another side of the picture: long and ever-lengthening casualty lists, a certain unmistakable demoralization among the rank and file, and a series of definite protests from a number of officers.

French expectations had been tuned to a high pitch by the audacity and confidence of Nivelle's plan and the reaction was sharp. Instead of strong support for the "break through" policy came reversal to the strategy of the Somme, the advance on a limited front, and a cry for the man who had success-

fully used it to regain French territory around Verdun. In the crisis the old office of Chief of General Staff was revived in the Ministry of War—the holder of which had to pass upon the plans of all the commanders and estimate the various resources in *matériel*—and Pétain was appointed to fill it. Meanwhile the army was struggling on in vain endeavor to make Nivelle's plan succeed, but it was dashing itself to pieces against the German stand, and on May 15, Pétain succeeded to the office of Nivelle with the task once again of restoring the French army. Foch replaced Pétain at Staff Headquarters and Fayolle assumed direction of the Central Group of armies.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LOCAL STRONGHOLDS CONTINUES FOR WEEKS.

A new battle had begun, April 30, in the Moronvilliers sector. Here the French made scattered gains and finally at the end of three weeks captured the whole of the summit ridge. May 4 and 5 the left and centre came into action and fire swept the entire front again. In this fighting the French captured Craonne promontory itself so that nothing now blocked their vision towards Laon. The Germans counter attacked fiercely but registered no gains. During June the French made a slight advance and improved their line with the net result that they managed to secure the enemy's points of observation over the valley of the Aisne east and west, without themselves winning a line from which they could command the valley of the Ailette to the north over the historic plateau crowned by the Cathedral of Laon. German shock troops (*stosstruppen*) launched nearly forty local attacks over the period of the following three months to recover such vantage points as the California and Casemates plateaux (or Winterberg as the Germans called them), Hurtebise Farm, and the apex of the salient between Laffaux and Vauxaillon—but with no success. The fighting along the Chemin des Dames ridge was perhaps the most bitter of the war.

While the French stood upon the defensive, Pétain was restoring the army: strengthening its morale, readjusting and in some cases replacing his staff, strengthening the lines, the aerial service and the artillery, and putting into the task all the meticulous care and attention to detail that had prefaced the attacks in the preceding autumn on Forts Vaux and Douaumont. When he took over command he told Sir Douglas Haig that it would be fully two months before anything more could be expected of the French army, and, as a matter of fact, it was October before Pétain again took the offensive in this area. It must be conceded that the second battle of the Aisne was a reverse: it had failed of its

NOTRE DAME CATHEDRAL, LAON

Before the tide of battle surged over it, this cathedral was one of the finest twelfth-century Gothic edifices in France. Finished in 1225, it is surrounded by numerous towers, those two flanking the façade being adorned with huge oxen. Ruschin

purpose to break the Laon pivot of the Siegfried Line, it had wasted both French and British troops (for the latter had had to hold on at Arras to relieve the strain on the French army long after the legitimate point was passed).

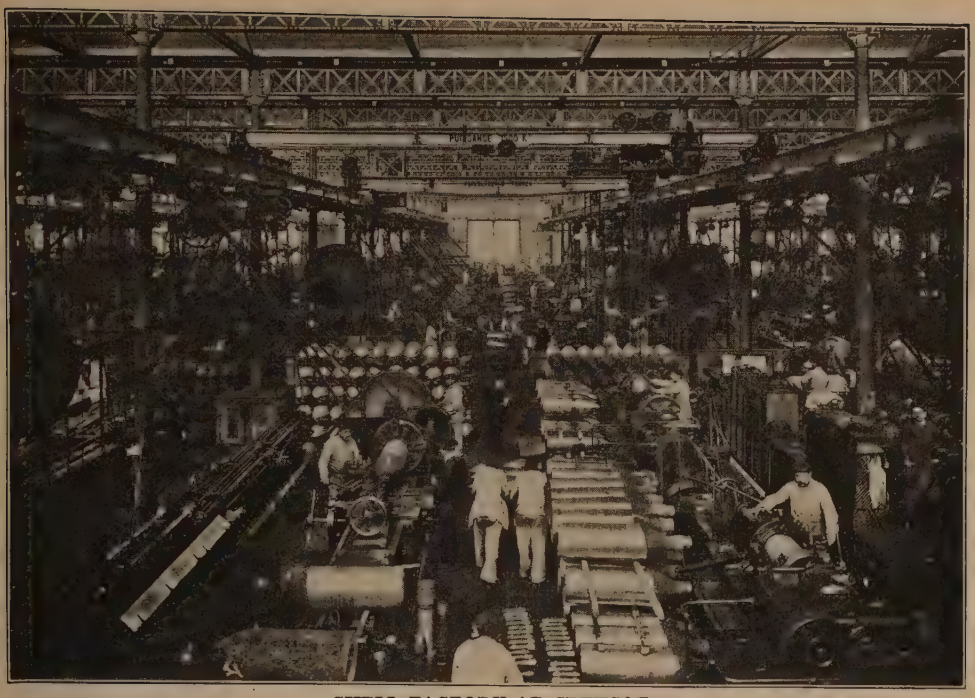
NIVELLE'S PLAN IMPOSSIBLE WITH FORCES AT HIS DISPOSAL.

The failure was not entirely due to bad generalship: the unusually bad weather of the opening days slowed up advance; an accident in the V Army Intelligence Corps gave the enemy wind of expected attack; the new tanks had broken down. But, in general, the reverse *was* due to bad judgment. Attack had been made on a broad front with the idea of not allowing the Germans to concentrate at vital points, but these points were so strong that special effort was needed to reduce them, and this was not possible in such an extended movement. Moreover, the mobile defense of the Germans and the shortening of their line allowed them to throw in reserves where most needed.

Again, Nivelle's attempt to destroy, almost consecutively, the enemy's different lines of defense failed. Instead of separating these successive offensives by days or weeks, he allowed only a few hours to intervene. The second position was to be carried six hours after the first, and twenty-four hours after preliminary attack the war of movement was to begin. The idea was excellent, the means were inadequate. The attempt to smash at the same time both the first and second German positions defeated its own end inasmuch as neither line was sufficiently damaged. Everywhere the destruction was insufficient and imperfect, without counting the blockhouses that were left practically intact and which gave so much trouble. Instead of overrunning the first position without striking a blow, it had to be conquered foot by foot. The tanks on which the French had counted so much could

A FIELD FORTIFICATION SUPPLY POST

These great cylindrical baskets were used to make redoubts, barriers and breastworks. Placed upright and filled with earth or sand, they were arranged several rows deep both as to depth and height and sometimes half sunk into the ground, and with the limbs of trees as reinforcements they were commonly used for field fortifications.



SHELL FACTORY AT CREUSOT

In this factory shells of large calibre are made. After they have been forged they are shaped. This factory received most of its steel from the Bethlehem Steel Works and from England. From being ill-supplied with such projectiles in the first year of the war France came to supply Russia and her allies in the Balkans.

FRENCH ARTILLERY TRAIN

Railway artillery has become as varied in its design as field artillery. Each type of railway mount has certain tactical uses and it is not considered desirable to use the different types interchangeably. Thus, there are those that gave the gun all-round fire, those which provided limited traverse for the gun, and those which allowed no movement for the gun or the carriage but were used on curved tracks to give the weapons traverse aim.

INSTRUCTION AT A FRENCH SCHOOL OF GUNNERY

This picture and the three following show stages in the firing of a gun—in this case, a "75." Here the cannoniers are ready for action. Facing the gun on either side stand the loader, the layer and the firer. Just beyond is the ammunition wagon, turned down and opened, behind which, crouching on his heels, is the fuse-puncher between two other men whose duty it is to serve out the cartridges. The instructor stands at the left.

THE LOADER RECEIVES THE CARTRIDGE

In this picture the same gun-crew is seen from the rear. The loader, standing between the wagon and the gun, has just taken in his hands a cartridge which has been passed to him by the man crouching at his left, who, in turn, had received it from the fuse-puncher. The next act is to load the gun.

THE ACT OF LOADING THE GUN

Here we have the same point of view as in the first picture, but with the men in slightly changed positions. The loader is inserting the cartridge in the breech of the gun, while the layer and the firer have taken their places astride their seats—an indication that the gun is properly laid, in other words, that the spade is sufficiently imbedded in the earth. The next step is to fire the shot.

CLEANING OUT BREECH AND BORE

If the shell, which contains the powder and which remains in the breech after the shot has been fired, fails to be driven out by the ejector, the firer must thrust a rammer down through the mouth of the gun to push the shell out of the breech. For cleaning the bore of the gun, a swab is used.

not enter the action. Finally, due to unwise publication of plans, there was no strategic nor tactical surprise. No preparation escaped the enemy, who judged how to receive the attack and make the counter-thrust.

A GERMAN VIEW OF THE FRENCH OFFENSIVE.

Indisputably, the principle of the "break-through" is excellent. The Germans did almost the same thing in their 1918 March offensive. But in modern warfare, tactics are intimately linked to armament and effectives, and on the Aisne the vision was too great. The end and the method were not compatible with the means and material at hand. The finest military conceptions are only valuable if finely executed, and in April it must be admitted that the command was worse than mediocre.

Field-Marshal von Hindenburg's verdict on the Arras-Aisne-Rheims battle must complete this account of its first phase. "In my judgment the general result of the great enemy offensive in the West had not been unsatisfactory hitherto . . . Though gaining a good deal of ground, our enemies had never succeeded in reaching more distant goals, much less in passing from the break-through battle to open warfare."

On the British front in conformance with the general scheme the Flanders battle flared up at the end of July, and did not die down until December. As on the Somme neither of the two adversaries could raise the shout of victory, though in November the British gained a striking success on another part of the line at Cambrai.

PÉTAIN REGAINS THE GROUND LOST AROUND VERDUN THE YEAR BEFORE.

In the latter half of August after a space of nine months the magic word of Verdun again thrilled the heart of France. After a three days' bombardment Pétain sent the French II Army forward astride of the Meuse, on an eleven-mile front. Success was immediate. Within a week almost all the objectives had been taken, and held in spite of German counter-attack. On September 8 another slight gain was made. The French had advanced to a penetration of 14 miles. All the fortifications between Avocourt Wood, Le Mort Homme, Corbeaux and Cumières Woods, Côte de Talou, Champneuville, Mormont Farm, Hill 240 and Fosses Wood had been taken. The French had regained the positions they had held in February, 1916.

In October Pétain's preparations were complete for a renewed stroke on the Aisne. As an example of his meticulous care in all departments, in his arrangements for transportation, every army corps had a supply station directly behind it where there was a platform 350 yards long, for discharging heavy shells, another platform the same length for light shells, another for engineers' supplies, another for macadam for roads and another for food.

THE WHOLE OF THE CHEMIN DES DAMES IS TAKEN.

Although the Germans had lost their observation posts commanding the Aisne, yet they believed that their positions south of the Ailette would stand any amount of bombing. On the 17th, Pétain began searching out these positions, hidden in quarry caverns, sometimes with 6-inch and sometimes with 8-inch guns. Having ascertained them by the German return fire, on the 20th he added some batteries of 15-16-inch guns and for three days thundered away until the rocks crumbled and the caverns lay exposed. Aeroplanes observed the breaches and then into them poured a steady stream of shrapnel from the famous French "75's," hitherto silent in hiding places near the front line. "Zero" was set for 5:15 on the 23rd and in mist and rain the French infantry pushed forward and carried Malmaison Fort in the centre and Allemant and Vaudesson on the left. Supported by a highly concentrated barrage of 16-inch shells and by squadrons of newly devised tanks, the infantry captured 10,000 prisoners and 70 heavy guns. The next day the Oise-Aisne Canal was reached, and the French consolidated their gains. Aviators found signs of preparation for the enemy's retreat which was inevitable,

"KEEP OUR LOVED ONES NOW FAR ABSENT"

A field post-office and letter box, the sight of which opens a whole realm of human history to the imagination. In a box perhaps somewhat similarly situated our "own soldier" has put his precious letters that we have devoured with such eagerness, and dwelt upon with such lingering care.

FRENCH MACHINE GUNS IN AN ORCHARD

Along the roadside a line of apple trees offers partial concealment for these gunners who have dug for themselves shallow pits as temporary gun positions. After months of trench fighting, with earthen or concrete walls shutting one in, and with shattered, desolated country lying on every side, open warfare on fresh ground makes a strange contrast.

GOING FORWARD TO THE ATTACK

A squadron of "Chars d'Assaut" or French baby tanks on the Aisne front. Because of the late spring and bad weather the ground proved impassable, and the tanks in a gallant attack near Pontavert designed to open the way for cavalry exploitation, halted at the German second line, and thereby added to the confusion and congestion of the arrested advance. French Pictorial Service

as their positions south of the Ailette and on the western ridge of the Chemin des Dames could now be enfiladed from both east and west.

On November 14 the Germans withdrew behind the Ailette abandoning the western elevations on the Chemin des Dames, with the French close at their heels, and retired until they reached prepared positions on the northern side of the valley of the Ailette. Thus by the offensive forty square miles were regained in the department of the Aisne. Pétain's operation had been a triumph for the old limited objective: less than half the front had been attacked but success so striking had followed that the enemy had had to evacuate all along the line.

MURIEL BRAY.

Yeomanry on the Edge of a Mine Crater

Chapter XLIX

On the British Front in 1917

DESPERATE FIGHTING IN MUD AND RAIN GAINS TERRITORY AT A TERRIBLE PRICE

WHEN, in November, 1916, active operations in the area of the Somme and the Ancre were no longer possible, Sir Douglas Haig directed the efforts of the armies there toward improvements and adjustments to pave the way for new advances in the spring. Trenches, roads and all means of communication required immediate and energetic attention. To help solve the serious transport problem, England and Canada contributed of their own rails, locomotives, and rolling stock; and engineers worked assiduously. And, in order to be ready to assault the strong enemy lines along the Ancre and north of that stream, the artillery was arranged in new positions.

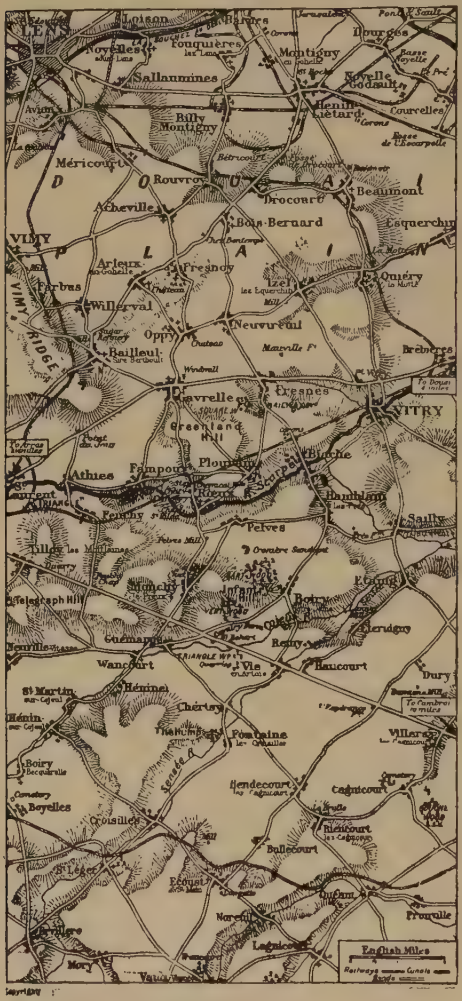
The British extend their lines and make progress.

In January, a decision was reached among the Allies to extend the British front until it should reach as far south as Roye. Before the end of February this had been accomplished. Through January and February, many local attacks near the Ancre resulted in the gradual broadening of the reclaimed section, as the Germans evacuated Grandcourt, Serre, Gommecourt and other positions, one by one. This withdrawal of the enemy—a part of Hindenburg's plan of retreat to the strongly prepared Siegfried (or Hindenburg) Line—was aided by the heavy frosts of an unusually cold January, which had hardened the ground and made it fit for the transfer of heavy guns. But when, in March, the British started to follow the main body of the retreat, springtime thaws had left the earth even more sodden and spongy than it had been in the autumn previous.

The Hindenburg Line and its several branches.

The reasons for the strategic German retreat have been explained in the previous chapter. The Siegfried Line (renamed by the Allies the Hindenburg Line), branching from the old positions just south of Arras, running through Quéant, then southward, passing west of Cambrai and St. Quentin, crossing the Oise to the heights of the Aisne northeast of Soissons, lying along the Craonne plateau there, and extending on toward Rheims, "had been built to meet the experience of the Somme battle." Its wire entanglements were so deep and close that a man could not see through them, and its low machine-gun shelters of concrete were so constructed as to be invisible from the air and to resist even tank attacks. The plan of making it a development in depth where an enemy might become ensnared only to find himself facing stronger fortifications while under enfilading machine-

gun fire, has already been described. In the northern area, further support was gained by the construction of two switch lines. First, the Oppy Line started north of Lens and made a broad bulge eastward through Oppy,



NORTHEAST AND SOUTHEAST OF ARRAS

The Douai and Cambrai roads, on either side the River Scarpe, crossed the Oppy Line and the Drocourt-Quéant Line, guarding the northern end of the Hindenburg Line.

returning to the main line southwest of Monchy. Beyond that, the Wotan Line (known better as the Drocourt-Quéant Line) was under construction between Drocourt (west of Douai) and Quéant (west of Cambrai) where it joined the Siegfried Line.

In drawing back to their new positions from the salients south of Arras and Péronne, the Teuton armies overstepped all bounds set by civilization for a people at war, from the old Mosaic injunction against destroying fruit trees to the latest unwritten laws of the modern Christian world. With deliberate intent they left in their path utter waste,—trees felled one by one, dwellings looted and wrecked, sanctuaries defiled or razed, graves torn open, wells filled in or poisoned. What they could use, the spoilers carried away; all else they rendered useless. The growth, the thought, the labor of centuries they made as nothing.

BAPAUME AND PÉRONNE ARE OCCUPIED WITH LITTLE RESISTANCE.

When, in the middle of March, the British commander perceived that the enemy front was thinning in spots, a general advance of the forces between Arras and Roye was ordered. The forward push began on March 17 and proceeded at first without serious opposition, except for a position here and there that was contested more hotly than the rest by German rearguard detachments. The greatest difficulty lay in the condition of the devastated country, where roads and bridges had been demolished and snares and mines had been planted. Nevertheless, on the first day, the British entered Chaulnes and Bapaume, while the French took possession of Roye. On the eighteenth, Péronne was occupied and in Nesle, farther south, French and British cavalry came together. With several miles of the west bank of the Somme under their control, the Allies contrived to make crossings at various points. At Brie, for instance, the engineers had a single-file foot-crossing over the ruined bridge ready in a few hours, while in less than four days the bridge was capable of supporting any traffic.

Day by day the conditions improved for the Germans, whose line was shortening and whose communication with their bases was growing more direct. Of the Allied troops exactly the reverse was true. And as the distance from their supplies broadened,

"RAGE NOT, ONLY WONDER!"

Ruthless, deliberate ruin lay in the wake of the German Army after its retreat in March, 1917. Looting, despoiling, wrecking, defiling, the hordes withdrew to their new lines. Upon some examples of their handiwork of destruction, as here in the Grande Place of Péronne, they set the derisive inscription, "Nicht ärgern, nur wundern!"

ON THE TRAIL OF THE HUN IN BAPAUME

The Australians, riding through the Rue de Péronne in Bapaume, beheld there such demolition as might be found in a town where earthquake shocks or a tornado had torn up and crumpled and crushed the buildings. But this was the intentional performance of twentieth century human beings. No wonder that a German soldier should have written, "We live now not like men, but like beasts," and "We can scarcely be looked upon as soldiers."

enemy resistance stiffened. Yet, on April 2, north of the Bapaume-Cambrai road, where they were very near the Hindenburg Line, they captured some of its advance positions on a ten-mile front. By that time, von Hindenburg's armies were established in their newly fortified lines.

THE GERMAN RETREAT INTERFERES WITH ALLIED PLANS.

The retreat had not been actually a surprise to the Allies, who had noted fighting to which General Haig had hoped to turn promptly would have to be delayed until the outcome of the French contest on the Craonne plateau might be known.

When the moving lines came to a halt the first week in April, the British armies from south to north stood as follows: Next to the French left, Sir Henry Rawlinson's Fourth Army had advanced to within about two miles of St. Quentin; Sir Hubert Gough's

TREES FELLED IN HASTE AT PÉRONNE

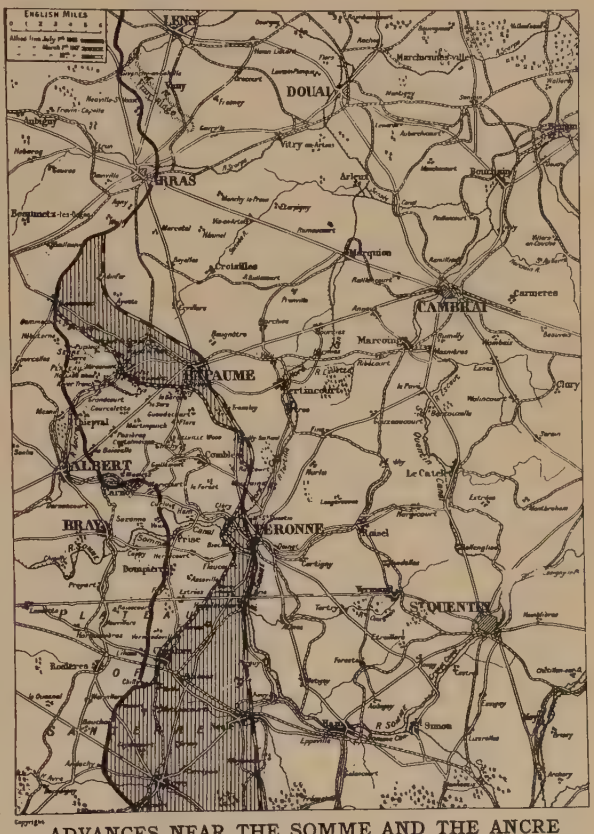
"Our pioneers have sawed and cut the trees which for days have fallen until the whole surface of the earth is swept clear," boasted the *Berliner Tageblatt*. Little orchard trees, too small to yield shelter, were destroyed as mercilessly as great roadside trees which (like those being cleared away by a British working party in the picture) became obstructions in the path of British advance. Some, because of haste, had been only partly cut through.

preparations indicating such a movement; indeed, Sir Douglas Haig felt that his efforts in the Ancre section had accelerated the German withdrawal. However, the plans he had made for the spring had to be modified in view of the change of front as well as for the sake of co-operation with the new French commander, General Nivelle, whose programme of operations has been set forth in the preceding chapter. The German salient between the Scarpe and the Ancre, which was to have been pinched between the British Third and Fifth Armies, had now dropped out. The intended attack upon Vimy Ridge could be undertaken; but the Flanders Fifth Army, in the Bapaume region, had reached the very borders of the Siegfried Line; around Arras Sir Edmund Allenby's Third Army was ready for action; opposite La Bassée and Lens lay Sir Henry Horne's First Army; and beyond them, to the sea, extended the Second Army under Sir Herbert Plumer. The whole body numbered fifty-two divisions, as over against thirty in the battle of the Somme and seven at the time of the first battle of Ypres. It was by this time an army trained and tried, disciplined by sternest conflict yet inspirited by a measure of success,—an army ready to go forward.

THE ATTACK AROUND ARRAS INTENDED TO AID THE FRENCH.

The work appointed for the British was to occupy the attention of as large a number of the German troops as possible in the north, while the French were endeavoring to shake the southern pivot of the Siegfried Line. The first part of Sir Douglas Haig's original programme fitted well into this demand, inasmuch as Vimy Ridge, forming the key to the situation at the northern pivot, around Arras, was to have been one of the main objectives for his attack. On the Ridge the enemy commanded full observation over Arras, while his own communications were shielded from view. Established there since the fall of 1914, he had not lost his hold during the French offensives of 1915, and now, in April, 1917, he claimed the whole Ridge except a small section on the northwest. Once lost, this barrier of Vimy Ridge, unsurpassed on all the Western Front "alike in natural strength and in the extent of its fortifications," would hardly be regained, since its steep approach on the eastern side would make it an impregnable wall in the way of a German offensive. The following year, in fact, furnished a demonstration that this was true.

For the initial attack of April 9 the troops responsible were the Third Army and the Canadian Corps of the First Army, to the latter falling the honor of wresting Vimy Ridge from German mastery, "the greatest success for them in the whole war." After days of steady artillery preparation and insistent battling in the air to close the eyes of the foe, there came a hush on Easter Sunday, April 8, a day of clear, sunny, springlike weather. But, the following day, through cold, drizzling rain, in the gray dimness of early morning, under a barrage that was "one canopy of shrieking steel," the men sprang forth to the assault. Out of the ancient quarries and cellars of Arras, which had been transformed into an underground camp, electric-lighted and supplied with water, poured hosts of warriors. The battle had begun.



ADVANCES NEAR THE SOMME AND THE ANCRE

The solid black line marks the positions of July 1, 1916 (before the Battle of the Somme); the finely checkered line, those of March 1, 1917; the black and white line farther east, those of March 18, the shaded area indicating the German retreat.

THE CANADIANS TAKE VIMY RIDGE WITH A BOUND.

Forty minutes sufficed for the capture of practically all the German first positions. The Canadians were well up on the Ridge; the Scottish and English, to their right, were in the eastern suburbs of Arras; and South Africans were pushing forward with their usual determination. With a short pause before attacking each new defensive system, the contest went on successfully all day; and before the end of another day the whole of Vimy

Ridge, even the difficult Hill 145, had been cleared of its Teutonic tenants; the German second position had been won all along the line; and at many points breaches had been made in the third system of defense. It must not be overlooked that the second system included works of extraordinary strength, such as had cost many days' delay in the early weeks on the Somme. Among the intricacies of the Harp, south of Tilloy-les-Mofflaines, the Railway Triangle, east of Arras, and other such fortifications, groups of tanks (of which each corps had its assignment) worked with excellent results.

ARRAS CATHEDRAL IN RUINS

When in July, 1915, the first shells fell upon the cathedral, it burned for two days. The Descent from the Cross, attributed to Rubens, and other pictures were saved; but the building joined the company of ruins witnessing the barbaric work of German invasion. Ruschin.

The achievement of the third day, April 11, was the taking of Monchy-le-Preux on its little plateau south of the Scarpe River. Here cavalry worked with the infantry and tanks came up in time to help in overcoming the sturdy defense of the enemy. Heavy losses paid for this capture; but Monchy, like Vimy, was of great value for its wide outlook. The Germans did not yield it until several counter-attacks had been repulsed.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE BRITISH TAKEN VERY EARLY.

As in most of their offensives, the British had been fighting, these three days, under very adverse weather conditions. Thick snowfalls, interspersed with wind and rain squalls, made the way impossible for rapid advance of artillery. Nevertheless, on a twelve-mile front, they had driven half-way to the Drocourt-Quéant Line, and had secured two miles of the Siegfried Line at its northern end. Twelve thousand prisoners and one hundred fifty guns made a record capture for their armies in an equal period of time.

By the fourteenth of April, in the judgment of Sir Douglas Haig, it would have been wise to close the offensive at Arras, had it been an independent movement. The enemy had continued his withdrawal, leaving in the possession of his pursuers several towns with numbers of guns and great stores of all kinds. British posts now held a front extending from the outskirts of Lens, through Vimy, Bailleul and Monchy to Fontaine-les-Croisilles, about seven miles southeast of Arras. If it had not been for the French assault about to begin, the British commander would have been satisfied to turn at once to the Flanders problem.

SUBSEQUENT ENGAGEMENTS DESIGNED TO HOLD THE GERMANS IN LINE.

The fighting during the remaining weeks of the Arras battle fulfilled its purpose of engaging great numbers of the enemy; but it drew heavily upon the man power of the British, as well. Every step was contested with sharpness. Fierce counter-attacks wrested

A VISTA ALONG THE SCARPE

This quiet, picturesque, tree-bordered bit of the River Scarpe at Rœux, east of Arras, lay in the path of the British offensive in April, 1917. Farther up its course, the Scarpe passes close beside the northern edge of Arras itself. The trade of the city is greatly facilitated by the canalization of the river. Ruschin

AT DROCOURT, BETWEEN LENS AND DOUAI

The support line, branching from the main Hindenburg Line at Quéant and running almost due north to Drocourt, covered the railways to Douai and Cambrai. As it was under construction when the battle of Arras began, Prince Rupprecht threw division after division into the front to gain time for its completion, after the British had broken the first two German systems. The struggle raged around Gavrelle, Rœux and Guémappe. British Official

back ground that had been won by awful effort. In this way, Gavrelle, Rœux, Guémappe and other villages were taken and retaken and taken again. Distinct attacks were opened on April 23, April 28 and May 3. On May 5, General Haig extended his active front to a length of sixteen miles, so as to include an attack by the Fifth Army upon the Hindenburg Line near

LENS
SOUCHEZ
VIMY
CARENCY
ARRAS
THE LABYRINTH
LA FOLIE
Bully-Grenay
Aix-Noulette
Liévin
Bouvigny
Angres
Avion
Givenchy
Méricourt
Rouvroy
Acheville
Arleux
Farbus
Willerval
Fresnoy
Oppy
Neuville
Bailleul
Ecurie
Roclincourt
Gavrelle
Thelus
Marœuil
Anzin
St Aubin
St Catherine
Dusaris
Athies
Laurent
Feuchy
Tilloy les Mofflaines
Citadel
Wailly
Beaurains
Agny
Sallaumines
Billy Montigny
Drocourt
Bois-Bernard
Beaumont
Lauwin
Esquerchin
Quiry
DOUAI
Lambres
Courchelette
Brebières
VITRY
Périn
Roeux
Guémappe
Fampoux
Ploegsteert
Roeux
Hamblain
Bellonne
Sailly
Estrée
Tortequesne
Telves
Oppy
Monchy
Boiry
Etrun
Acq
Villers
Camblain
Fresnes
Mont St Eloi
Haute Avesnes
Dainville
Warlus
Ecoivres
Chicourt
Liévin
Loison
Noyelles
Fouquières
Montigny
Sallaumines
Henin Liétard
Evin
Bourges
Auby
Flers
Courcelles
Noyelle Godault
Quinchy
Planque
Wancourt
Guémappe
Roeux
Fampoux
Ploegsteert
Athies
Feuchy
Tilloy les Mofflaines
Monchy
Boiry
Beaurains
Agny
Citadel
Dainville
Warlus
Chicourt
Ecoivres
Duisans
St Catherine
St Aubin
Anzin
Marœuil
Haute Avesnes
Dainville
Acq
Villers
Camblain
Fresnes
Mont St Eloi
Thelus
Ecurie
Roclincourt
Gavrelle
Willerval
Farbus
Arleux
Fresnoy
Oppy
Neuville
Bailleul
Vimy
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Quiry
DOUAI
Lambres
Courchelette
Brebières
VITRY
Périn
Roeux
Guémappe

success, however, were so greatly reduced by the change in conditions that had come about between the planning of the campaign and its prosecution that the wisdom of trying to carry it through must be questioned. The breaking down of the Russian ally was making possible the release from the Eastern Front of German

AMID THE RUIN THAT WAS YPRES

After centuries of varying experience this venerable city in Flanders has become the very symbol of tragedy. Her quaint dwellings, her famous Cloth Hall, her streets and her towers, crushed into dust and splinters, will breathe to coming generations a new story of romance and heroism, while their old glories remain only in the words and pictures of former historians and admirers. These "cliff-dwellings" are the remains of old French barracks.
British Official

hosts that could be poured as reserves into any section where pressure grew heavy. Nor were conditions on the other fronts helpful at this time. Finally, the devotion of British reserves to the subsidiary action at Arras and the unsatisfactory outcome of the French battle on the Aisne had further injured the prospects by causing delay and loss. But courage and enterprise were not wanting in Sir Douglas Haig and his supporters. While deploring the unfortunate circumstances, they set forward upon the campaign.

As a first move it was essential to clear the ridges before Ypres. Not in themselves of any considerable height, they overlooked the flat country around in such a way as to furnish the enemy, seated solidly upon them, with most advantageous means of observation. One writer likens the British in Ypres to foot-ball players in a stadium, with the Germans for the spectators on the benches, the sad difference being that shells instead of cheers were showered down into the arena. Another says that an offensive launched from Ypres without the precaution of clearing the ridges would put the British in the position of "fighting blindly against an enemy with a hundred eyes."

THE SMALL ELEVATIONS AROUND YPRES IMPORTANT.

Before the city, ridges running north and south formed an angle with a ridge running east and west. Where they came together, the village of Wytschaete occupied the highest point, 260 feet above the sea. (The elevation of Ypres was 82 feet.) Close by stood the neighboring village of Messines.

GENERAL SIR HERBERT PLUMER

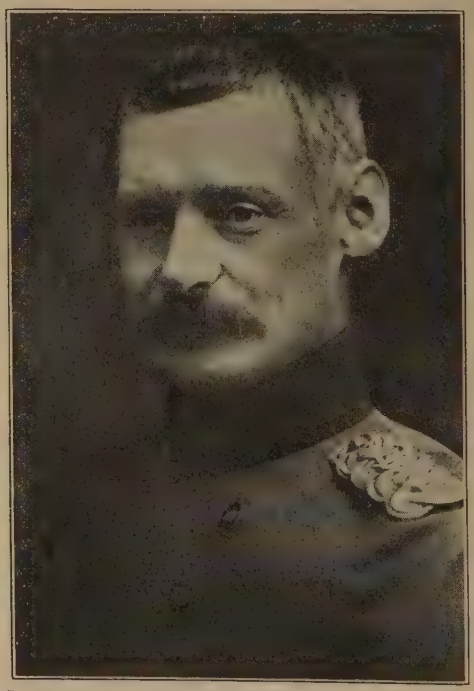
Hence the battle of June 7 is known as the battle of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge (or, according to the Tommy, the Messines-"Whitesheet" Ridge). Little remained to mark the sites of the villages—only a "dust-heap" where Wytschaete had been, and the "tooth of the ruined church of Messines." Since the end of 1914 no open fighting had taken place upon the ridge, but the Germans had spared no labor or ingenuity in preparing the place for defense, and the British had been working steadily on a scheme for its destruction.

Forming a deep curve around the foot of the ridge the first system of German defenses presented a convex front of nearly ten miles for the British to carry at the outset of their attack. On the crest, the second system lay in another, or inner, curve. About two and a half miles back from the point of this small salient, the third system formed a chord of the arc, stretching from near Oosttaverne to Gapaard. This was to be the ultimate British objective in the opening battle. Besides a fourth system, about a mile farther east, there were many cunningly placed trenches and redoubts in the woods north and northwest of the ridge, devised for raking an attacking party with a flanking fire.

From the Oise to the sea, the German front was commanded by the Crown Prince of Bavaria. North of the Douve river, which skirted the southern foot of the ridge, the Fourth Army under General Sixt von Arnim held the positions extending on to the sea. Flanking them on the south, the right wing of General Otto von Below's Sixth Army lay partly within the area of the prospective assault.

THE EXCELLENT ARRANGEMENTS OF GENERAL PLUMER.

The British troops involved were three of the six corps of the Second Army, whose commander, Sir Herbert Plumer, had shown himself as excellent a leader through the peculiarly difficult months of comparative inaction as during the stirring hours of the Second Ypres. That battle had been the last great action in which this army had taken part, and they had occupied the same position since the spring of 1915.



RUPPRECHT, CROWN PRINCE OF BAVARIA

But the calm patience and steady resolution of their commander had held their confidence and kept their spirit and energy alert. He had been the "true warden of the Flanders marches."

In the work of preparation (which had been under way for more than a year), his performance attained the highest degree of excellence. Roads and railways were improved or constructed leading toward proposed objectives; and provision was made for ample water supply by building cisterns, establishing sterilizing barges on the Lys river, and laying lines of pipe. So perfect were the arrangements that, when the battle was on, in one instance the pack carriers arrived with supplies four minutes after the troops had reached their objective, and each section was provided with water in about a half-hour after taking up a position on an objective that had been won.

AMBULANCE MEN OF THE RED CROSS AT WORK IN YPRES

The world will not soon forget that at Ypres on April 22, 1915, the Germans sent out their first wave of poison gas, adding a new horror to modern warfare. These Red Cross workers moving wounded through Ypres, when the city had become but a shell, were wearing masks as a protection against the poison fumes.

NINETEEN MINES BLOW OFF THE TOPS OF THE HILLS.

The feature of the battle of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge which makes it unique in history was the simultaneous explosion of nineteen mines on the morning of the assault. It was the culmination of a two-years'-long offensive underground, for mining had been going on all that time under the control of expert operators, members of great mining corporations. The galleries driven through the clay stratum aggregated five miles in length, and more than a million pounds of ammonal were used in the charges. Of the twenty-four mines prepared, four were outside the front chosen for this battle, and one was exploded by the enemy. Twenty-seven "camouflets" had been discharged to destroy countermines, in the course of two years, some by one side, some by the other.

Since the preparations for renewed activity were not secret, the enemy, in anticipation of a blow, made his arrangements, putting in new batteries, installing anti-tank guns, and experimenting in the building of concrete "pill-boxes;" as General von Arnim had divined that the ridge would be the object of attack, the garrisons were given orders to hold fast in the assurance of plentiful reserves for their support.

But the hour of attack had not been revealed. General Haig usually succeeded in surprising his opponents with regard to the time of an offensive. So, although a week of tremendous bombardment had been obliterating all that had formerly been left standing upon the ridge and incessant raids and air contests had been launched, the actual moment of opening the great struggle produced a shock.

THE MESSINES-WYTSCHAETE RIDGE

THE EARTH SHAKES ON THE JUNE MORNING.

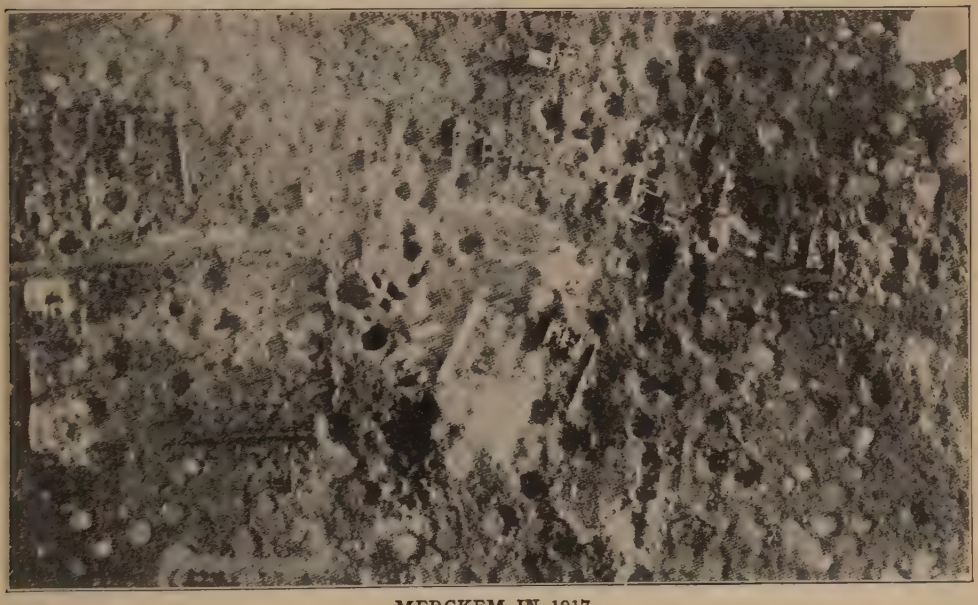
At ten minutes after three, on the morning of June 7, the nineteen mines flung up huge masses of the ridges, shaking the whole region and waking thunderous reverberations that were heard in London itself. Hill 60, on the north, which had given much trouble heretofore, was upheaved and removed. Amid the rolling dust of the shaken slopes, the infantry rushed forward. The aircraft which for days had prevented the enemy's flyers from advancing as far as their own front lines were still on guard to observe and to give aid.

Of the attacking troops, the Cheshires had spent the night in No Man's Land, and the German barrage, when it started, fell behind them. They, with an Ulster Division, worked through the Bois de l'Enfer and the other "Hell" positions situated between Messines and Wytschaete. The Ulster left wing was on the Wytschaete Ridge by shortly after five. They, with a South Ireland Division, then secured the site of Wytschaete village, which was theirs by noon. By seven o'clock, Messines had been cleared by the New Zealanders, whose right flank was protected by the Third Australian Division. After this successful start the Anzacs drove on toward the main objective, which they had won by midday. The northern positions were carried by English and Welsh troops, whose experiences varied in difficulty. By early afternoon, then, all were standing over against the German third system, ready for the last effort; and before nightfall the final objectives had been gained.

During the next week, further advance was made, so that before June 15, Gapaard had been taken, von Below's

MERCKEM IN 1915

Merckem, a Flemish village about seven miles north of Ypres, was situated in an important position between the ridge and the Houthulst Forest. It is here shown as photographed from the air in 1915, when it had suffered comparatively little from bombardment. The church (in the centre of the picture) just below the curve in the road, had lost its spire but otherwise seems to have been not greatly damaged; houses and roadways are clearly discernible.

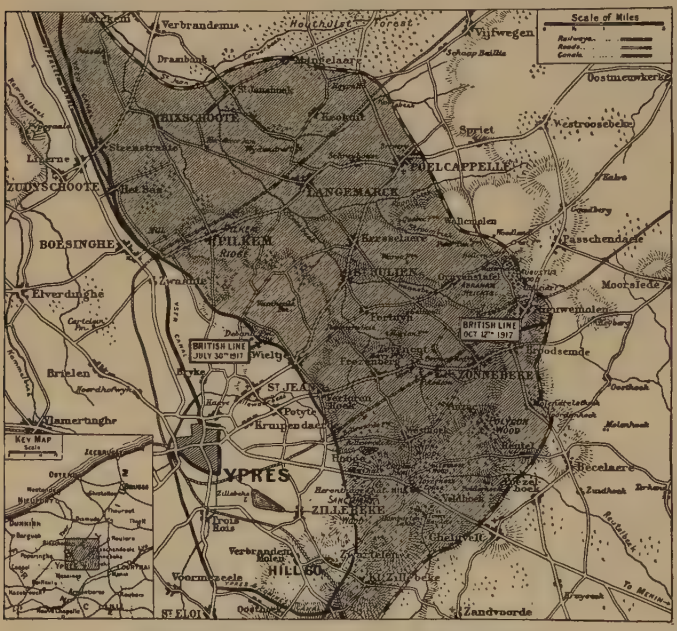


MERCKEM IN 1917

This view of Merckem, again photographed from the air, after two years of artillery bombardment had done their shattering work, shows the same spot but altered almost beyond recognition. The curving road and the outline of the church foundations are the only clues for identification. During the last week in October, 1917, the French under General Anthoine and the Belgians under General Rucquoy by a concerted attack upon the boggy tongue of land known as the Merckem peninsula (east of the Yser-Ypres Canal) gained possession of it.

army pressed back to the Warnave river, and strong positions north of the Ypres-Comines Canal cleared.

The Messines-Wytschaete battle—a brilliant introduction to the main Ypres contest—was tactically a masterpiece, a full triumph, crowning the long, skilful and painstaking preparations by Sir Herbert Plumer. It stands as "a perfect instance of the success of the limited objective." Hopes and expectations rose high, only too soon to droop heavily as the offensive proceeded against calamitous odds of circumstances.



PUSHING THE LINE BACK FROM YPRES

THE RIDGES BACK TO PASSCHENDAELE NEXT TO BE TAKEN.

In order to secure the large, strategic ends in view, the slopes still in the enemy's hands, rising as far back as Passchendaele, must be won quickly to open the way for broader objectives. Granted good weather, this would be hard enough, for any movement was almost impossible to conceal from observers on those elevations, so that tunneling was necessary, though difficult. Moreover, the ground, with its natural drainage turned aside or dammed by the furious shelling from which it had suffered, offered little solid support for transport and was so yielding that tanks were hardly anywhere able to come to the aid of the infantry. The rains which deluged the region after the offensive opened, clogged and drowned the ways until the progress made by the armies struggling through such sloughs and morasses seems all but miraculous.

Unlike the stiff, hard intrenched lines farther south, the German front here had been prepared by von Arnim so as to prove "elastic" when pressure was brought against it. A loose and lightly held first line would yield to assault only to plunge the attackers into a zone of fortifications built and arranged on a new plan. These were the thick concrete "pill-boxes," so constructed that they showed little above ground (and were thus almost safe from enemy guns), but were able to shelter a score or two of men whose machine guns could sweep a wide range in the alleys of approach where attacking parties would be caught. Besides, the German guns were placed well back so as to drop a barrage upon troops thus entrapped, while numerous reserves were waiting in the second line to drive forward a counter-stroke and prevent the offensive from maturing.

THE BRITISH-FRENCH LINE IS REARRANGED.

As a preliminary to the new stroke, the forces on the Allied front were rearranged as follows: General Rawlinson's Fourth Army replaced French troops on the Belgian coast; the Belgian Army, lying next on the south, drew in its right so as to make room for the First French Army under General Anthoine, which was to take part in the battle; the British Fifth Army,

under General Gough, held the section around Ypres, from Boesinghe to the Zillibeke-Zandvoorde road; between them and the Lys lay General Plumer's Second Army; Sir Henry Horne's First Army occupied the line from Armentières to Arras; and from Arras south to the junction with the French stretched the Third Army, now under Sir Julian Byng, General Allenby's successor.

As a consequence of the arrival of the British contingent on the coast, the heaviest blow was between the Zillibeke-Zandvoorde road (south-east of Ypres) and Boesinghe, where Sir Hubert Gough's Fifth Army was stationed. On the left, the French were to keep close touch, advancing side by side with their allies; the first step for General Plumer's army was to be a short one, for the purpose of spreading out the area of attack and engaging part of the enemy's artillery. The principal assault was made by English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh forces.

A ROAD IN FLANDERS

Words are scarcely needed where the story of blasted, blighted desolation is so graphically told by the camera. Yet there is added force in the phrases written by an historian of the Flanders battle-ground, who describes one stretch of it as "a wilderness of tree-stumps, littered branches, barbed wire entanglements, craters and ponds."

German command showed alarm by trying to take a bridge-head on the east side of the Yser, at Lombartzyde near Nieuport. The attack, which was made on July 10, succeeded in destroying most of the bridges, shattering two British battalions and seizing the northern section of the bridge-head.

THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD BATTLE OF YPRES.

For various reasons—among others, the retirement of the German lines under counter-battery work—the new advance did not begin until July 31. The whole front of attack, from a point north of Steenstraate south to the Lys river, measured more than fifteen miles. Of this, the part reserved for the

When, on the morning of July 31, at 3:50, the attack was begun which opened the Third Battle of Ypres, the excellence of the Allied barrage and the feebleness of the German barrage made for few casualties and good progress.

British and French on the north moved in accordance with their time-table through the first trenches and into the second system. Pilkem, Verlorenhoek, and Frezenberg were soon taken. Before ten o'clock, all the second objectives north of the Ypres-Roulers Railway were under control. Resistance was stronger and difficulties greater farther south, where the road to Menin crosses the Wytschaete-Passchendaele ridge; this, being the

key to the positions beyond, was guarded vigorously. Nevertheless, Sanctuary Wood was passed, and Stirling Castle, Hooge and the Bellewarde ridge captured. Then Glencorse Wood and Inverness Copse presented sternest resistance. Before the end of the day, with the French in Bixschoote and the British in St. Julien, in spite of rain and heavy counter-attacks, the line north of St. Julien had gone beyond the second system of defense; from St. Julien southward to Westhoek (which had not yet been entirely secured), the second system was held; and south of Westhoek, the first system had been taken. The crest of the ridge had been gained, and over six thousand prisoners had fallen to the British alone.

ENGLISH WOUNDED GOING TO THE REAR

For help on the painful journey along the road to hospital care, some of these Tommies have the support of a German prisoner, who, though apparently unwounded, is not the most cheerful-looking member of the party.

RAIN AGAIN INTERFERES WITH THE BRITISH ADVANCE.

The work of the Second Army had succeeded admirably, for they had added as their share of conquest La Basse Ville, Hollebeke and Klein Zillibeke, just north of the Ypres-Comines Canal.

Then came the rain, bringing days of disheartening delay during which the enemy found time to make ready for future opposition. As Sir Douglas Haig describes the conditions, "The weather had been threatening throughout the day, and had rendered the work of our aeroplanes very difficult from the commencement of the battle. During the afternoon, while fighting was still in progress, rain began, and fell steadily all night. Thereafter, for four days the rain continued without cessation, and for several days afterwards the weather remained stormy and unsettled. The low-lying clayey soil, torn by shells and sodden with rain, turned to a succession of vast muddy pools. The valleys of the choked and overflowing streams were speedily transformed into long stretches of bog, impassable except by a few well-defined tracks, which became marks for the enemy's artillery. To leave these tracks was to risk death by drowning, and in the subsequent fighting on several occasions both men and pack animals were lost in this way."

THE FAILURE TO ADVANCE CAUSES DEPRESSION AMONG THE MEN.

Besides a significant stroke in the suburbs of Lens, where on the fifteenth the Canadians captured Hill 70, the middle of August brought the second stage of the Ypres battle. It opened on the sixteenth. The French made a good advance which secured the strong bridge-head of Drei Grachten, and the British gained Langemarck with a part of the German third position, the Langemarck-Gheluvelt line (lying from Menin road along the second tier of ridges). Although there were distinct gains and the enemy lost heavily, so grievous were the losses of the British centre, owing to the weather and to the success of von Arnim's tactics (the frequency of the "pill-boxes" and the strength of the counter-attacks), that a wave of depression rolled among the British soldiers. They began to want confidence in their commanders. To check this serious state of affairs, General Haig revised his plans so as to give Sir Herbert Plumer, whose resourcefulness was well-known, command over the troublesome portion of the German front around the Menin road. This was done by extending the left of the Second Army farther north. General Plumer then made certain changes, especially in artillery tactics, that seemed advisable in order to cope more satisfactorily with the "elastic defense."

August had been the wettest August known for years, so that it took several weeks of better weather in early September to make the ground passable for another advance. This was undertaken, September 20, over an eight-mile front between the Ypres-Comines Canal and a point north of Langemarck, on a clearing morning after a night of rain. The Fifth Army did good work on its front, but the most important thing achieved was the Second Army's capture of the high ground crossed by the Menin road, where the fighting had been so persistent and costly heretofore, and where the enemy had already put in sixteen divisions. This was, in fact, the southern entrance to the Passchendaele ridge. The attack, which had moved with smoothness and precision in spite of its severity and difficulty, furnished an example of what might be accomplished by the enduring force of the British soldiers under thoughtful and patient leadership, even against the most severe opposition.

THROUGH MARSHLANDS AND UP RIDGES TO POELCAPPELLE AND PASSCHENDAELE

MUCH OF THE GROUND FAMILIAR TO THE BRITISH SOLDIER.

"Few struggles in the campaign were more desperate, or carried out on a more gruesome battlefield. The maze of quagmires, splintered woods, ruined husks of 'pill-boxes,' water-filled shell-holes, and foul creeks which made up the land on both sides of the

Menin road was a sight which to the recollection of most men must seem like a fevered nightmare. It was the classic soil on which during the First Battle of Ypres the First and Second Divisions had stayed the German rush for the Channel. Then it had been a broken, but still recognizable and featured countryside; now the elements seemed to have blended with each other to make of it a limbo outside

MOVING UP THE GUNS IN SPITE OF ENGULFING MUD

In order to hammer the "pill-boxes" into silence and to cut them off from the reserves beyond, it became necessary to shorten the range of the British guns and move them closer to their targets. This was no easy task where there was more water than solid earth on the crater-pitted ground, which seemed to be made up of "strings of small ponds." Often corduroy tracks were laid over the boggy surface. British Official

mortal experience and almost beyond human imagining. Only on some of the tortured hills of Verdun could a parallel be found."

Eleven counter-attacks along the newly won positions were a further test of British endurance. By a minor but successful attack on September 26, the ruins of Zonnebeke were secured.

Came October with downpours of rain that turned the battle area into "one irreclaimable bog" in which the conflict raged on. Of the five attacks launched during that month, the first, on October 4, intercepting a German counter-stroke, brought in five thousand prisoners and had attained all its objectives within a few hours, the British left capturing Poelcappelle and a New Zealand Division taking Gravenstafel, the crest of a spur jutting out west of Passchendaele.

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG'S REASONS FOR CONTINUING TO FIGHT.

Although it was now clear that the Third Battle of Ypres had failed strategically, through an evil and untoward combination of storms and delays, Sir Douglas Haig chose to extend the time of the campaign until Passchendaele had been fully secured. Over two months had been necessary for the conquest of ground that he had hoped to gain in a fortnight so as to pass on to the more vital objectives of his programme. Yet, he would work through to the immediate objective. It was desirable, too, to draw on the enemy's growing reserves so as to relieve the French, attacking again on the Aisne heights.

Each advance moved the lines closer up around Passchendaele itself, until on October 30, by some of the severest fighting of the whole battle, the Canadians drove their way into the very outskirts of the desired position. They formed there, however, so sharp a salient that a few days more were needed for improving the approach and supports. A little favorable dry weather came by way of help, and then, on November 6, Passchendaele fell before their sweeping advance. The dangerous salient of Ypres had been cut out of the front of battle. The Third Battle of Ypres had come to an end.

The record of gains after July 31 shows 24,065 prisoners taken, 74 guns, 941 machine guns and 138 trench-mortars. On the other hand, the price paid had been heavier than even at the Somme. Weather that prevented the air service from playing its rôle of observation and support in a region where the enemy had the natural advantages on his side, was in part accountable for this toll. Add to that the new method of defense devised by von Arnim, the stream of reserve forces from the Eastern Front, and always the mud—perhaps the worst on any battle-field ever—and there is glory for the heroes who worked up the ridges and gained them, though the greater success aimed at had to be foregone.

THE BATTLE OF CAMBRAI FOUGHT TO AID ITALY.

Before the year's end, another demand was to be made upon the British troops who had already borne enough to deserve a time of reprieve and rest. There was no possibility of another extensive undertaking at this time, but Sir Douglas Haig felt that the enemy must be engaged in order to keep him from sending greater numbers into Italy, where the southern ally was making a desperate stand at the Piave river after the Caporetto breakdown and retreat. England had sent as her best contribution General Plumer to Italy. Now she was about to continue her efforts on the Western Front partly for the sake of Italy's safety. There was, besides, a desire to offset the discouraging experiences of the year by some heartening success that would lift the morale of the Allied peoples at home and on the field.

The attack upon Cambrai was so planned as to restore the element of surprise which had not been much employed in the more recent offensives. The importance and significance of the battle as it was fought lie in the success of the methods tried out by both sides, methods to be used conclusively in the campaigns of 1918. That of the Allies was the sharp, sudden "crash" attack with squadrons of tanks to cut the way through and co-ordinate with the infantry; that of the Teutons was the massing of hidden reserves just far enough back to be secretly brought forward and thrown into line where they had not been anticipated.

THE TANKS AT LAST COME INTO THEIR OWN.

The front chosen for assault was before Cambrai—a seven-mile line between the Amiens-Cambrai road and the Péronne-Cambrai road. The most formidable barrier in the way of advance was the Scheldt Canal which lay beside the Scheldt river. Cambrai was not definitely an objective, although it might be taken; but the ground to be attained was on the shoulders west and south of the town—Bourlon Wood and the heights east of the Scheldt Canal, where Crèvecœur was situated. From these points of vantage it would be possible to make the Germans uncomfortable in their positions beyond.

The ground was suitable for the use of tanks, which had been of no real avail on the broken, muddy flats of Flanders. But here, the surface had been little affected by battle and had no great natural inequalities. Since the size of the early tanks had been recognized as a disadvantage, providing targets for hostile guns, both French and English had been producing numbers of smaller machines, which are known as "whippets." At the Battle of Cambrai the tank had its first great triumph and was fully vindicated.

No long preliminary bombardments prepared the enemy for the coming

blow. The plan of General Haig was to break through with a sudden shock into the German lines, then send in cavalry to undo as far as possible the enemy's system before reinforcements could be gathered for a counter-movement. He hoped, by the surprise, to gain forty-eight hours before effective resistance could be organized. In case the venture moved rapidly toward success, French troops were to co-operate.

A single gun-shot, on the morning of November 20, gave the signal for a bombardment along a twenty-mile front, from Bullecourt south to the St. Quentin sector. At the same time, under cover of mist, smoke and gas, moved forward the tanks, which had ingeniously been kept from the view and knowledge of the enemy. The attacking army was the Third, under Sir Julian Byng, who, as we have noted, succeeded to the command of General Allenby when the latter was transferred to Palestine.

EXCELLENT PROGRESS MADE IN THE FIRST ONRUSH.

The first sweep forward was one of the most rapid and remarkable advances accomplished up to this time. One division, before evening, had reached Anneux, nearly halfway to Cambrai, and had carried the Siegfried Reserve Line on the way. Another had driven the enemy from the bank of the canal, pushed along the Siegfried Line and carried the German trench system west of the canal as far as the Bapaume road. At Flesquières, a single German artillery officer held up the advance by firing upon the tanks until he died. To the south, Marcoing was taken. Side by side with the infantry, where possible, the cavalry were at work, although at Masnières they were delayed by the Germans' having destroyed the bridge at this vital point.

Further gains were made on the twenty-first; yet the objectives were not attained. Bourlon Wood, thickly sown with machine guns, had not been entered, although the village of Fontaine-notre-Dame between Bourlon and Cambrai had fallen; Crèvecœur and Rumilly had not been secured, nor had the final line been broken sufficiently to let the cavalry through. The salient as it now stood could not be held. Retreat or further advance must be chosen. Sir Douglas Haig, unmindful of the strong German reserves close at hand, decided to press forward upon the Bourlon heights. Furious fighting went on there for several days, while the positions on other parts of the line were improved. By the twenty-seventh, the gains reported were 10,500 prisoners and 142 guns, with 14,000 yards of the main Siegfried Line and 10,000 yards of the Reserve Line captured, and, all together, over sixty square miles of territory occupied. London, rejoicing, set her bells ringing for "Cambrai." Then came Ludendorff's reply. During the last week of November, sixteen fresh German divisions were introduced upon the field of battle where General von der Marwitz and his Second Army were situated in the area under attack. The order issued on the twenty-ninth stated, "We are now going to turn the (British) embryonic victory into defeat by an encircling counter-attack."

LUDENDORFF MAKES A SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-ATTACK.

Ludendorff's tactical surprise succeeded here as it had at Riga and at Caporetto; for the reserve troops had not been suspected, so well were they kept concealed. In carrying out his full intention he was not so successful, although twenty-four divisions, nearly all fresh, were used in the great counter-stroke. His object was to pinch the salient in from both sides and so cut off the centre, striking heavily there at the same time.

The blow fell on November 30 and crushed through on the south where the new line of the salient joined the old British line. There a division, exhausted in the Flanders fighting, had been placed while its new material should be in training. It was not strong enough to hold, and the enemy drove through taking Gonnelieu, Villers-Guislain and Gouzecourt. On the left and in the centre, the resistance was gallant and firm, so the Germans

FORT GARRY HORSE ON PARADE IN FRANCE

©Canada, 1919

FORT GARRY HORSE AFTER THE SUCCESSFUL CHARGE AT CAMBRAI

A squadron of these horsemen from the Canadian Cavalry Brigade crossed the canal by a temporary bridge near Masnières; drove forward about two miles into enemy territory; captured a German battery; attacked and overpowered a body of German infantry in a sunken road; then, misleading the enemy by stampeding those of their horses that had not fallen, fought on dismounted. By night they pushed back to the British lines, taking their wounded and their prisoners.

failed of the large success they had entered upon. But the losses on both sides were desperately heavy. Gouzecourt was recovered by the British Guards Division which came forward to strengthen the wavering line; but the Bourlon position was too difficult a salient to keep. It was relinquished by a skilful withdrawal on December 4-7.

THE GERMANS GAIN BACK ONE PART OF THEIR LOSSES.

In the end, the Germans held seven square miles of the ground taken newly from the British, while the latter kept sixteen square miles of what they had seized from the Germans, including a seven-mile stretch of the Siegfried Line. In prisoners and casualties the results were about equal. It had been a brilliant feat of arms—"the most successful single surprise attack up to this time on the Western Front." Whether it should have been undertaken or whether Sir Douglas Haig should have closed it after the first dashing advance, are questions that may never be satisfactorily decided.

Viewed in the light of the operations of 1918, Cambrai is of especial interest. It offered a foretaste of the return to open fighting, and it gave warning (which, however, was not heeded) of the tactics which were to keep victory wavering in the balance for months, during the last year of the war.

RETROSPECT OF THE BRITISH FIGHTING FOR THE YEAR.

In looking back upon the British battles of 1917—Arras in April, the Messines Ridge in June, the Third Ypres from July to November, and Cambrai in November and early December—we get an impression of steady, arduous, exhausting fighting, well-planned for the most part, pushed with admirable spirit and endurance, yielding a gain of territory not extensive but important for its dominating character. It was brilliant fighting for successes that were not fully adequate to compensate for the struggle and the loss—not quite determinate. It was such a transition stage as can be reckoned rightly only in relation to what precedes and what follows. The process that had been the only successful method under earlier conditions—the war of attrition, with the limited objective—was no longer the best after the events of this year had shifted the conflict practically onto a single front, giving the enemy the advantage of almost unlimited reserves.

The actual achievement was not inconsiderable. Prisoners taken numbered 125,000. From the Oise to the North Sea the Allies had gained advantageous positions, through the capture of commanding ridges which had long overlooked their own lines. To Canada had been granted the distinction of regaining Vimy Ridge, Hill 70 (which had been a fateful fighting ground in the Battle of Loos in 1915), and Passchendaele.

Yet, there was much to offset these advantages. The levies for the British armies were not sufficient to keep the ranks filled with men that were trained and ready. And, under the pressure resulting from the Russian failure and the exhaustion due to fearful and unceasing effort under the worst kind of weather conditions, for which the British movements are said to have become "an accurate barometer," the strongest spirits sagged. The Italian set-back added to the depression.

That united consideration might be devoted to the grave problems troubling the Allies, in November at a conference of prime ministers and chiefs of staff from Great Britain, France and Italy, a Supreme War Council was established. By this council was appointed, then, the Inter-Allied General Staff consisting of General Foch, General Wilson and General Cadorna.

L. MARION LOCKHART

Australians in camp in Egypt

CHAPTER L

The Conquest of Palestine

THE BRITISH AND THEIR ARAB ALLIES WREST THE HOLY LAND FROM THE GRASP OF THE TURK

FROM Gallipoli Lord Kitchener sailed to Egypt, and the story is current that he summed up the situation on that front in early 1916 by his question: "Are you defending the Canal, or is the Canal defending you?"

It matters little whether the story is true or not. It was to the point. Was the Egyptian Expeditionary Force to continue to think and act locally, or was it to advance to a broader view in which the true value of the canal as an artery of empire and as a touchstone of British prestige in the East was justly appreciated? Events had shown that the problems of defending the canal and of defending Egypt were not identical. The Turk had crossed the desert once, he might do it again. He had placed casual and stray mines in the canal, he might accomplish greater things. How then could supplies and reinforcements be taken to Mesopotamia, relying almost entirely upon Britain because of the breakdown of the Indian Army machine?

THE MEANING OF THE CAMPAIGN UNDERTAKEN IN 1916.

Only a new line of defense for the canal east of the desert would remove the threat of strangle-hold upon the canal. Such a line could be gained only at the cost of a vigorous offensive. Upon this ground the Egyptian Expeditionary Force embarked in 1916 upon a campaign which was to lead it not only to the Holy City itself, but to a conquest extending from "Dan even unto Beersheba."

Different fronts have had their different needs at different periods. Desert campaigning recognized two great factors: water supply and transport. Without these nothing could be attempted, with them all might be accomplished. The Desert of Sinai had no water supplies save such amounts as were collected in Roman or Babylonian cisterns or in pools in the rocks in scattered spots where the winter rains were heavy. These could not be relied upon for large forces. Water in quantities sufficient for numbers of men and animals had to be run out into the sandy wastes from the sweet water canal which ran beside the waters of the ship canal.

THE WATERS OF THE NILE RUN INTO THE JORDAN.

Dwellers in Egypt are subject to a troublesome disease (*Bilhaziosis*) developed from drinking the waters of the Nile, which contain a parasitic worm. In the new system this danger was fully guarded against. The water was passed under the ship canal in siphons, having filters attached, into reservoirs on the eastern bank. Here it was again filtered, chlorinated and pumped forward to its destination. There were

in the water system, at its fullest development, seventeen pumping stations. At all important troop centres reservoirs were built which served the camel transport, bearing the water in advance of railhead and pipe line. Macbeth was told by the witches that he was safe "till Birnam Wood do come to Dunsinane," and in fancied security he plunged to ruin. The Arabs had a

SUEZ CANAL, THE CENTRAL ARTERY FOR FOUR CONTINENTS

The Canal, through which Asiatic, Australian and African elements passed to mingle in the service of the great system of British Empire, was a vitally essential organ. For its defense was developed the campaign in Palestine, which added a chapter of modern romance to the mediaeval and ancient stories of that old, old battle-ground.

saying that Palestine could not be conquered until a prophet turned the waters of the Nile into Jordan. Under General Allenby (whose very name the Bedouins thought presaged victory, *Allah*, God, and *Nebi*, a prophet) was brought to pass that which to the people of the desert had seemed the great impossibility.

Equally important was the question of transport. In Western Egypt experiments had established the value of motor transport, but in the Sinai district the sand was softer, and camel and horse transport across the roadless waste had been the only reliance.

Kitchener had demonstrated the need of a railroad in desert campaigning in the Sudan, and early in 1916 engineers began a standard gauge line upon the eastern bank of the Canal. Natives, formed into the Egyptian Labor Corps, under British officials did valuable work both upon railway and pipe line. "The standard gauge line running from Kantara to Palestine was the keystone of strategic structure in Eastern Egypt. It was the backbone, the arteries, the very life-blood of the Army." Kantara was formerly a quarantine station with two houses and a mosque; with the development of the railroad its growth was amazing. There were great wharves where ocean-going vessels discharged their freight, a big filtration plant and pump-house and siphons, vast ordnance stores, hospitals and workshops.

CAMELS COME FROM EVERY PART OF THE WORLD.

Camel transport was thoroughly reorganized, too. The natives of

CAMPAIGNING IN THE DESERT

In the sandy desert one can hardly construct a shelter, still less a block-house; machine gunners had therefore to content themselves with the feeble protection afforded by heaped-up stones. Exposed to the pitiless rays of a sub-tropical sun the men served their guns with uncomplaining cheerfulness and fortitude through long hours under hostile fire.

AUSTRALIANS ON THE LINE OF FIRE

In the sand of the desert trench-digging was an arduous affair. To make a trench three feet wide a cut of fifteen feet was necessary. Then battens with canvas backs were put in and anchored, and the spaces behind refilled with excavated soil. A tiny rent in the canvas would allow the sand to filter through alarmingly; when the khamseen blew a whole series of trenches would be filled up in a night.

Egypt were astounded at the numbers assembled: from every camel-market of the world, from India to Morocco, the camel came to Egypt. When the natives or French colonists were asked as to the camels' rations they laughed, for how could one tell how much a beast ate in pasturage? Yet the British soldier — like Robinson Crusoe — evolved a system of his own and, stable-fed, the camel thrived. Four kilos of straw and four kilos of millet as Wadi Halfa. The first four months of 1916 were entirely given over to various preparations for a great advance. In addition to rail and pipe-laying, the defenses of the canal were strengthened, and to enlarge the area of safety, parties were sent out into the desert to drain off all water the enemy might use within a sixty-mile radius. Thus in April, from one big pool at Er Rigm, 5,000,000 gallons were taken, and by June not a bucketful of

LIGHT CAVALRY OF THE DESERT

Camels, like horses, are differently bred for different purposes. Those for burden-carrying are heavier and larger than those which are destined for riding purposes. The camels in the picture are meharis, fitted by their slender proportions to move with remarkable speed, capable, indeed, of a rate of over 100 miles in 24 hours. They come from northern and central Africa. Their riders, here, are Arab allies of the British.

or *dourrah* were apportioned daily, and in camps and bivouacs the camel was picketed like the horse. It is a tribute to German thoroughness to relate that manuals in Arabic on the care of camelry were picked up after the Battle of Romani and used thereafter by the Egyptian Army with great profit.

The position on the Eastern Egyptian Front had been made easier by the victories early in 1916 over the Grand Sheikh of the Senussi, but then the Sultan Ali Dinar rose in Darfur, and the Sirdar had to turn his attention to this open evil. To lighten his task Sir Archibald Murray sent troops to take over the Nile district as far south water was available in a wide strip of desert.

THE TURKS ATTACK THE GANGS CONSTRUCTING THE RAILWAY.

The Turks descended upon the guards protecting the construction gangs on the railroad, and at the end of April three regiments of yeomanry and a half company of engineers suffered substantial losses when, under cover of dense fog, several thousand Turks in three columns attacked at Oghratina, Katia and Dueidar. But the railway went on and by July reached Romani. There in the third week the Turk attacked and a battle — the most serious in the campaign fought on Egyptian soil — ensued.

It was the hot season when the thermometer registered 100-115° in the shade, and a man got sunstroke in a bell tent if he moved without his helmet. Both sides were wont to use this season for preparation rather than for fighting, and upon this the Turk had reckoned. His preparations had gone on secretly for months; equipment had been especially made in Germany. His camel pack-saddles were the best in the country, his machine-gun and mountain-gun packs scientifically practical. To bring up 4-inch, 6-inch, even 8-inch howitzers he had evolved an ingenious road in the sand by cutting two trenches each a foot deep and eighteen inches wide which he filled in with brushwood and tough scrub and covered with sand, or, where the sand was too soft, with wide planks.

As they made evening reconnaissance over Bir el Abd, British airmen discovered this large force of the enemy within fifty miles of the canal. Under command of the German general Kress von Kressenstein, the Turkish force numbered some 18,000 men. At midnight on August 3rd, the Turks attacked and fighting continued throughout the day. "Allah, finish Australia" the Turks shouted as they charged. Pivoting on the shore the British cavalry withdrew so as to entangle the enemy in difficult sand-dunes. When reinforcements came up a counter-attack was delivered, and by nightfall the enemy was in full retreat. He was not suffered to get off lightly, but for four days was driven before the cavalry. When pursuit halted it was found to have covered nineteen miles, and in its course to have captured 4,000 prisoners and a large quantity of stores. In addition, Turkish casualties amounted to 5,000, so that in all the enemy suffered fully fifty per cent wastage of his attacking force. The Battle of Romani marks the last attempt to attack the Suez Canal and Egypt. Henceforth, in the campaign the Turk was on the defensive.

"THE BREAD LINE" IN THE EAST

A remarkable picture of the Camel Transport in Palestine laden with bags of bread ready for the men in the front lines. Each camel's burden though bulky was not so heavy as it looks, and the men learning from the native drivers quickly became experienced in making their loads.

THE INTERRUPTED PROGRESS OF THE ADVANCE.

Throughout the autumn the railway pushed slowly on. As soon as it reached a suitable spot stores were collected and the front cleared. Then followed a pause for the army while the railroad was again advanced. Water was brought up in great tanks until the pipe-line could be laid, and where the front overshot the railhead the gap was bridged by camel transport. After the Battle of Romani, the Turks had consolidated a position at Bir-el-Mazar, twenty miles to the east. They were there attacked by the Desert Column operating under Sir Philip Chetwode and withdrew to El Arish. There was again a pause while the engineers toiled to bring up the railway. During the interval the Royal Flying Corps did much bombing work over the enemy's positions, and the cavalry was active. By December 20 the advance was ready again, but airmen discovered that the Turk had evacuated his lines without pausing to give battle. He was followed by a flying column and found in a strong position to the south at Magdhaba.

The British attack that followed was delivered entirely by mounted troops: the Australian Light Horse and New Zealand Mounted Rifles operated against right flank and rear, and the Imperial Camel Corps against the front. Mirage delayed the work of the horse artillery batteries, so that as the day wore on shortage of water became a serious menace to the continuance of the attack. Orders were given, therefore, to press the charge and by four o clock the place was won. This time the Turk retreated to Rafa on the border of Syria, while pursuit halted until the Egyptian Labor Corps and the engineers could send forward supplies. In a fortnight all was ready again and Sir Philip Chetwode's Desert Column left El Arish on the evening of January 8, 1917, and at dawn on the 9th had surrounded the enemy. The action lasted ten hours, and mobility and tactical boldness carried the day. At last the desert had been conquered: the Promised Land was in sight.

THE BRITISH ON THE BORDERS OF THE PROMISED LAND.

Briefly, the positions of the contending forces at the end of February 1917 were: while the main Egyptian Expeditionary Force had reached El Arish, portions of the army had crossed into Palestine at Rafa and the cavalry had penetrated to Khan Tunas. The Turkish line defending Syria ran from Gaza to Beersheba, both places were strongly fortified. Dobell's first objective was Gaza — that point on the Jerusalem railway which had served as a base for the attacks upon Egypt. Like all border cities, Gaza has long legendary and historical associations. One of the five lordships of the Philistines, it was the scene of Samson's triumph when he carried off the city's "massy gate and bar" to the top of a neighboring hill, and of his humiliation when he worked as a slave at the mill among his enemies. In crusading days Gaza had witnessed the triumph of Frank and of Saracen. In this last war against the Turk the city was to be the site of three sanguinary battles, and of six months' trench warfare. Taken and retaken some forty or fifty times, well might its walls re-echo, "Happy is the city that has no history."

In preparation for the assault upon the fortress, at the end of March a large force was concentrated at Rafa and marched up secretly at night. The first objective was secured without serious opposition. Meanwhile from the north a cavalry screen had pierced into the town itself. But a sea-fog had cost two hours' precious daylight—a vital thing where water shortage limited the fighting to daylight. At this juncture, as the Turks received strong reinforcements, the British were given orders to retire, for they were strung out on a thin line investing the city and had no water for their horses, although they were within measurable distance of their goal. Thus for two days' battle they had nothing to show save considerable casualties.

THE SECOND ATTACK ON GAZA LIKEWISE UNSUCCESSFUL.

For three weeks both sides made preparations for renewing the struggle:

the British were reinforced by some tanks and hoped to cover the 2,000 yards' open advance across the sandy plain under their screen and a strong artillery preparation, as well as enfilading fire from a flotilla at sea. The Turkish outposts of Wadi-Gaza were captured on the 17th of April without difficulty, and the public expected a victory as far-reaching in its effects in Palestine as had been that of Kut in Mesopotamia. But the Turks had been strongly reinforced and had in line five infantry divisons supported by cavalry and good artillery served by Austrian gunners. Furthermore, they had strengthened their intrenchments. The battle was hotly contested throughout the 19th but the British tanks were too few in number, and some of them caught fire, so that the infantry in frontal advance lost tragically as the enemy machine guns cut down swath after swath. Under cover of dark such as survived the hail of fire crept back and dug themselves in at Mansourah. Had the Turk counter-attacked, the whole force would have been at his mercy, but he contented himself merely with coming out of his trenches and exulting over the victory, and the British line stayed where it was.

Because the results did not correspond to the hopes of writers who had no understanding of the difficulties of the enterprise, and who underestimated the fighting value of the Turk, a violent stir followed in the British Press and Parliament. Sir Archibald Murray was recalled, and Sir Edmund Allenby appointed to succeed him.

GENERAL ALLENBY, THE NEW COMMANDER OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMY.

General Edmund H. H. Allenby was fifty-six years old when he succeeded to the command of the Third Army in Egypt. From his first commission in the Inniskilling Dragoons he had served in every war for the Empire. In the days of the retreat from Mons he had commanded the Expeditionary Cavalry Force with distinction. With his coming the Egyptian Expeditionary Force was reshaped. The whole force was organized into corps, and the strength of the artillery and infantry considerably augmented. In this army all the Empire was represented except Canada. There were English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh battalions, batteries and regiments. Every state in the Australian Commonwealth had regiments, as had also New Zealand, while the Maoris furnished a battalion. There was a brigade of South Africans,

GENERAL SIR HERBERT LAWRENCE

General Lawrence under Sir Archibald Murray was in Command of the land operations in Egypt during 1916, and played a distinguished part in repelling von Kressenstein's invasion during July and August. In January, 1918, he was appointed Chief of General Staff.

and from India many warlike races: Ghurkas, Sikhs, Bikaners, and Punjabis. The tea-planters of Ceylon came to Egypt as a rifle corps, from Singapore and Hong-Kong a mountain battery.

The three corps into which Allenby organized the force were thus composed: The XXth Corps comprised the 10th (Irish), 53rd (Welsh), 60th (London), and 74th (Dismounted Yeomanry) Divisions. In the XXI Corps were included the 52nd (Scottish Lowland), 54th (East Anglian), and 75th (Wessex and Indian) Divisions. The Desert Corps was made up of the Australian Mounted Division, the Anzac Mounted

Copyright ILLUSTRATING THE TURKISH DEFENSES ON THE GAZA-BEERSHEBA LINE

Division and the Yeomanry Division. There was in addition a composite brigade of French and Italians — familiarly known as "Mixed Vermouth."

GENERAL ALLENBY'S PLANS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

When Allenby took over command at the end of June, 1917, he submitted a report on the military situation and outlined the necessary conditions in which an offensive operation might be undertaken in the autumn or winter of 1917. The enemy's line from Gaza to Beersheba, some thirty miles, was a strong one. "Gaza," he stated, "had been made into a strong modern fortress, heavily intrenched and wired, offering every facility for protracted defense." The remainder of the enemy's line consisted of a series of strong groups of works. These groups were generally from 1,500 to 2,000 yards apart, except that the distance from the Hareira group to Beersheba was about four and a half miles. Lateral communications were good, and any threatened point of the line could be very quickly reinforced.

Such were the positions. Allenby's plan was to deliver a decisive blow against the enemy's left flank where his line bent back at Hareira and Sheria. First, however, it was essential to clear away the isolated position of

AGRICULTURE IN PALESTINE

Somewhat primitive methods for cultivating the soil exist in Palestine where changes, as in all eastern countries, come slowly. The Arab does not drive his yoked ox and ass by means of reins but with his long pole taps horns or ears for direction and uses his voice for checking or starting. Henry Ruschin.

WITH THE BRITISH EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

Shortage of water was the primary difficulty in the Palestine Campaign, but the contour of the country was much broken up by dried-up water courses or *Wadis* whose beds on the edges of the desert among the early slopes of the hills presented great obstacles to wheeled transport. Engineers are shown making a practicable crossing over such a gully, which after rains would be filled with a swift spate.

Beersheba where there — and there only — was a good water supply, and at the same time by an operation against Gaza keep the enemy in doubt as to the real object of attack. Allenby hoped in turning the Turkish left flank to allow room for his own mounted troops, in which he was superior, to have ground to manoeuvre. The difficulties were formidable because there was no water except at Beersheba until Hareira and Sheria were captured; and there were no good roads for motor transport. To meet this last difficulty 30,000 camels (the whole of the strength available for the Expeditionary Army) were allotted to the Eastern force to enable it to be kept supplied with food, water and ammunition fifteen miles in advance of railhead, while a branch line from Gamli towards Beersheba was rapidly put under construction.

THE FAMOUS OLD TOWN OF BEERSHEBA IS TAKEN.

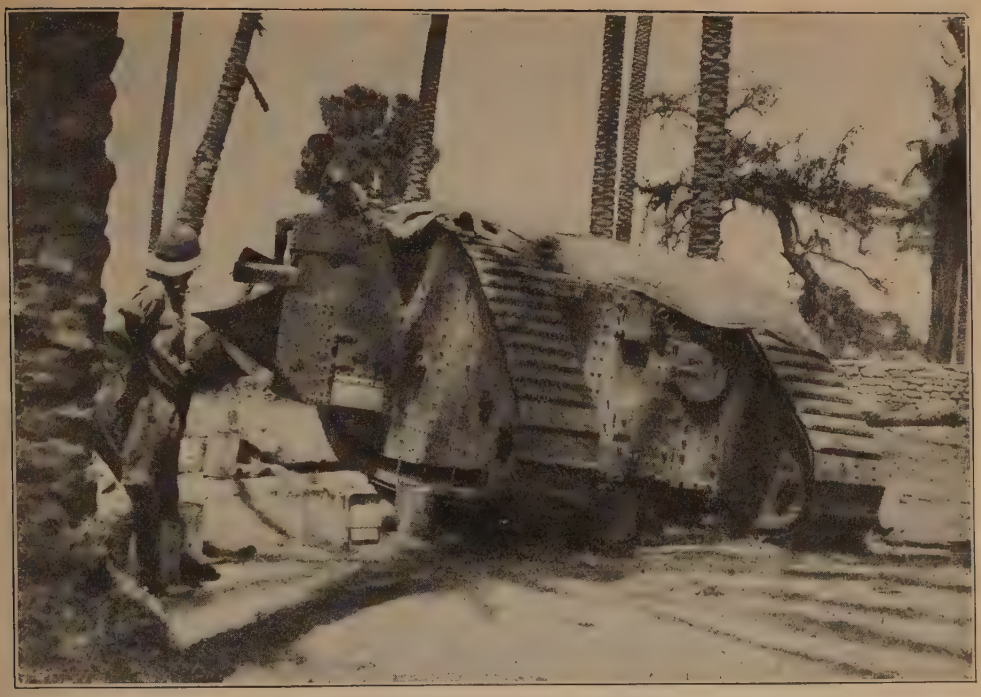
During the hot weather and until October vigorous preparations were made by both sides. October 31 was fixed for the attack on Beersheba, and the eastern force under General Chetwode entrusted with its operation. Four days earlier the bombardment of the Gaza defenses opened, and monitors and warships joined in with the bombardment on the 30th. To keep the attack a surprise, units detailed for attacking Beersheba from south and southwest made a night march and were in position by dawn of the 31st. To bring their guns within range it was necessary first to capture the enemy's advanced works at Hill 1,070, two miles southwest of the town. Then wire-cutting proceeded and the final assault ordered for 12:15 P.M. had by 7 P.M. attained all its objectives. Meanwhile, mounted troops moved out and by a night ride of thirty-five miles got into the hills five miles to the east of Beersheba. There was fighting on the tangled slopes until late afternoon. Thence to the city the approach was over an open plain and progress was slow. At 7 P.M. the Australian Light Horse, using their fixed bayonets as lances against the Turks, rode straight at the town, galloping over two deep trenches and sweeping forward in irresistible charge. The enemy was completely taken by surprise and lost heavily in prisoners and guns.

Thus with Beersheba fallen and the Turkish left flank exposed, the date of the main attack upon Gaza which would draw off further enemy reserves could be fixed. On November 2 the assault was begun by the western force. To the west the Turkish defenses were flanked by Umbrella Hill, and General Bulfin, after capturing this, planned to take the hostile works on a front of 6,000 yards from the hill to Sheik Hasan. The approach was difficult and necessitated an advance in the open over sand-dunes which rose in places to one hundred and fifty feet. The attack was timed before dawn because of the distance to be covered before reaching the enemy's position: it was successful, reached all its objectives and captured four hundred and fifty prisoners besides inflicting heavy casualties. The whole Gaza position was now distinctly threatened.

THE TURKS ATTEMPT TO RELIEVE GAZA BY AN ATTACK ELSEWHERE.

Meanwhile on the right mounted troops had pushed into the difficult waterless hill country north of Beersheba in order to secure the flank of the attack on Sheria, and another body had pushed north along the Hebron road to seize the water supply at Dhaheriya. At this point, taking a gambler's chance, the Turk risked all his available reserves in an effort to entangle Allenby's forces in the difficult country north of Beersheba and so cause the British Commander to make alterations in his original offensive plan. Had he succeeded in his design of drawing considerable forces against him, the flank attack on the Hareira-Sheria positions might have failed, and the possession of Beersheba then would have been nothing but an incubus of the most inconvenient kind.

With rare good judgment Allenby over-rode this diversion, detaching enough troops to draw in and exhaust the enemy reserves, but at the same time pushing forward his own attack



TANK AMONG THE PALM TREES

In the second battle of Gaza tanks, brought up by rail from Egypt, were used but there were not enough of them to be effective. The advance was in the open across 3000 yards of sand, progress was slow, and several of the tanks were hit by shells and burned out. British Official

THE IMPERIAL CAMEL CORPS

The Imperial Camel Corps consisted not only of fighting units but of draught and transport detachments as well. Attached for the most part to the Desert Column of the Egyptian Expeditionary Army they were nevertheless a mobile force swung where the need was greatest. In the battle at Magdhaba they first co-operated with the Anzacs and thereafter the association was one of mutual esteem. Napoleon instituted a similar body when in Egypt.

on the Sheria defenses at Kauwukah and Rushdi on the 6th. "This attack was a fine performance, the troops advancing eight or nine miles during the day and capturing a series of very strong works covering a front of about seven miles, the greater part of which had been held and strengthened by the enemy for over six months." The

ed themselves on the north bank in face of considerable opposition from the Turkish rearguard. By the morning of the 8th the retreat was general all along the line, and all the original Turkish positions were in British hands. The enemy opposite the right flank had retreated into the Judean Hills. Later he reorganized and descended

AUSTRALIAN MILITARY MOTOR CYCLISTS IN PALESTINE

Crossing the desert of Sinai there was little use for the motor bicycle because the sand was too soft in many places. Roads were constructed by laying down wire-netting which formed some sort of support for wheeled transport. In Palestine, however, roads were numerous though poor, especially in the coastal plain. Red Cross

Turks fell back and mounted troops took up the pursuit and pushed on to occupy Huj and Jemammeh.

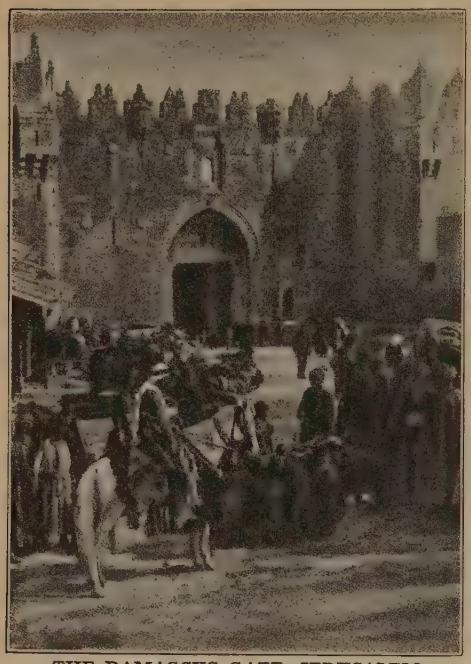
THE TURKS EVACUATE GAZA AND RETIRE SULLENLY.

On the left the bombardment of Gaza still continued, and an attack was ordered for the night of the 6th-7th. Little resistance was offered and when patrols were pushed forward the enemy was found to have evacuated the city, leaving strong rearguards at Beit-Hanun and Attawinah, who fired on the city as the British entered it. Thus skilfully had Kress von Kressenstein evaded another battle. Cavalry advanced to Wadi el Hesi and established

to the plain on the flank of the pursuing force to create a diversion.

Pursuit followed and was in *échelon* with the left flank advanced, for further east the enemy rearguard clung to Beit Hanun and Attawinah all through the 7th, and thus it was that Jaffa fell some weeks before the capture of Jerusalem was attempted. No considerable body of the enemy was cut off for the rearguards fought obstinately. When Cavalry and Royal Flying Corps reported that the retreat was disorganized, the infantry pressed forward. All arms suffered much from thirst, for the *khamseen* was blowing and the hot air was heavily

English Miles
0 5 10 15
Railways
Roads
ACRE
HAIFA
Mt. Carmel
Pl. of Esdraelon
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
Safed
Sea of Galilee
Nazareth
Seffurieh
Shefa Amr
El Lejjun
Kuffin
Jenin
NABLUS (SHECHEM)
Jemmain
Akraba
Tulluza
Tubas
Beisan
Irbid
Kefrenjy
Es SALT
JAFFA (JOPPA)
Lydda
Ramleh
Yebna
Bireh
JERUSALEM
Bethlehem
Jericho
Dead Sea
Neba
El Kustine
Esdud
El Meidel
Jordan
Kh. Fusail
Kh. Atuf
Kh. Kaun
Kh. Nasur
Shunet Nimrin
Mahas
Hesban
Maain
Samar
Tibneh
Ajlun
Rajib
Burmah
Shinan
Abu Obeida
Jisr ed Damieh
Jisr Benat Yakub
El Yehudiyeh
Khisfin
Es Samrah
Tukbul
Iroid
Samma
Samua
Kefr Meya
Aulam
Jisr el Mujamia
Meshah
Tiberias
Yakuk
Kefr Anan
Kisra
El Mezrah
J. Adather
Teirshiha
El Kabry
Kefr Birim
Baheiret el Huleh
Ouad er Ruzaniyeh
Kabul
Arrabet
Kefr Menda
Nimrin
Shaib
Sarona
Jebata
Umm es Zeinat
Ulmin el Amed
Athlit
Tireh
Belled esh Sheikh
Subbarin
Rummaneh
El Afuleh (El Ful)
El Mazar
Jabbul
Meiad
Sammu
Kefr Kara
Arraben
Akabeh
Er Rameh
Anebta
Tell Jid
Shufeh
Et Tireh
Baka
Fegata
Kalkilieh
Tabsor
Arsuf
Nahr el Auja
Sheikh Muarrik
Mulebbis
Rafat
Berukin
Es Sawieh
El Lubban
Sinjil
Mt. Ephraim
Tell Asur
Mezrah
Beit Nabala
Attara
Durah
Et Taiyibe
Nalin
Ram Allah
Bethel
El Jib
Beit Ur et Tahta
Beit Ur el Foka
Rafat
Burkah
Mukhmas
Kulundia
Jeba
Anwas
Deir Jarir
Latron
Katrah
Burka
Beit Nettif
Beit Jala
Ain Karim
Sur Bahir
Abu Dis
Ain el Feshkah
Mar Saba
Tekoa
Nebi Musa
Jericho
Wadi Kelt
Wadi Suleiman
Wadi Hesban
Wadi Ajlun Musa
Nahr el Falik
Nahr Rubin
Wadi Sukereir
Wadi Ishar
Wadi Ajlun
Wadi Yabis
Wadi Zerka (Jabbok)
Wadi Fara
Wadi Auja
Wadi Kana
Wadi Abu Nar
Wadi Salhab
Wadi Shubash
Wadi Jarka
Wadi Ghuweir
Wadi Mas'ud
Wadi Aleyan
Wadi Ghurabi
Wadi Ghazzeh
Wadi Ghuzzeh



THE DAMASCUS GATE, JERUSALEM

Junction Station to arrest the forward movement. Strung out for twenty miles on a line from El Kubeibeh to Beit Jibrin, von Kressenstein had stationed a force of about 20,000 rifles.

Allenby's report continues: "Arrangements were made to attack on the 13th. The country over which the attack took place is open and rolling, dotted with small villages, surrounded by mud walls, with plantations of trees outside the walls. The most prominent feature is the line of heights on which are the villages of Katrah and El Mughar....This line forms a very strong position, and it was here that the enemy made his most determined resistance against the turning movement directed against his right flank. The capture of this position by the 52nd (Lowland) Division, assisted by a most dashing charge of mounted troops, who galloped across the plain under heavy fire and turned the enemy's position from the north, was a fine feat of arms.....After this the enemy resistance weakened, and by the evening his forces were retiring east and north."

THE CAPTURE OF JUNCTION STATION BREAKS THE TURKISH ARMY IN TWO.

Infantry captured Junction Station on the morning of the 14th, and the enemy's force, broken into two separate parts, retired east and north respectively. In fifteen days the British infantry had covered over forty miles and the cavalry sixty miles, had driven the enemy from positions which he had held for six months, and inflicted losses upon him amounting to two-thirds of his effectives. In addition, over 9,000 prisoners, a large number of guns, and quantities of munitions had been captured. It was necessary still to clear up the British left flank and give it a strong pivot to swing round upon before proceeding against Jerusalem, accordingly Ramah and Lydda were occupied and patrols pushed forward towards Jaffa which fell without further opposition on the 16th.

The position was now this: by the capture of Junction Station the enemy's force had been cut in two and had retired east upon Jerusalem and north along the plain. The shortest route by which they could unite was along the one good road, the Jerusalem-

TOWER OF DAVID AND CITY WALL

Nablus (Shechem) highway running along the crest of the Judean range north of the Holy City. Although Jerusalem could still obtain supplies from the east by Amman on the Hedjaz Railway, yet aeroplane reconnaissance at this time discovered that it was probably the enemy's intention to evacuate the city and fall back upon Nablus to reorganize. But before Allenby could advance further he had to wait railway construction and the landing of stores along the coast.

THE TURKS HOLD A COUNCIL OF WAR IN JERUSALEM.

At this juncture the Turks held council of war in Jerusalem. To it came hurriedly Enver Pasha from Constantinople and Djemal Pasha from Damascus (the latter only narrowly escaped death for his train was blown up by Arabs). That the enemy appreciated the gravity of the crisis was evident. Next came General von Falkenhayn from headquarters at Aleppo, promising reinforcements. The Germans were much more panicky than the Turks and started to evacuate the city but the Governor of Jerusalem,

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

JERUSALEM FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

Izzet Bey, began vigorous defense measures which shamed the Teutons. Ali Fuad Pasha at the head of the military forces at once deported the Zionists and others suspected of Allied leanings to Nablus, as well as all essential stores.

Southern Palestine is divided into parallel strips of alternate depression and elevation, running north and south. The region next the Mediterranean Sea consists of sand-dunes and then of coastal plain to an average width of fifteen miles. To the east rises the range of mountains on which stands Jerusalem, the hills of Samaria and Judea, some 3,000 feet above the sea. These mountains drop steeply to the Valley of Jordan and the Dead Sea, and beyond the depression tower the abrupt hills of Moab. Finally to the east again stretches waterless desert.

So far the Expeditionary Force had moved north chiefly on the coastal belt and among the early slopes of the hills. Now it was to turn east and penetrate the intricate passes of Judea which have been fatal to so many invading armies. From the main ridge running north and south, spurs, as from

the backbone of a fish, run east and west to the plains. The aspect of these hills is steep, bare and stony for the most part, and only one good road, the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, penetrates from east to west. All the other roads are mere tracks, unpractical for wheeled transport, and the water supply throughout is scanty.

THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TURNS FROM THE SEA TO THE HILLS.

The British Commander's object was to isolate the Turkish Jerusalem Army from the northern army by cutting the Nablus road. He could not afford to delay his attack upon the Judean passes and thus allow Turkish defense to stiffen in these already formidable valleys; so he pushed forward in rapid advance upon the village of Bireh which commanded the highway, and which as a point of attack would serve to keep fighting away from the vicinity of the Holy City. The transition from desert to mountain warfare was not easy for the troops, though if their equipment had been fitting it would have seemed familiar enough to the Indian frontiersmen. As it was, their kit was too heavy, their mountain guns too few, the physical effort of conquering the heights toil enough without the sharp fighting by which progress was made from height to height. Because of their greater mobility the Yeomanry advanced through the hills directly upon Bireh, leaving the highway to the infantry who by November 19 captured the defile to Saris, fiercely defended by hostile rearguards and a position of great natural strength.

Turkish resistance was stiffening as von Falkenhayn's reinforcements came into line and on the 20th the Yeomanry who had reached to within 4 miles of the highway were checked by strong opposition at Betunia, and had to fall back upon Upper Beth-Horon. The infantry captured Enab at the point of the bayonet and a strong position known as the Neby Samwil Ridge. Here on the 21st advance stayed, for fierce counter-attacks developed. Though the objective on the Nablus road had not been reached, excellent positions had been won from which the final attack could be prepared and delivered with good prospects of success. Some of the bitterest local fighting followed on Neby Samwil and north of Jaffa for both sides felt the crisis. Bright moonlight aided the Turkish snipers and they picked off the outposts with disconcerting promptness. At one point where the Ghurkas ran short of ammunition they hurled rocks and boulders down upon their foes.

THE TURKS GIVE UP THE HOLY CITY WITHOUT FIGHTING.

By December 4 all ranks were full; existing roads and tracks had been improved and new ones constructed so that heavy artillery, munitions and supplies had been brought up, and the water facilities developed. The enemy's lines protecting Jerusalem from north and north-west lay on a front five miles from the city, but he had machine guns and artillery in the outskirts of the city itself. Besides the road north to Nablus, a second good highway ran to Jericho on the east, and the general idea of the assault upon the city was simultaneous pressure on these two roads by three divisions.

The date for the attack was fixed as December 8. On the 7th the weather broke and rain for three days was almost continuous. Airmen could not work in the mists that veiled the hills, mechanical transport and camels halted on the mud-logged roads. Nevertheless, on the night of 7th-8th, detachments crept down the mountain side, crossed the deep *wadi* bed at the bottom in silence and clambered up the opposite ridge, where they stormed the main Turkish line before daylight, and thus captured the western defenses of Jerusalem. The 74th Division swung forward against the Turkish positions defending the Nablus road, but during the night the Turks had withdrawn, and the 74th and part of the 60th occupied positions northwest of Jerusalem. The 53rd was detailed to clear the Mount of Olives and they drove the enemy east and occupied the road to Jericho. These operations isolated Jerusalem and at about noon on the 9th of December the enemy

VICTIMS OF TURKISH MISGOVERNMENT

These children have walked all the way in the hot sun from Es Salt beyond Jordan to Jerusalem. They are waiting with their parents, 1,500 in all, in the court yard of the St. James Monastery in Mount Sion, to be taken to the permanent camp for refugees at Port Said.

REFUGEES FROM BEYOND JORDAN

These Armenians from Kerak, southeast of the Dead Sea, are coming into Jerusalem through the Garden of Gethsemane, made forever memorable by the events recorded in the Gospels. Behind them lies the Jericho-Jerusalem road along which they fled. Early in 1917 the Hedjaz Arabs captured the region south and east of the Dead Sea of which Kerak is the capital.

Pictures by courtesy of Red Cross Magazine

ALLENBY ENTERING BY JAFFA GATE

sent out a *parlementaire* and surrendered the city.

GENERAL ALLENBY ENTERS JERUSALEM WITHOUT CEREMONY.

On the 11th General Allenby entered the city by the Jaffa Gate. He came on foot and left on foot and no pageantry profaned the solemnity of the occasion. A proclamation announcing that order would be maintained in all the hallowed sites of the three great religions which were to be guarded and preserved, and no impediment to be placed in the way of worshippers therein, was read in English, French, Italian and Arabic from the parapet of the citadel below the Tower of David. When this was done General Allenby went to the small space behind the citadel, where the chief notables and ecclesiastics of the different communities that remained were presented to him. After

this brief ceremony the general left the City of David by the Jaffa Gate. No stronghold has been so repeatedly sacked and rebuilt. Jerusalem stands for ruin and renewal, for death and rebirth. It has survived attacks from the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians and Arabians, the Pharaohs, Cæsars, Caliphs, the Selucidæ, the Abassids, the Seljuks, — yet it has remained a monument of loneliness.

rose high. Early in November, as Allenby's troops pressed into the Judean Hills, Mr. Balfour, acting for the British Government, declared that they viewed "with favor the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of their object." With great aspirations and some grounds for hope the Zionists looked forward to the final ending of

BRIDGE BUILT OVER THE JORDAN

At El Ghoraniyeh the British, with the assistance of the Egyptian Labor Corps, built a pontoon bridge across the Jordan in order that they might capture Jericho and attack the Hedjaz railway, the main line of Turkish communications. In the picture shown above the bridge is being tested for traffic.

THE CITY DEAR TO BOTH JEW AND CHRISTIAN.

No triumph in the annals of the war meant more to the greatly differing peoples who made up the Allies, united against the Turk in the bond of a common Christianity that was stronger and more enduring than the bond of mutual self-interest. The city so nearly associated with the Founder of their faith, whose streets He had trod, whose courts He had viewed, had — save for rare intervals — been in the hands of unbelievers for well-nigh a thousand years. For the Jews the city of Zion meant even more. Seat of their ancient temples and source of much inspiration, its capture seemed to herald a new era in the history of their race, and with the dispossession of the Turk their hopes

the struggle, and the solution of their problems.

The Allied press acclaimed the triumph of General Allenby but the Germans declared that Jerusalem had no military value. Yet in less than three weeks (December 26-27) the Turks made fierce counter-attacks to regain it. They failed, and instead the British lines were pushed north and the security of the city assured, while their left wing pushed back the Turk from Jaffa. Eastwards the enemy still held Jericho but this was captured (February 21), and thus the eastern flank made safe. The Commander-in-Chief was unable because of transport and supply difficulties to continue his operations to the north, and undertook instead to co-operate with the

Arabs in attacks on the enemy's chief remaining line of communication —the Hedjaz Railway east of the Jordan. A quick glance at the war record of Allenby's Arabian Allies will be in order at this juncture.

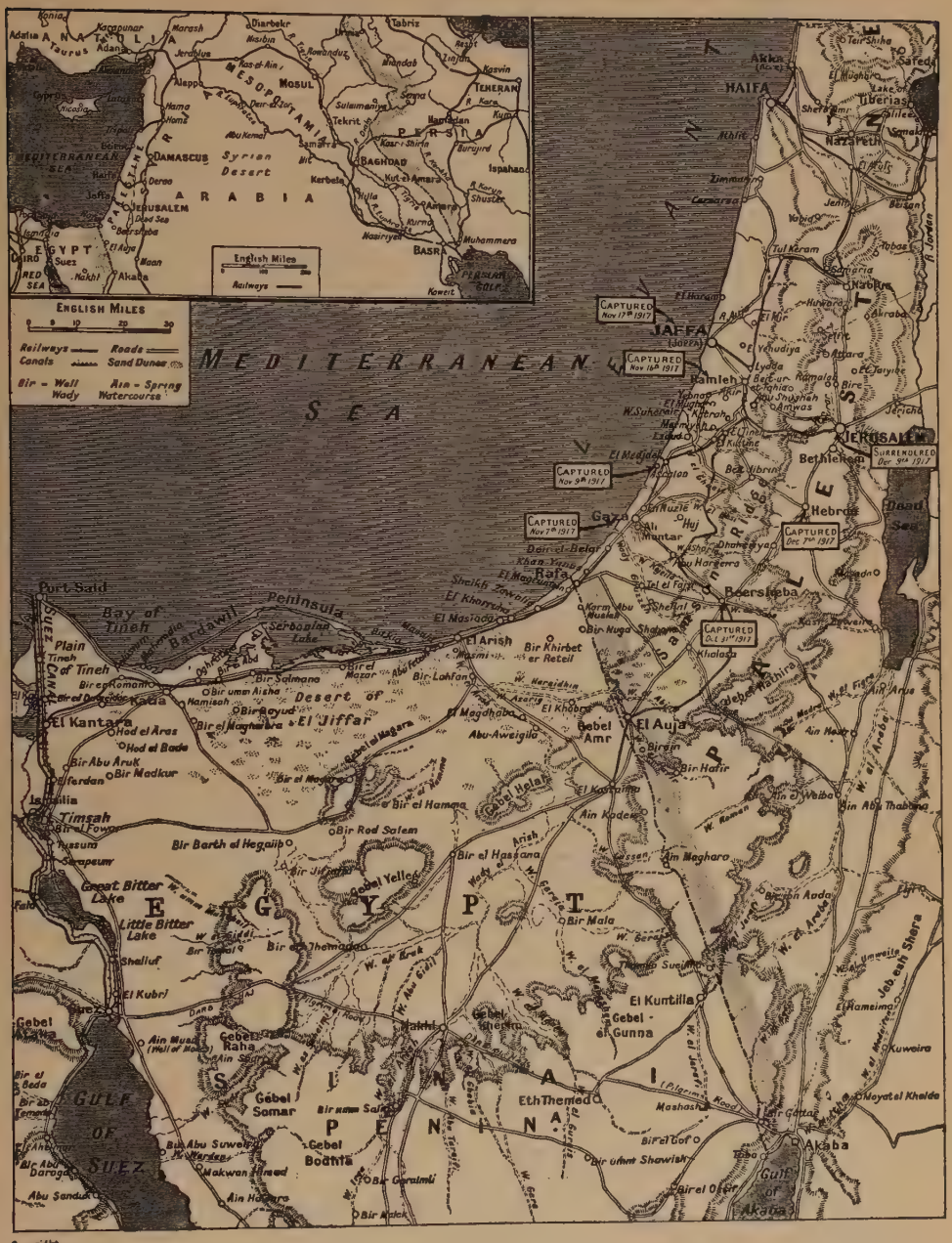
THE HEDJAZ REVOLT AGAINST THE SULTAN.

The nomadic Arab tribes of Mesopotamia were neither pro-Ally nor pro-German: they were unashamedly pro-winner. Stragglers from either side became their victims, while to the victor in an engagement they gave local support. Nominally, the Turk was their lord and co-religionist who had invoked their aid in a *jihad:* actually he was the alien and wasteful owner of their soil, who, however, when successful must be supported. Thus, to choose typical incidents, Turkish victory at Kut and failure before Bagdad made a wide disparity in the strength of their Arab contingents.

In Arabia, another part of their empire, the authority of Constantinople was as lightly acknowledged. Selim the Grim conquered Egypt in 1517, Damascus and Jerusalem had already fallen to him, and the Sherif of Mecca acknowledged him therefore as Caliph and lord of the Hedjaz. Turkish rule in the Hedjaz in later times became shadowy, resting only upon subsidies to native chiefs and supported by garrisons of soldiers, but the guardianship of the Holy Places was important to Turkey as a foundation of prestige in the Mahommedan world. With true foresight Sultan Abdul Hamid between 1901 and 1908 built the so-called "Pilgrims' Railway" east of the Jordan between Damascus and Medina, apparently to render the annual pilgrimage to the Holy Places more convenient — in reality to strengthen the Turkish grasp upon Hedjaz and Asir and Yemen to the south. When to Sultan Abdul Hamid succeeded the Committee of Union and Progress and a policy of pro-Germanism, the subject races of the empire grew

THE TURKISH RETURN TO THE HOLY CITY

A picture of Turkish prisoners, recently captured by the British forces, being marched through the streets of Jerusalem. Note the signposts in English for the direction of the victorious troops. From the "Post Office" British officers are watching the columns defile. Buildings are intact because the Commander was careful not to fire upon the Holy City. British Official.



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MAP ILLUSTRATING THE ADVANCE OF THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

restless. A *jihad* was proclaimed throughout the Moslem world when Turkey joined the Teutonic Alliance, but many of the faithful found it difficult to reconcile the acts of Talaat Bey, Enver Pasha and Djemal with Islamism. Thus early in 1916 Djemal Pasha arrested and executed many leading notables in Damascus and Enver Pasha on a visit to Mecca shocked the orthodox by his undisguised atheism and callousness.

OTHER CAUSES OF UNREST AMONG THE ARABS

There were other causes of unrest among the Arabs. Racial feeling ran strongly and they despised a conqueror less intellectual than themselves. The Grand Sherif of Mecca commanded considerable respect by virtue of his office as custodian of the Holy Places and himself valued the advantages of western civilization. In June, 1916, he issued a proclamation to the Moslem world forswearing his allegiance to the Turk on religious grounds. After detailing the offenses of the Committee of Union and Progress the document proceeds: "We have sufficient proof of how they regard the religion and the Arab people in the fact that they shelled the Ancient House... firing two shells at it from their big guns when the country rose to demand its independence.....We have the whole Mohammedan world from East to West to pass judgment on this contempt and profanation of the Sacred House. But we are determined not to leave our religions and national rights as a plaything in the hands of the Union and Progress Party." If the Arabs once again become the leaders of the Mohammedans throughout the world this proclamation will have considerable historic interest.

In the military operations that followed the Hedjaz Arabs were handicapped because they were fighting against highly disciplined troops equipped with the scientific appliances of modern warfare. Nevertheless, they can claim in two years' warfare not only to have cleared the Turks from south and central Hedjaz (a territory somewhat larger than Great Britain) and from 800 miles of the Red Sea coast, but also to have captured, killed or immobilized 40,000 of the finest Turkish troops. In the final stage of the advance upon Damascus they gave valuable assistance on the east of Jordan.

AUSTRALIAN LIGHT HORSE ENTERING DAMASCUS

October 1, 1918, the Australians entered Damascus "a rose-red city half as old as Time." They had taken the route to the north of the Dead Sea and had met serious opposition both at the Jordan and El Kuneitrah. To the east of Jordan, British Cavalry and an Arab column advanced upon Damascus.

DAMASCUS, THE DAY AFTER CAPTURE

Perhaps one of the oldest cities in the world, Damascus has a very heterogeneous population, variously estimated as ranging between 160,000 and 350,000. Of the many Jew, Christian, and Moslem places of worship, the last predominate with a total of over two hundred. The city was once a famous seat of learning and contained numerous schools in which grammar, theology, and jurisprudence were taught. British Official.

A STREET SCENE IN DAMASCUS

Seen from a distance Damascus is impressive but on closer acquaintance, like most Oriental cities, somewhat disappointing. With the exception of the street called "Straight" all its streets are narrow, ill-paved and crooked. Its bazaars though numerous and well-kept are but poorly stocked and indifferently attended. The chief manufactures are silver and gold ornaments, interwoven fabrics, brass and copper work and inlaid furniture. Caravans from Aleppo visit the city every month.

THE ARABS FREE HEDJAZ AND ADVANCE TO THE DEAD SEA.

After the proclamation, the Emir's troops mastered the Turkish garrisons in Mecca and its sea-port Jeddah. In September Taif, the Turkish headquarters, surrendered and with the city Ghaleb Pasha, Vali and Commander-in-chief. By the end of the year Osmanli authority in Hedjaz was confined to Medina and a narrow strip of country on either side of the railway. In November the Emir Hussein assumed the title of King of the Hedjaz. Early in 1917 the Arabs had advanced from the south and were based on Akaba on the Dead Sea and under the Emir Feisal (Hussein's eldest son) were opposed to a Turkish army somewhat their superior in strength.

GENERAL SIR EDMUND H. H. ALLENBY, K.C.B.
Commanding the Cavalry Expeditionary Force at the beginning of the war. In April, 1915, he succeeded Sir Herbert Plumer as commander of the Fifth Corps: in June, 1917, he was appointed to command the Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

In order for Allenby to make raids across the Jordan it was necessary for him first of all to seize command of all roads and tracks leading from Judea into the Jordan Valley so as to prevent reinforcements reaching the Turks on the east of the river. From March 8-12 severe fighting took place on the Jerusalem-Nablus and Jericho-Beisan roads. Though the Turks were driven off they continued to use the roads farther north. The way was, however, open for attacks on the Hedjaz railway and, March 21, Allenby forced the crossing of the Jordan and raided Amman. The attack drew in the Turkish reserves but was otherwise only moderately successful, although Feisal, seizing the opportunity, cut the line north and south of Ma'an and held possession of the station itself for a brief interval. A second trans-Jordanic raid was planned and advance began April 30, but the Arab tribe which had promised help did not arrive and the British troops had to retire.

ALLENBY FORCED TO SEND TROOPS TO THE WESTERN FRONT.

The situation on the Western Front now cast its shadow over the fortunes of the Egyptian Army. Allenby was forced to send a large part of his army to Europe and in reorganizing filled up his corps largely with untried Indian troops. No offensive was possible under such conditions, and local fighting became the rule in the hot months.

In September before the heavy autumn rains began the British again resumed the offensive. The Turkish line at this time lay on a front from Jaffa through the hills of Ephraim to a front half way between Nablus and Jerusalem, thence on to Jordan and down its eastern bank to the Dead Sea. Menacing their left flank, though at some distance from it, were the Hedjaz Arabs under Feisal at Ma'an. From west to east the Turks had the VII and VIII Armies to the right (west) of

Jordan and the IV Army on the left (east).

ALLENBY ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY THE TURKISH ARMIES.

At 4:30 A.M. on September 19 the main attack began. The infantry in rapid advance overran the enemy defenses and penetrated to a depth of five miles. Then the cavalry galloped through the broken lines and by midday had covered nineteen miles. Near the sea the Naval Flotilla hastened the retreat by shelling the coast roads. In the hill country the advancing right wing met some stiff resistance, but overcame it by the evening of the 20th. The cavalry riding north took Nazareth (whence Liman von Sanders, commander of the Turkish Army since March, precipitately fled), the railway at Beisan and the bridge over the Jordan, south of the Sea of Galilee. In thirty-six hours the trap closed, for British infantry and cavalry held the Turkish VII and VIII Armies between them and no escape was possible save south-east to the Jordan crossing at Jisr ed Damieh. By the 24th the two armies had fallen into British hands. Allenby lost no time in pressing his advantage. Only the IV Army on the east of Jordan remained. It did not begin its retreat until the fourth day of battle, then Amman fell (25th September), and Feisal pressed the Turks back north along the railway. Damascus was the next step.

the Arabs, on the 31st Feisal captured Deraa on the railway, and the 4th Cavalry Division and Arabs pushed on together, and at 6 A.M. October 1 entered Damascus. In twelve days the Egyptian Expeditionary Force

Copyright THE FULL EXTENT OF ALLENBY'S CONQUESTS

Chauvel and the Desert Mounted Column advanced in two groups to the north and south of the Sea of Galilee. The Australians taking the northern route occupied Tiberias and pushed on to a fiercely contested passage of the Jordan and formidable resistance at El Kuneitrah. Nevertheless by the 30th they were only thirty miles south-west of Damascus. The southern column gained touch at Er Remte with

had disposed of three armies, from which they had captured 60,000 prisoners and between 300-400 guns. Only a mob of perhaps 17,000 Turks and Germans fleeing north remained of the defenders of the Syrian front.

THE TURKISH FORCES IN SYRIA WIPED OUT.

Allenby, however, could not rest upon his laurels: he needed a port and railway running in from the sea-

INDIANS IN CAPTIVITY IN GERMANY

The lot of Allied prisoners was never an enviable one, and in the case of the Indians its hardships were further aggravated by the difficulties of obtaining food that kept inviolate their rules of caste, and by the inclemencies of the northern European winter bearing hardly upon men accustomed to subtropical heat. Picture, H. Ruschin

coast to keep up his supplies, and shortly after (Oct. 6-8) the Rayak-Beirut line fell into his hands. The rest was a triumphal progress: Balbek fell on the 11th, Homs and Tripoli on the 13th. The last stage was Aleppo: the 5th Cavalry Division and armored cars went forward and after a few slight brushes with the enemy reached the place on the 25th where they were joined by an Arab contingent and occupied it on the 26th. Since September 19, the Allied front had advanced 300 miles north; the Turkish Armies in Syria had been wiped out.

The time was ripe for Marshall to move in Mesopotamia. One column pushed up the Tigris, drove back a Turkish army of 7,000 men, cut off its retreat and forced its surrender (October 30). A second force advanced up the Kifri Kirkuk-Keupri road until Mosul was within its reach. When Marshall entered the city November 3 there was no need for fighting: Turkey like Bulgaria had surrendered.

MURIEL BRAY

Exercising newly arrived men at Yaphank

CHAPTER LI

Training the Citizen Army

THE AMERICAN INFANTRY COMBAT DIVISION AND ITS TRAINING FOR THE WORLD WAR

BY MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, U.S.A.
Commanding 89th and 10th Divisions

AN American Division is a self-contained unit made up of all necessary arms and services, and complete in itself with every requirement for independent action incident to its ordinary operations. It is the basis of organization for a mobile army.

INTENSIVE TRAINING OF THE AMERICAN INFANTRY COMBAT DIVISION.

In answer to the request of the Entente for reinforcements to meet the great German Drive of 1918, special intensive training of divisional units was begun.

In the training of a division one is confronted with the problem of not only imparting military information and training, but also with that of building up an organization spirit, an organization morale, without which no amount of military training will make a first-class fighting organization.

For a military organization to be effective, it must be a living, human organization. It must have not only a body but a soul, a spirit, a character and individuality. Unless these are developed the training has not been successful. Everything must be done not only to build up the military body, or organization, but to put into it a spirit and a soul. This means that its men must be kept together as much as possible. When men are taken from a division because of wounds or sickness, every effort must be made to return them to their division. Nothing demoralizes men more quickly or completely than the disregard of this basic principle. Whenever this principle has been disregarded, morale has been impaired and the fighting efficiency of the division lowered.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES WHICH MUST BE OBSERVED IN TRAINING.

Everything possible must be done to convince the men of the worthiness of the cause for which they are fighting, to build up a feeling of service and sacrifice and an appreciation of the nobility of service in a good cause; to point out that they are offering their lives that others may live and that their government and its institutions may endure.

They must be taught respect for their officers and be made to understand that the salute is an indication not only of discipline, but also a mark of recognition between members of the great Brotherhood of Men at Arms. Men must be taught to look upon the uniform as a symbol of their country, and as such to honor it and to keep it clean by keeping it out of places of ill-repute.

THE TRAINING AND ATTITUDE OF THE JUNIOR OFFICERS.

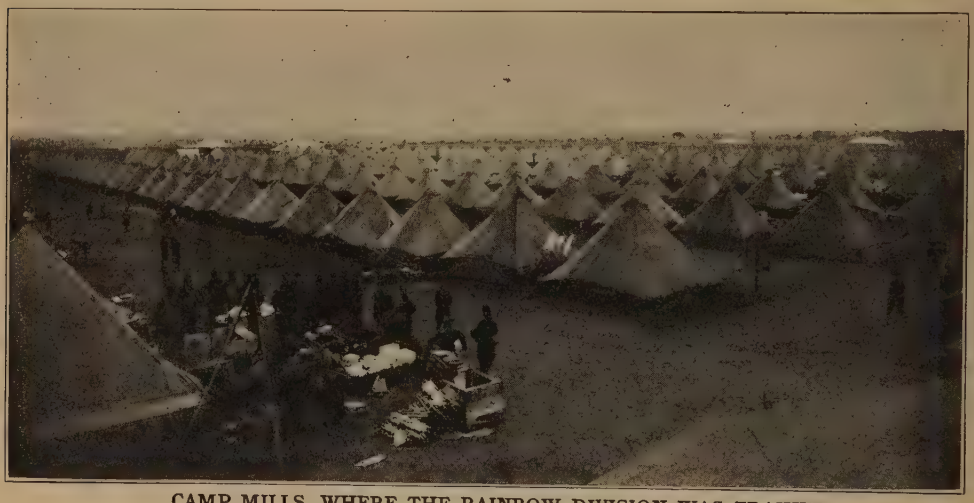
In their training the officers must be impressed with the idea that they are under the strictest possible obligation to preserve the self-respect of their men—that men whose self-respect has been destroyed are of little value as soldiers; to so conduct themselves that they will always be not only an example, but also a source of inspiration; that the best discipline is not founded upon fear but upon respect for and confidence in the officer. The men will rise to the level of the officer and the spirit of service if he is a real leader; and the spirit of the men collectively is, of course, the spirit of the organization.

The first duty of a good officer is to look to the welfare of his men, and under this comes not only the training, but also their physical condition, their food, their clothing, their morale—in brief, everything which tends to bring them upon the battlefield in the best possible physical and moral condition to fight a successful battle.

The officer must have impressed upon him that if he is fit to be an officer he will be able to maintain friendly and kindly relations with his men, and at the same time maintain a rigid discipline. He must, in order to assure the maintenance of efficiency and high morale, have ever present evidence of the human element in his relations with his men.

THE FAILURES AND DEFICIENCIES OF OFFICERS AFFECT MEN.

When troops come back from war dissatisfied with their officers—hating service—it can be asserted that the officer body has failed to understand the real function of an officer, that is, to create that spirit of discipline which is founded upon mutual respect and confidence.



CAMP MILLS, WHERE THE RAINBOW DIVISION WAS TRAINED

Camp Mills at Mineola, Long Island, was intended for an embarkation camp, but the Forty-Second, or Rainbow Division, received the greater part of its training here. The organization included units from twenty-seven states.

Times Photo Service

When men first come for training they must be treated with the utmost patience. The officers should assume that the men are there to do their best. This assumption is correct in about 97 per cent of the cases. He must remember that the men are utterly without information upon military matters, and they have no idea of military distinctions—all of these matters must be explained to them. That the gradual merging of individuality into massed discipline to the extent necessary for the purpose of effective movement in large bodies can be done effectively only when it is done intelligently. Notwithstanding this massed discipline, there must be left the spirit of individuality, self-reliance and initiative, which has always characterized the

individual American soldier and which the conditions of modern warfare make more and more important.

THE FIRST DAYS IN CAMP DIFFICULT FOR THE MEN.

The drafted men on arrival at the Division Cantonment were assigned to a Depot Brigade for physical examination—inoculation, vaccination, et cetera—equipment and preliminary training. During this time, due to the change of food, surroundings, method of living, the prospect of long, hard service and to the fact that they were undergoing a biological struggle as they were receiving various inoculations, vaccinations, et cetera, their general physical resistance was lowered.

The men were kept in the Depot Brigade for about one month, during which time an immense amount of work was done. There were brief but lively periods of setting-up exercises, short and snappy instruction in the School of the Soldier and Squad; musketry instruction, such as pointing and aiming drills; mechanism of the piece; instruction in the Articles of War; relations between officers and men; military courtesy; sanitation, personal and general. Drill was broken to advantage by periods of interesting games, not too strenuous in character. They were also given some work in company formations. In other words, the men were occupied with helpful work adapted to their physical capability. All of this instruction had value in quickening the men and in giving them bodily balance and control.

SETTING-UP EXERCISES AT CAMP HANCOCK

Much attention was given to the physical development of the young recruits. A carefully graded system of physical exercises strengthened the muscles, increased the endurance, and improved the carriage of the men. No part of the training was more important than this. This picture was taken at Camp Hancock where the Pennsylvania Guard was trained. U. S. Official.

This system of training resulted in the men being ready when they were assigned to a division for infantry training to take up their work with some knowledge of the weapon which they had to use, its care and mechanism, and the basic principle of military service. They also had a fair knowledge of military courtesy, and if they were properly handled they were in good physical condition and keen for their real work.

TEXT-BOOKS FOR THE ARMY

All athletic sports were encouraged, and few were more popular than boxing. The instructor at Camp Dix, New Jersey, is shown carrying his text-books.

New York Times Photo Service

HOW WAS AN AMERICAN COMBAT DIVISION ORGANIZED?

The American Infantry Combat Division in the World War had an authorized strength of 1,006 officers and 27,084 enlisted men, and was organized as follows:

(a) Division Headquarters,
(b) 2 Infantry Brigades,
(c) 1 Field Artillery Brigade,
(d) Divisional Machine Gun Battalion,
(e) 1 Regiment of Engineers (Sappers),
(f) 1 Field Signal Battalion,
(g) Train Headquarters and Military Police,
(h) Ammunition Train,
(i) Supply Train,
(j) Engineer Train,
(k) Sanitary Train.

(a) *Division Headquarters*, consisting of the Division Commander (Major General), his personal staff of 5 aides-de-camp and a division staff composed of the General Staff, Technical Staff and Administrative Staff; one Headquarters Detachment which furnished clerks, stenographers, et cetera, for carrying on the business of the Headquarters; one Headquarters Troop which furnished the guard and mounted orderlies for Headquarters. Taken in the order named these parts of the Division Headquarters were organized as follows:

General Staff, consisting of the Chief of Staff and 3 assistants known as: Assistant Chief of Staff for Administration, Supply and Transportation, G-1; Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, G-2; Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations, G-3, and their assistants.

Technical Staff, consisting of the Artillery Brigade Commander, Division Engineer, Division Surgeon, Division Signal Officer, Division Machine Gun Officer, Division Chemical Warfare Service Officer, Division Quartermaster, Division Ordnance Officer, Division Veterinarian, and their assistants.

Administrative Staff, consisting of the Division Adjutant, Division Inspector, Division Judge Advocate, and their assistants.

Headquarters Detachment, consisting of 5 field clerks, 1 postal agent and 110 enlisted men.

Headquarters Troop, consisting of 3 officers and 112 enlisted men.

Total strength of Division Headquarters: 55 officers, 5 field clerks, 1 postal agent and 232 enlisted men.

(b) *Two Infantry Brigades*, each consisting of Brigade Headquarters, Brigade Commander (Brigadier General) and 3 aides-de-camp, Brigade Adjutant and 20 enlisted men. To each brigade:

Two regiments of infantry, each consisting of Headquarters, Regimental Commander (Colonel), a second in command (Lieutenant Colonel), 4 officers, 1 each for operations, regimental adjutant, personnel adjutant and regimental intelligence, 1 chaplain; attached services—medical, 7 officers, 48 enlisted men; ordnance, 8 enlisted men. To each regiment:

TRAINING IN THE USE OF RIFLE GRENADES

The rifle grenade was propelled by the gas from the discharge of the gun and describing a curve fell into the enemy trenches where it sometimes did considerable damage when it exploded. This and the hand grenade were revivals of old devices used long ago in warfare, and then discarded for a long time.

BAYONET PRACTICE AT CAMP WHEELER

The bayonet is another weapon of which the use was supposed to be declining. The peculiar conditions of trench warfare led to a revival of the use of the bayonet. The instruction was largely under the direction of foreign non-commissioned officers. Here the men, masked and protected, are practicing with wooden weapons. When the actual weapons were given the men, the attack was made on sacks of straw or bundles of sticks hung from strong frames.

Pictures, U. S. Official

One Headquarters Company, 7 officers and 336 enlisted men, organized into 5 platoons, i. e., Headquarters Platoon, Signal Platoon, Sappers and Bombers Platoon, Pioneer Platoon and 1-Pounder Gun Platoon,

One Supply Company, 6 officers and 164 enlisted men.

TRAINING MACHINE GUNNERS

These future machine-gunners being trained at Camp Dix are being trained not only in the use of their weapons but also to take advantage of any cover, however slight. New York Times

One Machine Gun Company, 6 officers and 172 enlisted men, organized into a Headquarters, 3 platoons and a train.

Three Battalions, each consisting of Battalion Headquarters, 1 Battalion Commander (Major) and 2 officers, 1 each for Battalion Adjutant and Intelligence Officer. To each battalion:

Four Rifle Companies, 6 officers and 250 enlisted men each, organized into Headquarters and 4 platoons, each platoon organized into Platoon Headquarters and Four Sections (1st Section, Hand Bombers; 2nd Section, Rifle Grenadiers; 3rd Section, Riflemen; 4th Section, Automatic Rifles); total strength each regiment 114 officers, 3,720 enlisted men;

One Machine Gun Battalion, consisting of Battalion Headquarters, Battalion Commander (Major), 2 officers, 1 each Battalion Adjutant and Battalion Supply Officer, and 44 enlisted men; attached services—medical, 1 officer, 12 enlisted men; ordnance, 4 enlisted men; 4 Machine Gun Companies, each consisting of 6 officers and 172 enlisted men; of same interior organization as Regimental Machine Gun Company.

Aggregate strength each brigade, 262 officers and 8,213 enlisted men.

(c) *Field Artillery Brigade*, consisting of Brigade Headquarters, Brigade Commander (Brigadier General) and 2 aides-de-camp, Brigade Adjutant and 8 officers—operations 3, intelligence 2, radio 1, telephone 1, munitions 1—and 67 enlisted men.

Two regiments 75-mm. guns (3-inch), horse-drawn, each regiment consisting of Regimental Headquarters, Regimental Commander (Colonel), second in command (Lieut. Colonel), regimental adjutant and personnel adjutant, 1 chaplain; attached services—medical, 3 officers and 23 enlisted men; veterinary, 2 officers, 6 enlisted; ordnance, 12 enlisted. To each regiment:

Headquarters Company, 17 officers and 205 enlisted men, organized into 4 sections; Supply Company, 5 officers and 108 enlisted men.

Two Battalions, consisting of Battalion Headquarters, Battalion Commander (Major) and 2 officers, 1 each for Battalion Adjutant and Intelligence Officer. To each battalion:

Three Batteries each, 5 officers, 194 enlisted men, organized into Battery Headquarters, instrument detail, sig-

nal detail, scouts, firing battery, organized into 3 platoons and combat train.

Total regiment, 66 officers, 1,501 enlisted men.

One regiment 155-mm. guns, motorized, consisting of Regimental Headquarters, Regimental Commander (Colonel), second in command (Lt. Colonel), 2 officers, 1 adjutant and 1 personnel adjutant; attached services: quarters, instrument detail, signal detail, scouts, 5 sections and train.

Total strength regiment, 74 officers, 1,608 enlisted men.

One Trench Mortar Battery, 6-inch Newton-Stokes mortars, 5 officers, 172 enlisted men, organized into Headquarters Section, Special Detail Section and 3 platoons.

Aggregate strength Field Artillery Brigade, 223 officers, 4,852 enlisted men.

TRAINING THE SIGNAL CORPS

The Signal Corps used a dozen different methods of conveying information. Where protected from enemy fire lights were often used. This shows the use of the heliograph which conveyed messages by flashes of light of different duration. This method depended upon the sun by day. The picture was made at Camp Meade, Maryland, where a part of the selected men from Pennsylvania were trained.

1 chaplain; medical, 3 officers and 19 enlisted men; ordnance, 16 enlisted men.

Headquarters Company, 17 officers and 195 enlisted men, organized into 4 sections.

Supply Company, organized into 3 sections, and

Three Battalions, each consisting of Battalion Headquarters, Battalion Commander (Major), 2 officers, 1 each Battalion Adjutant and Battalion Intelligence Officer; 2 batteries each, 5 officers and 130 enlisted men, organized into battery head-

(d) *Divisional Machine Gun Battalion* (motorized) consisting of Headquarters, Battalion Commander (Major), 2 officers, 1 each Battalion Adjutant and Battalion Supply Officer, 27 enlisted men; attached services, medical, 1 officer, 6 enlisted men; ordnance, 2 enlisted men; 2 companies, each has 6 officers, 172 men organized into a headquarters, and 3 platoons and train.

Aggregate strength of battalion, 16 officers, 379 enlisted men.

(e) *Regiment of Engineers* (Sappers), consisting of Headquarters, Regimental

Commander (Colonel) second in command (Lt. Colonel), 6 officers as follows; regimental adjutant, personnel adjutant, 2 supply officers, intelligence officer and band leader; 1 chaplain; attached services, medical, 3 officers, 27 enlisted men; ordnance, 6 enlisted men.

Two battalions, consisting of Battalion Headquarters, battalion commander (Major), battalion adjutant and 1 officer—battalion adjutant; and 3 companies, each consisting of 6 officers, 250 enlisted men.

Aggregate strength of regiment of engineers (sappers), 52 officers and 1,695 enlisted men.

(f) *One Field Signal Battalion*, consisting of Battalion Headquarters, Battalion Commander (Major), 1 officer, Battalion Adjutant, 13 enlisted men; attached services, medical, 1 officer, 14 enlisted men.

One radio company, 3 officers, 75 enlisted men; one wire company, 3 officers, 75 enlisted men; one outpost company, 5 officers, 280 enlisted men.

Aggregate strength of Field Signal Battalion, 15 officers, 473 enlisted men.

(g) *Train Headquarters and Military Police*, consisting of Headquarters, Trains Commander (colonel), 2 officers, 1 each Trains Adjutant and Trains Supply Officer, 18 enlisted men; attached services: medical, 1 officer, 6 enlisted; 1 Mobile Veterinary Section, 1 Veterinarian, 21 enlisted men; 3 Veterinary Field Units, 3 Veterinarians, 9 enlisted men; ordnance, 5 enlisted men.

SIGNAL CORPS MEN LEARNING THE USE OF THE TELEPHONE

In no other war was the telephone ever used as in the World War. There were regular Centrals like those in any city, behind the lines and several modifications of regular instruments for use close to the lines. A network of wires was spread on, above or under the ground in some localities. U. S. Official

One company Military Police, 5 officers, 200 enlisted men, organized into 4 platoons.

Aggregate Trains Headquarters and Military Police, 14 officers, 273 enlisted men.

(h) *Ammunition Train*, consisting of Train Headquarters, Train Commander (Lt. Colonel), 2 agents, 1 Train Adjutant and Supply Officer, 28 enlisted men.

One Motor Battalion, consisting of Battalion Headquarters, Battalion Commander (Major), 1 Battalion Adjutant; 1 Assistant Supply Officer 30 enlisted men, 4 truck companies, each consisting of 3 officers, 146 enlisted men, organized into 6 sections.

Aggregate Motor Battalion, 15 officers, 614 enlisted men.

One Horsed Battalion, consisting of Battalion Headquarters, Battalion Commander (Major), 1 Battalion Adjutant, 1 Assistant Supply Officer, 21 enlisted men; 2 caisson companies, each consisting of 3 officers, 191 enlisted men organized into 11 sections; 1 wagon company, 3 officers, 153 enlisted men organized into 12 sections.

(j) *Engineer Train*, consisting of 2 officers, 82 enlisted men, organized into 2 sections.

Aggregate Engineer Train, 2 officers, 82 enlisted men.

(k) *Sanitary Train*, consisting of Train Headquarters, Train Commander (Lieutenant Colonel), 1 Personnel Adjutant, 2 supply officers, 14 enlisted men.

A BEAN FIELD AT CAMP DIX

In their spare time the young soldiers in training joined in the effort to increase the production of food. At some camps considerable areas were cultivated by the men and valuable additions to their diet were grown.

Aggregate Horsed Battalion, 12 officers, 556 enlisted men; attached services—1 Mobile Ordnance Repair Shop, 3 officers, 45 enlisted men; ordnance, 1 officer, 23 enlisted men; medical, 3 officers, 29 enlisted men.

Aggregate Ammunition Train, 38 officers, 1,295 enlisted men.

(i) *Supply Train* (motorized), consisting of Train Headquarters, Train Commander (Captain), 1 Train Adjutant, 1 Train Supply Officer, 13 enlisted men; attached services, medical, 1 officer, 10 enlisted men.

Six Truck Companies, each consisting of 2 officers, 77 enlisted men, organized into 3 sections.

Aggregate Supply Train, 16 officers, 485 enlisted men.

One Ambulance Section, consisting of Section Headquarters, Section Commander (Major), 3 enlisted men.

Three Ambulance Companies (motorized) each 5 officers, 122 enlisted men, organized into 3 ambulance platoons, 1 service platoon.

One Ambulance Company (animal drawn), 5 officers, 153 enlisted men, organized into 3 ambulance platoons, 1 service platoon.

Aggregate Ambulance Section, 21 officers, 525 enlisted men.

One Field Hospital Section, consisting of Section Headquarters, Section Commander (Major), 3 enlisted men, and

Three Field Hospital Companies (motorized), each consisting of 6 officers and 83 enlisted men, and

One Field Hospital Company (animal

drawn) consisting of 6 officers and 82 enlisted men.

All with same organization as that of Ambulance Section.

Aggregate Field Hospital Section, 25 officers, 337 enlisted men.

Attached Services, 8 Camp Infirmaries, 16 enlisted men.

Armament of the division as follows: 16,163 rifles; 960 automatic rifles; 224 machine guns (heavy); 36 anti-aircraft machine guns; 24 155-mm. howitzers; 48 3-inch or 75-mm. guns; 12 one-pounder guns; 36 trench mortars; 1,560 rifle grenade discharges; 13,139 pistols; 1920 trench knives.

ATHLETIC SPORTS AT THE PELHAM BAY STATION

Young volunteers for the navy were first sent to one of the naval stations, of which there were about twenty permanent or temporary. Here they had instruction in swimming and handling boats as well as military drill and physical training. Here the young naval reserves are playing push-ball in the time allowed for sports. U. S. Official

Divisional Medical Supply Unit, 1 officer, 8 enlisted men.

Aggregate Sanitary Train, 51 officers, 900 enlisted men.

The following services were at times attached to an American Infantry Combat Division:

One Bakery Company, 2 officers, 101 enlisted men.

One Clothing and Bath Unit, 1 officer, 21 enlisted men.

One Headquarters Conservation and Reclamation Service, 11 officers, 20 enlisted men.

One Sales Commissary Unit, 1 officer, 14 enlisted men.

One-half Section Graves Registration, 1 officer, 25 enlisted men.

INFANTRY TRAINING THE GROUNDWORK OF ALL LATER TRAINING.

Upon completion of this preliminary training the men were transferred from the Depot Brigade to organizations in the division where their instruction was continued, the first month of which was largely devoted to organization, development and training of the platoon in close and extended order; preliminary work in the School of the Company, and basic training. From the beginning, non-commissioned officers were trained as platoon and group leaders, for there never was a time when efficient leadership was more important.

During the latter part of this period, troops began record practice, rifle

firing, and preliminary instruction in gas and use of the gas mask. It was important for the men to have this instruction early in their training period as it was not known how soon they would be called for.

vision and with the valued assistance of British and French officers who had already gained much useful experience in the war.

During the third month of training (the second month in the Division)

A SECTION OF TRENCHES AT A TRAINING CAMP

The attempt was made to visualize for the young soldiers the conditions they would meet in France. This section of trench is as elaborately constructed as any in a strong sector. The men are charging upon it with the same care and attention that they would bestow upon an actual trench filled with Germans. U. S. Official

TRENCH INSTRUCTION UNDER BRITISH AND FRENCH OFFICERS.

During the preliminary rifle practice on the range, the men were instructed in night firing, using both illuminated and non-illuminated targets, and in addition they received instruction in firing in daylight and at night wearing their gas masks. The firing on the range was done by regiment, one battalion following the other. As each battalion completed its record firing, it was moved to a trench system for instruction in trench warfare. The instruction period in the trench system for each battalion was two days and two nights. Relief was made at night and the relieved battalion marched back to its barracks. This work was carried on under the direction, super-

instruction progressed to include that of the battalion, regiment and brigade, and during this month each regiment was given a period of at least five days in a trench system area where every man was given instruction in the use of the automatic rifle, throwing live grenades, going through wire, intensive bayonet work over a difficult course, consisting of trench entanglements, runways, jump-offs, et cetera. Also exercises in occupying trenches, taking trenches, reorganizing trenches, preparation for counter attacks, et cetera. The object of this instruction was to have every man and every organization have some experience with what was considered as absolutely essential to modern training. The scene shown above is typical of this training.

VARIETY OF WORK DURING THE FIRST THREE MONTHS.

During this month the intelligence personnel received special attention. It was carefully organized and trained in the requirements of intelligence work, which has become more and more important, and upon its efficiency depends very largely the success of operations.

In the latter part of this month instruction in liaison between units and with the artillery was taken up, first through a series of demonstrations and then through practical problems executed in the field. Great attention was given to this instruction in order that liaison might be made as nearly perfect mechanically as possible, and in order to build up a sympathetic understanding between the different arms and branches of the service. Rest periods between exercises were utilized for talks to the men on various subjects of general and military interest.

By the end of the third month the men had had a great variety of work, and as a rule there was no flagging of interest. Every organization had been put through its basic work, combat problems, small matters, and the staff work connected with them had been accomplished. In short, the division was tied together as a battle unit.

ARTILLERY, ENGINEER, AND SIGNAL TRAINING BEGUN EARLY.

Artillery troops were given basic infantry and artillery training. It was recognized that the all-important training for artillery was making them expert gunners as quickly as possible. With that end in view actual firing was begun in their first month of training. Equitation and co-related matters with reference to traction and care of animals was considered as of secondary importance and the training programme was arranged accordingly. Instruction in liaison with the other arms of the division, combat problems and manœuvres by day and night was taken up in the third month of training.

Engineer troops were given basic infantry training and instruction in combat formation, problems and manœuvres. Their technical training was considered as of first importance. It progressed rapidly, for the reason that the personnel was made up of men drawn from the crafts trained to

LEARNING HOW TO FIRE A STOKES TRENCH MORTAR

The Stokes mortar, the invention of an English civilian, was a valuable weapon at close quarters It dropped bombs into the enemy trenches with considerable accuracy. Though provided with a tripod, this was seldom used by the soldiers in open warfare. This is a detachment of the 142d Infantry in training in France.

U. S. Official

skilled mechanical and technical work. Instruction in liaison with the other arms of the division, combat problems covering construction of field fortifications, et cetera, both by day and night, was taken up in the third month of their training.

Signal troops were given basic infantry training and technical training in all means of signal communications

a machine gun school, conducted in the division by experienced expert officers, trained in battle. The effect of this system was to standardize the instruction and to develop quickly machine gunners. They were instructed in the use of standard machine guns in use by the Entente and their allies.

In the third month of their training they were instructed in liaison with

THE SURGICAL WARD AT CAMP WADSWORTH

Though it had not massive buildings the hospital at Camp Wadsworth, at Spartanburg, South Carolina, where the New York National Guard was trained, had every necessary appliance for the treatment of the sick. The buildings were roomy and were flooded with air and sunlight. The well men at these camps lived in tents.

such as wireless telegraphy, buzzerfone, telephone, visual signalling, pigeons, et cetera.

In the third month of their training they worked with the other arms of the division in combat problems and manœuvres in solving the construction, maintenance and operation of all means of signal communication by day and night, in open warfare and in trench warfare.

THE TRAINING OF THE MACHINE GUN ORGANIZATIONS.

Machine gun organizations were given basic infantry training. All machine gun units were instructed in the other arms of the division, in combat problems and manœuvres by day and night, both in open warfare and in trench warfare.

THE DUTIES OF THE VARIOUS TRAINS IN A DIVISION.

Trains.—Men of the trains were given basic infantry instruction and instruction in the care, maintenance and operation of means of transportation. Reading of road maps and in estimating transportation capabilities of roads and material was specialized in. Ammunition train organizations were instructed in the transportation of various classes of shell, ammunition,

et cetera, by day and night. Supply train organizations were instructed in the transportation of supplies, by day and night. Engineer trains received special instruction in handling the technical material pertaining to the engineer troops, by day and night. Sanitary train organizations were specially trained in care and evacuation of sick and wounded, transporting, setting-up and maintenance of field hospitals, under conditions of open warfare and trench warfare, by day and night.

In their third month of training, all trains were instructed in liaison with the other arms of the division, in combat problems and manœuvres by day and night.

SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON TRAINING.

The fundamental principles of warfare are as old as time, but methods of combat change with the introduction of new kinds of weapons and with our increased knowledge of the use of terrain. For this reason it was essential to have instructors who were familiar with modern methods of combat. These instructors were furnished by the Allies and they were of inestimable value to us in our efforts to prepare for the struggle. They impressed upon the men and officers, especially the latter, the underlying principle of reinforcing hard-pressed points not by men but by fire, that is, by the use of automatic rifles and machine guns.

Our officers had not, as a class, learned to appreciate this. Nor had they sufficient knowledge of the handling of platoon and company by modern methods to realize what a wonderfully effective instrumentality the new forms of organization had given them. All of these things the Allied instructors taught us and impressed upon us.

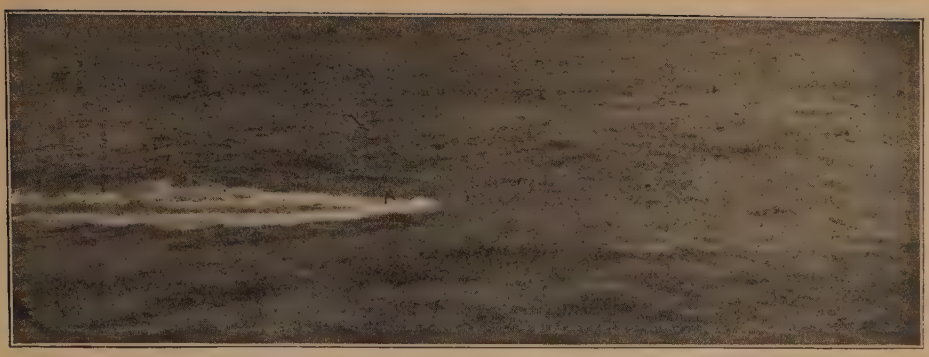
Bayonet training, of course, gives a desire for close combat, and a sense of personal power to the man who is well trained. Certain kinds of games, that make a man more alert, quick and strong on his feet, are very valuable in training. Everything possible must be done to increase the self-respect of the men, to teach them to salute as though they were proud of their profession, and to cause them to take a real pride in being soldiers of the nation.

TIME NECESSARY FOR THE FULLEST MEASURE OF SUCCESS.

The efficiency of the divisional training will be very largely measured by the amount of time which is available for this work. The doing of things over and over again, under varying conditions of weather, terrain, by day and night, is what makes a highly effective divisional fighting unit pliable, resourceful and competent to adjust itself properly to any problem which may confront it.

The foregoing represents the general procedure which is found most effective for training American divisions for the war of position and the war of movement, as exemplified during the recent war. The building up of morale and the keeping of the elements of a division together, making it an organization instead of an aggregation, cannot be too strongly emphasized.

The training of a division is a big job and an interesting one, and if properly done, insures good Discipline, Efficiency, mutual Respect and Confidence between Officers and Men.



The Wake Left by the Periscope of a Submarine

Chapter LII

The Course of the War During 1917

NO IMMEDIATE DECISION IS APPARENT THOUGH THE WHOLE WORLD IS IN ARMS

THE year 1917 was a year of alternate exultation and depression for both sides, but as it closed the deadlock was unbroken. All Europe was tired of war, but in spite of openly manifest war-weariness no one could prophesy when the end would come. During 1916 military leaders had had full opportunity to reach a decision, but had failed. The peace-makers attempted to end the struggle in 1917, with no better success.

The First Peace Proposal by the Central Powers.

Just before the end of 1916 (December 12) the Central Powers proposed a Peace Conference without cessation of hostilities, or suggesting any basis of discussion. Their proposal was forwarded to the Entente Powers by the neutrals to whom it was addressed, and, on December 30, a joint reply signed by Russia, France, Great Britain, Japan, Italy Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal and Rumania was returned declaring that no peace was possible without reparation.

President Wilson had prepared a note inquiring upon what terms the belligerent powers were prepared to make peace, before the publication of the note of the Central Powers. With some hesitation it was published on December 18. To it the Central Powers returned an evasive answer. The Entente nations, on the other hand, declared that while they could not give specific details of their demands, the groundwork must include restoration of Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro with compensation; evacuation of the invaded portions of France, Russia and Rumania, with reparation; the reorganization of Europe upon a stable basis; the expulsion of the Turk; and the liberation of subject peoples. At the same time they disclaimed the desire to destroy German nationality.

Austria-Hungary Secretly Negotiates for Peace.

Austria-Hungary had suffered more than Germany because of less efficient organization, and was less united in sentiment. During the spring of 1917 secret peace negotiations with the Allies were undertaken. The whole truth is not yet known, but apparently King Alfonso of Spain, a relative of the Austrian Emperor, was delegated to approach France. A brother of the Empress, Prince Sixtus of Bourbon, himself a soldier in the Belgian army, made one or more visits to Austria, and conferred with representatives of France in Switzerland. Mutual distrust, fear of Germany, and finally the collapse of Russia which gave new heart to the Austrian rulers, all had something to do with the failure of the negotiations.

THE POPE ISSUES A NOTE CONTAINING PROPOSALS FOR PEACE.

Pope Benedict XV had, at various times since his elevation to the Papacy, expressed his hopes for peace. On August 1, 1917, he issued a note to the belligerent powers suggesting a basis

POPE BENEDICT XV

Giacomo della Chiesa, Archbishop of Bologna, succeeded Pius X in 1914. On August 1, 1917, he issued a note suggesting a basis of peace for the warring nations.

for peace, to include among other things: decrease of armaments; arbitration of international disputes; freedom and community of the seas; renunciation of indemnities, with certain possible exceptions; evacuation and restoration of all occupied territories; examination of rival territorial claims, as for example, Alsace-Lorraine and the Trentino.

By this time the United States had entered the war, and the reply of President Wilson, August 27, was tacitly accepted as the reply of all the nations opposing the Teutonic alliance. President Wilson pointed out that the actions of the German government would render any negotiations with it fruitless, that an irresponsible government could not be trusted, and appealed to the German people to assert themselves. The Central Powers attempted to flatter Pope Benedict, by pretending to accept his ideas, but their actions did not square with their words.

A STRONG DESIRE FOR PEACE MANIFESTED IN GERMANY

In Germany, meanwhile, there was a strong movement for peace. The declaration of unlimited submarine warfare had not brought Great Britain to her knees; the appeals of Pope Benedict for peace had had their effect upon the Centre (Catholic) party; the denunciations of Socialists of other countries had, perhaps, had some slight effect upon the German Socialists. Greater than all of these, Germany was tired of privations. The formation of an anti-Government combination of parties and factions led to the retirement of Bethmann-Hollweg as Imperial Chancellor on July 14, and five days later the Reichstag passed a resolution declaring against annexations, and in favor of a peace by understandings. The Reichstag had so little influence in the governmental scheme of the German Empire that the real rulers paid little attention to the declaration and the Kaiser appointed a typical Junker, Dr. George Michaelis, as Chancellor, who soon adjourned the Reichstag.

In October when the Reichstag reassembled there was much angry discussion between the Conservative and Radical elements, and Dr. Michaelis resigned. He was succeeded by Count von Hertling, one of the leaders of the Centre party. Count von Hertling promised sweeping reforms in the internal affairs of the Empire and expressed himself as favoring peace. Meanwhile the Bolshevist element in Russia had secured control, and German chances for success seemed

SCOTTISH PRISONERS IN A GERMAN PRISON CAMP

There seems to be no doubt but that British prisoners were treated with especial severity by their German captors, but it was a point of honor among them not to weaken. This group of Scotch prisoners seem to be keeping up their spirits in spite of poor and insufficient food, and the general hardness of their lot.

BARRACKS AT THE PRISON CAMP AT DÖBERITZ

The Döberitz prison camp was about twenty miles from Berlin. Here some of the barracks were of metal. At some camps there were wooden structures and stables, warehouses and other buildings were used at other places. Many English were confined at Döberitz including a large part of the Naval Brigade captured at Antwerp early in the war. Apparently these are civilians, who were, however, usually sent to Ruhleben. Ruschin

brighter. Both in Austria-Hungary and Germany the militarists increased their influence, and the liberal elements either became silent or imperialistic, and the Central Powers ceased to seek for peace.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND AMERICAN INTERVENTION.

Reference has been made to the Russian Revolution and to American intervention. Both occurred at nearly the same time and the causes leading up to them are so many and so complex that they can not easily be summarized in less space than the chapters devoted to these two most important events of the year.

The treachery of the Russian Premier, Boris von Stürmer, has been discussed at length. He and many in the court circle had clearly shown that they did not desire a defeated Germany, not so much, perhaps, because they favored Germany, as because they favored autocracy and feared that the end of autocracy in Germany would mean its end in Russia also. Though the Duma was able to have Stürmer dismissed, the "dark forces" continued to plot, in spite of the denunciations of the leaders of the Duma. The Government apparently was seeking to induce revolt which would then be quelled by force, thereby strengthening the reactionary elements.

THE REVOLUTION IN PETROGRAD ALMOST BLOODLESS.

On March 11, 1917, Premier Golitzin prorogued the Duma, which refused to disperse. That same day soldiers in Petrograd refused to fire upon crowds in the streets and the next day soldiers disarmed their officers, who would not agree to lead them against the police. The radicals had organized Councils (Soviets) of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates which gained great influence over the soldiers, both in Petrograd and at the front. On March 15, it was announced in the Duma that the Tsar was to be deposed, a Provisional Government constituted, and a Constituent Assembly was to be called as soon as possible to determine the future of Russia. The Tsar did abdicate for himself and his son and named, as his successor, his brother, the Grand Duke Michael, who refused the empty honor.

The Provisional Government, composed chiefly of the moderate elements in the Duma, tried to carry on the government and the war. The story of the difficulties, and the progressive demoralization of the Russian army is told elsewhere (Chapter XLII). Gradually the extremist (Bolshevist) elements gained control both in the army and among the civil population. The Russian people had undergone great suffering and they were weary of war. The Provisional Government did not end the war. The Bolsheviki promised peace, and November 7, 8, by military force they secured control of Petrograd, and soon extended their power over other parts of the country. On December 15, a truce was signed with the Teutonic armies.

COUNT CZERNIN

While Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary, Count Czernin was concerned in the mysterious negotiations for peace during 1917, and was forced to resign early in 1918.

THE GERMAN DECLARATION OF UNLIMITED SUBMARINE WARFARE.

The Allied cause, however, had received an addition, which, as circum-

PART OF A GERMAN BATH TRAIN

The German sanitary equipment early in the war was very complete, and no pains were spared to keep the soldiers in health. This is the "Badezug," a very important feature in the scheme. It was a series of shower baths on wheels which could be moved from place to place. This is the tank containing the water.

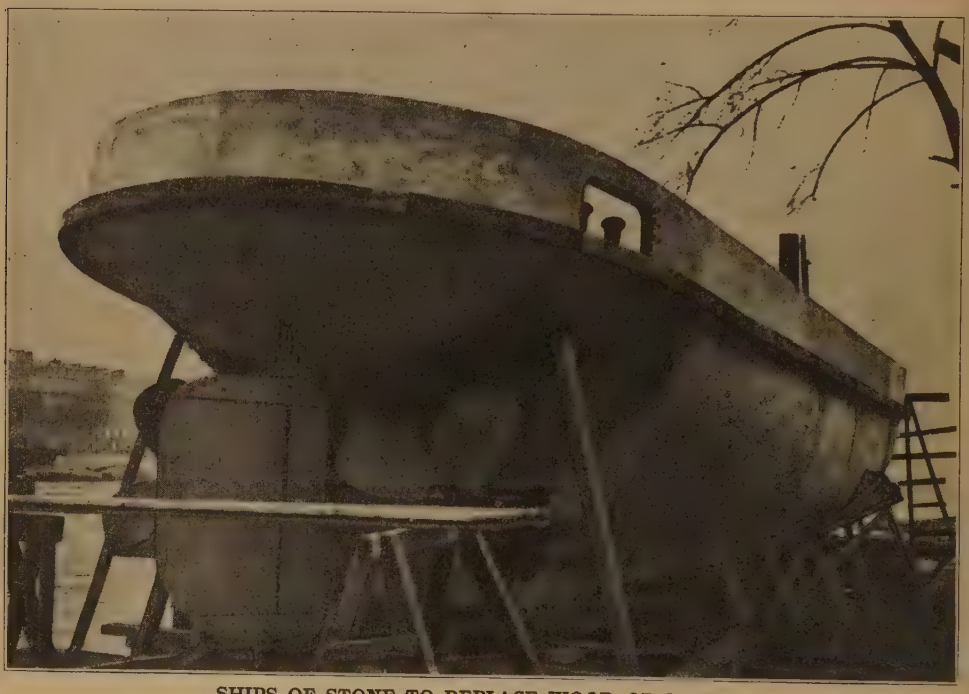
THE BATHING COMPARTMENT OF THE TRAIN

Careful inspection will show near the roof of this car several nozzles through which water from the tank shown above can flow. Soldiers were detailed by companies for bathing when the "Badezug" was in the neighborhood. Toward the end of the war the equipment gave out and was not renewed. The German soldier had very few comforts during the last year or two he was fighting.

Pictures, Ruschin

stances proved was to counterbalance the Russian defection. The German government had promised in May, 1916, that the submarine campaign would be conducted like ordinary cruiser warfare, that is, that no merchant vessels would be sunk without warning, and without provisions for the safety of their crews. On January 31, 1917, a note was presented announcing that, beginning the next day, February 1, all sea traffic within certain zones around Great Britain, France, Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean would "be prevented by all weapons," except that the United States might under restrictions be permitted to send one ship a week to England.

President Wilson immediately broke off relations with Germany, ordering Ambassador Gerard home and sending Ambassador von Bernstorff his passports, though he declared that he was unwilling to believe that Germany would actually put her threats into execution. A request that Congress authorize the arming of American merchantmen passed the House by an overwhelming majority, March 1, but was defeated by a filibuster in the Senate as the session ended by limitation on March 4. Meanwhile the "Zimmermann Note," dated January 16, seeking an alliance with Mexico, had been published.



SHIPS OF STONE TO REPLACE WOOD OR METAL

The destruction of tonnage by the submarine and the necessity of using so much of what was left for war purposes led to considerable use of concrete vessels. This boat was constructed at Ivry-sur-Seine, France, during 1917. Concrete vessels were also constructed by other nations, and generally proved seaworthy.

French Official from N. Y. Times

THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 6, ENTERS THE WAR.

Germany made good her threats and within twenty-four hours (March 16, 17) three American ships were sunk on the homeward voyage and American citizens lost their lives. Congress was called in special session, and on April 2, President Wilson asked for recognition of a state of war with Germany. The Senate by a vote of 82 to 6 agreed, April 4, and the House followed April 6, by a vote of 373 to 50. The formal proclamation was issued the same day.

The regular army and the National Guard were increased and a compulsory

Selective Service Act was passed, authorizing the calling of 1,000,000 men from those between twenty-one and thirty-one years of age, with proper provisions for exemptions. Registration day was June 5, and on July 15, the order in which the registrants were to be called was settled, as described elsewhere. Two Liberty Loan Acts were passed, and loans of seven billion dollars to the Allies were authorized. Revenue, food control, and shipping acts were passed, and in December the government took over the control of the railroads.

THE STOCK EXCHANGE, BERLIN, WHICH REMAINED OPEN

Military authorities in Germany took little chance of reverse and failure being reflected in civil life by a panic on the Stock Exchange, for they ordered it to be kept open. This was perfectly feasible as the blockade left only domestic stocks on the market, which by degrees passed under government control. Picture from Henry Ruschin

THE UNITED STATES AT ONCE SENDS SHIPS AND MEN.

Within a few weeks after the declaration of war American destroyers were on patrol in European waters, and in June General John J. Pershing and the first contingent of American troops reached France. Before the end of the year five divisions besides various special units, about 200,000 men in all, were in France, and American soldiers were in the front line trenches in quiet sectors. Moreover, it was clear that the United States was in the war to the extent of its resources, whether of men or material.

The intervention of the United States had not come too soon. Both France and Great Britain had borne a heavy burden. The latter had been obliged to finance some of her Allies and the loans from the United States were welcome, as was also the assistance against the submarines. In France the phenomenon known as "defeatism" was widespread (see p. 500), and the moral effect of the presence of United States troops had a tonic effect long before any considerable numbers were ready for the fighting line.

FIGHTING ON THE WESTERN FRONT DURING 1917.

The fighting during the year must be dismissed in a few words. On the Western Front the Allies held the offensive. The British and French attacks on the Somme in 1916 had pushed the Germans to the edge of the high ground, and had left them holding

an awkward salient around Noyon, though the Allies had failed to take Bapaume and Péronne. Marshal von Hindenburg prepared a strong system of trenches, first called the Siegfried Line, but later called by his own name, running from the neighborhood of Arras to the heights of the Aisne. To

SPIKES BEFORE A GERMAN TRENCH

this he withdrew during March, 1917, just as the Allied attack was about to begin. About 1,000 square miles of occupied territory were given up, and all the country between the old and the new positions was wantonly laid waste.

The British attack around Arras began April 9, and Vimy Ridge was soon taken. The French attacked the heights of the Aisne, April 16. The scheme of General Nivelle, now commander-in-chief, was audacious. He would not "nibble" or wage a war of attrition. He would attack almost simultaneously in four major operations and break through. He made some progress but the plan was impossibly difficult, and the losses were tremendous. Nivelle was succeeded by Pétain, while Foch was made Chief of Staff at Paris. The old method of seeking limited objectives was resumed. Craonne and both ends of the Chemin des Dames (Ladies' Road) were taken and held against German attack, while the British strengthened their position around Arras.

THE WEARY STRUGGLE FOR THE PASSCHENDAELE RIDGE.

Later (June 7), Sir Douglas Haig, in one of the most brilliant operations of the war, took the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge between Ypres and Lens, wiping out a German salient and strengthening the British hold in Ypres. The next British move was an offensive from Ypres against the Passchendaele Ridge. The battle raged from July until November in the face of torrential rains, but the British pushed steadily forward with the double object of gaining ground and drawing as many German troops as possible from before the French, farther south. Finally the village of Passchendaele was entered, October 30, and a week later fully secured by the Canadians.

Next came the drive on Cambrai (November 20), which almost succeeded, but a German counter-attack forced the British to retire, giving up a part of their gains. The British were learning that the Hindenburg Line, or any other line, could be taken. The British gains were substantial, though the cost in men and munitions had been high.

General Pétain's first duty was to reorganize his shattered armies and to rebuild their belief in their invincibility. A brilliant attack northwest of Soissons in October gained ground and forced the Germans to give up the remaining portion of the Chemin des Dames. In August and September the French had already regained the greater part of the ground around Verdun, lost the previous year.

THE GREAT ITALIAN DISASTER ON THE ISONZO

Slowly over great obstacles the Italian armies had made their way toward Trieste. Around Caporetto, on the upper Isonzo, the lines were lightly held by inferior troops, as no

attack was anticipated. Whether by incompetence of commanders in the region or because of treachery, considerable fraternization of Austrian and Italian soldiers took place, and the former took opportunity to sow discontent. Various other reasons discussed elsewhere (Chapter 47) tended to impair Italian morale. On October 21, after a severe bombardment, German divisions which had been substituted for the supposedly friendly Austrians, broke through, leaving the flank of the two armies on the southern Isonzo exposed. The necessary withdrawal became almost a rout, and the Italians were forced to fall back to the Piave river. There the new Commander-in-Chief, General Diaz, with the help of French and British held the line, and repulsed desperate Austro-German assaults, even regaining some of the lost ground. Though shaken, Italy was still a factor in the war.

Of the Russian fighting little need be said. General Brusilov struck in June and July toward Lemberg with decided success at first, but the Russian soldiers were becoming demoralized. Soviets had been organized at the front and orders were discussed by the rank and file before they were obeyed. Reports that the lands of Russia were being distributed were spread, and some regiments determined to go home to get their share. All the gains of 1917 and 1916 were wiped out, and the Russian army ceased to exist as a dependable military force. On the Eastern Front, only the Rumanians held fast.

HEADQUARTERS OF A GERMAN BATTALION COMMANDER ON THE WESTERN FRONT

The Germans held some parts of the Western Front so long that they began to feel a proprietary interest in them. Quarters for officers shown above were not uncommon in quiet sectors. Much care had been lavished upon them, and they are doubtless exceedingly comfortable. Often costly rugs and china from neighboring chateaux were placed in them.

THE PRESTIGE OF THE TURK RECEIVES A STUNNING BLOW.

In the Near East the Allies were more successful. Venizelos, who had been prevented from placing Greece on the side of the Allies by King Constantine, raised the standard of revolt and joined the Allied forces at Saloniki. On June 12, King Constantine was forced to abdicate in favor of his second son, and on June 25, Venizelos became

CHINESE COOLIES AT WORK BEHIND THE BRITISH LINES

British Official

Prime Minister of all Greece, which he took into the war against the Central Powers on July 2. No longer was the Greek army a threat against the rear of the Allied forces at Saloniki. No important military operations, however, occurred on this front until the next year.

In Mesopotamia General Maude had been preparing to recover the ground lost by the surrender of Kut-el-Amara, but he did not move until his expedition was well equipped. In February Kut was taken and in March Bagdad was entered. Next Ramidiya and Samara were taken, and but for the demoralization of the Russians in Armenia the Turkish armies might have been destroyed.

The British forces advancing from the Suez Canal crossed the Sinai Desert and entered Palestine. Under General Allenby, Beersheba and Gaza were taken. Advancing along the coast, Jaffa was taken, November 16, and then began the movement to encircle Jerusalem. The Turkish outer defenses were taken by storm, and on December 10, Jerusalem was surrendered. Turkish power and prestige, by the operations in Mesopotamia and Palestine, had suffered blows from which they could not recover.

The war seemed to have become a question of endurance on which the side with the stronger nerves would win—the side which could hold out "the last quarter of an hour." Some of the nations on both sides had been shaken, or put out of the war. Would the strong members of the coalition be able to hold the wavering members in line? This was the question which 1918 was to answer.